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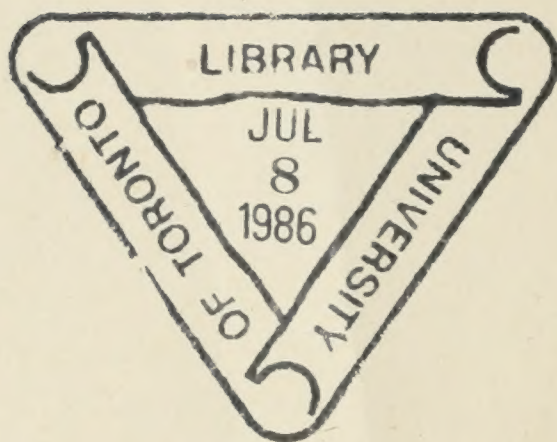
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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 5, 1918

Published once a week for subscribers to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. No other subscriptions accepted. No newsstand sales. No free list. No advertisements. Terms: To subscribers to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW only, one dollar a year. THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and the WAR WEEKLY combined, five dollars a year. A sample copy of either or both sent free of charge, upon request, to any address. Edited in Washington. Printed in New York.

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The Week

Washington, January 4, 1918.

Nothing happened in the West and nothing happened in the East during the past week. What may happen next week or the week ensuing we leave with more hope than confidence to the prognosticators who formulate the Monday morning bulletins of the Secretary of War. All we know at the moment is that the British have triumphantly regained certain territory which until now we had not heard they had lost. Let it go at that. We have nothing to do with what others may say of themselves to themselves. But Americans want the truth and are going to get it or find the reason why. This is the record of the week.

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The end of the great calamity will mark a new political era for the Old World. There will be left no empires and kingdoms, but the world will form a federation of the United States of Nations. There will remain only four great giants—the Anglo-Saxons, the Latins, the Slavs and the Mongolians.

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Which was so fast becoming stale
By giving us the *Daily Mail*?

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That makes us wish that we were dead?

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Has made old England what she is?
Yes, you're quite right, the same man, viz.—

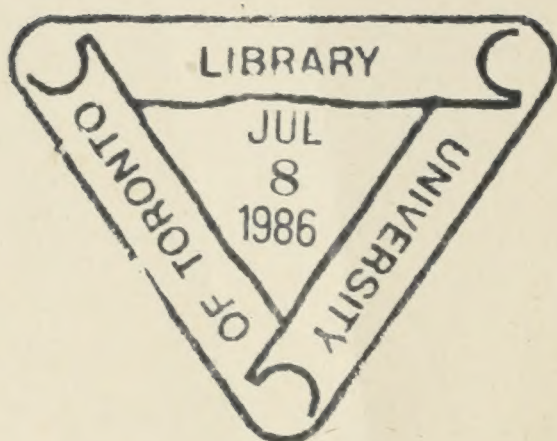
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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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but up to the present mutual preoccupations have deprived us of suitable opportunity and, for the time, we shall continue, conformably to custom, to restrict our research work to the Gathering of Data. Meanwhile, we implore our Brother of *Life* to prosecute his hunt with due diligence and when, if ever, he finds the strange figure who is going to win the war to beseech him, for God's sake, to hurry up.

The question is not, Are you doing your bit? but Are you doing your best?

Marse Henry Watterson says that on one cold and blustering day in 1796 George Washington handed to him this "Recipe to Keep One's Self Warm a Whole Winter With a Single Billet of Wood":

Take a Billet of Wood of a competent Size, fling it out of the Garret Window into the Yard, run down Stairs as hard as you can drive; and when you have got it, run up again with it at the same Measure of Speed; and thus keep throwing down, and fetching up, till the Exercise shall have sufficiently heated you. This renew as often as occasion shall require.

Whereupon Marse Henry went to Florida for the winter.

They were seated in a smoking compartment on their way to Washington in search of jobs in various departments. "One thing about it," declared No. 1, "Josephus Daniels is the greatest Secretary of the Navy since Whitney." No. 2: "Baker is the greatest Secretary of War since Stanton." No. 3: "Anyhow, McAdoo is the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton." No. 4: "And Redfield is the greatest Secretary of Commerce since whatever his name was—Nagel, I guess." No. 5: "That may all be, gentlemen, but I'll tell you one thing: Woodrow Wilson is the greatest President this country ever had except Bryan would have been."

These four years have proved that God is our unconditional and avowed ally on whom we can absolutely rely; without Him all would have been in vain.—*The Kaiser to the Second Army.*

So, even though he had not been happily spared to us, Our Colonel would not have been deprived of an opportunity to denounce unpreparedness,—assuming, of course, that,—but never mind that.

Can anybody tell us why, under the same Commander-in-chief, there should be one drink regulation for the Army and another for the Navy? Are not our soldiers and sailors equals in self-respect and self-restraint?

Mr. Daniels said the law forbids any member of the naval establishment to drink while in uniform and also forbids him to go without his uniform.—*The Sun.*

Sleeping and bathing would be somewhat trying if this were a true statement, but it isn't; it is a daniels.

How time flies! Thirty long and trying months have slipped by since Secretary Bryan resigned and the Press of this and other countries published the report that his withdrawal was attributable in no small degree to the President's displeasure at his having tipped the wink to Ambassador Dumba not to take the *Lusitania* note too seriously. After a while Mr. Bryan pronounced the story false, but, regrettable to recall, the public in turn shrugged their shoulders, and the original impression prevailed till last month, when the President himself took typewriter in hand and expunged the calumny. "You may quote me," he tapped to Mr. Bryan, "as saying that I did not ask for your resignation or desire it." Neither did he hold the Secretary responsible "for the misrepresentation placed upon that interview in Berlin," of which Ambassador Gerard complained somewhat bitterly, as anybody should have inferred from his note accepting the resignation. "Knowing at the time all the facts, I did not give the matter serious

thought, and may add, in justice to you, that as you promptly corrected the misrepresentation when, within a few days it was brought to your attention, it could not have affected the diplomatic situation. Cordially and sincerely yours." This seems slightly cryptic, but we think we get the idea; anyhow, at the expiration of two and a half years, when "my attention has been called" to the matter, Mr. Bryan's coat-tails are officially cleared,—a fact which we hasten to record, without stopping to inquire why it took so long or who did the calling.

"We don't give a damn whether the Russians make peace or the Boche starts his offensive—we are going to have a merry Christmas anyway." So spoke an American soldier in France and forthwith he and his comrades arranged a celebration. "The entertainment," writes the *Sun's* correspondent, "took place in the Town Hall, poilus assisting in the distribution of gifts from a big tree by an American army officer disguised as Santa. There was an auction of programs autographed by General Pershing, Joffre, Castelnau, Foch and American generals, all to the great delight of the children, whose faces were lighted up as on no Christmas since the coming of the war that bereft them of parents." When the big tree was finally bereft of its simple gifts, the net proceeds of the sales, chiefly to our officers, no less than ten thousand silver francs, were distributed, share and share alike, among six hundred refugee orphans, thus ending the prettiest and inferentially perhaps the saddest minor episode of the war we have seen recorded.

We comment elsewhere upon the taking over of the railroads by the Government or rather, in the words of the empowering Act, by the President, "through the Secretary of War." To what, if any, extent the phrase quoted implies that the Secretary of War should participate in the selection of a Director General is a moot question, whose discussion was skilfully averted by the President himself through permitting Mr. Baker to share the responsibility not only for the main performance but for the naming of Secretary McAdoo, under whose direction, he "agreed" with the President, "the best results" could be obtained, thus eliminating any possibility of suspicion that he simply did as he was told and simultaneously barring himself from future interference, such as might easily arise from conflicting authorities. The joint judgment of the two high officials, moreover, was promptly confirmed in a manner which must have been highly gratifying to Mr. McAdoo. The public generally approved the appointment as that of one member of the Cabinet who "does things"; the brotherhoods because, after all, the President himself, through his personal representative, retains the real power; and the railway managers, partly because "he might have done much worse" but chiefly because they long since discovered the futility of kicking against the pricks.

Our own opinion is that the President picked the best man for the job he could find in the Democratic party. The *Washington Post's* declaration that "no one else" in this fairly well equipped land "could have been safely chosen" is ridiculous, of course, but the fact remains, as the President well said, that Mr. McAdoo's practical railroad experience, slight though it has been, and his authority as Secretary of the Treasury possess a peculiar value in this contingency. The only valid basis of criticism lies in the circumstance that, as Secretary of the Treasury, Chairman of the Federal Bank system, Chairman of the Farm Loan Board, and Chairman of the International High Commission, he has more to do than any living man, except of course his chief, could be expected to do well. The *Sun* is quite right in saying that these great positions, and notably the latest, bear responsibilities which cannot be delegated but, having in mind Mr. McAdoo's exceptional capacity for work and quick and accurate decision, we perceive small cause for apprehension, especially if soon he shall, as we hope he may, be relieved of the most vital task of apportioning our billions among our Allies.

The talk about partisanship and nepotism in this particular instance is fudge. Mr. Gillett may attack Mr. Wilson as a Democrat as freely as he likes and the *World* need not hesitate to counter sharply upon Mr. Gillett as a Republican, without disturbing our slumbers in the least. Each richly deserves his respective appellation. Nor does the term Son-in-law agitate us unduly. What we want and all we want is the man for the job. We go further. For all we care, the President may take the Sayre baby into his Cabinet if he can foresee, as we can, an improvement by superseding a complacent smug with a lusty two-year-old capable at least of howling when things go wrong. But that is another story. The thing to do now is to help Mr. McAdoo in every conceivable way to make good.

We soon shall have the pleasure, ladies and gentlemen of Washington, of presenting to you our best beloved and most daring Colonel.

He puts his head in the lion's mouth,
And keeps it there a while,
And when he takes it out again,
He greets you with a smile.

Come one, come all, come early; because, fellow countrymen, we hear that presently he is to be indicted, under an Act now being drawn, for "Loyalty and Non-Support"—loyalty to the country and non-support of the Administration. True, Senator Smoot says there is "nothing of political significance in the visit," that Our Colonel's sole purpose is to spend a few days with his talented daughter, that in a word "it is to be entirely a family affair." But that is just the point. Is there room in Washington for two family affairs at one and the same time? We advise the Colonel to sing low for a while. Burleson Gaol, like the famous cantonment somewhere or somewhere else on the Raritan river, is nearing commencement.

MELLEN APPROVES FEDERAL CONTROL OF RAILROADS—WILL BE NO MORE POLITICS, NEPOTISM OR GRAFT THAN BEFORE, HE SAYS.—*World headline.*

Well, Mellen ought to know.

The cause assigned by the Madison Club for expelling the lafollete was "giving aid and comfort to the enemy," but the real reason, we shrewdly suspect, was the disinclination of the members to bury their clothes as a traditional consequence of too intimate association with the most notorious species of the badger family.

The amazing sagacity of the British Government was strikingly illustrated by the dispatching of Sir F. E. Smith to a country populated in no small degree by descendants of the Irish kings.

McAdoo has a four-track mind, anyhow.

The true situation as depicted daily by the English newspapers and summarized by *Punch*:

The entire German economic structure is on the verge of collapse,

But we should be mad if we blinded our eyes to the fact that they can hold out for years yet.

The submarine campaign has been an utter failure; no shortage of food exists or will exist—

If we one and all consume not an ounce more food than is absolutely necessary to keep body and soul together.

The war is, to all intents, already won,

Provided that in the next three years the whole nation makes such a stupendous effort as we have never dreamed of, etc., etc.

Which recalls to our mind the caustic observation of the only very, very high official of the Government whom we regard as capable of formulating an epigram, to wit,

Nothing could be done more consistently and persistently than is being done consistently and persistently over there.

Careful examination of the situation reveals that the enemy is again preparing to sue for "peace before victory."—Secretary Baker.

"Before"? We thought it was "without."

From the *London Times* we quote the words spoken by a French Major General at the burial of the three American soldiers who were the first to be killed upon the battlefield:

Men! These graves, the first to be dug in our soil of France at but a short distance from the enemy, are as a mark of the mighty hand of our Allies, firmly clinging to the common task, confirming the will of the people and the Army of the United States to fight with us to a finish, ready to sacrifice so long as it will be necessary, until final victory, for the noblest of causes—that of the liberty of nations, of the weak as well as the mighty. Therefore the death of this humble corporal and these two private soldiers appears to us in extraordinary grandeur.

We ask therefore that the mortal remains of these young men be left here, be left for ever to France. We will, in the fullness of peace, inscribe indelibly upon their tombs:—"Here lie the first soldiers of the Republic of the United States to fall upon the soil of France in the cause of justice and liberty." And the passer-by will stop and uncover his head. Travellers through France and from France, from every Allied nation, from the United States, those who, in reverence and heart, will come to visit these battlefields of France, will deliberately go out of their way to visit these graves, and bring to them tribute of respect and gratitude.

Corporal Gresham, Private Enright, Private Hay, in the name of France I thank you. God receive your souls. Adieu.

Could anything be more beautiful, more touching or more inspiring than this simple and eloquent tribute? It ought to be read in every public school in the United States.

Mr. Charles Dillingham announces a new play by W. Shakespeare, to be produced at the Tragic Theatre, entitled—

"MCADOO ABOUT EVERYTHING."

—*Adv.*

The Hon. Calamity Howler, of Misery Hollow, is mightily concerned at our beginning the new year with a national debt of something like \$5,615,000,000, which, he points out, is five times as big as it was before the war began and twice what it was at the end of the Civil war; and he sees nothing before us but bankruptcy and the demerol bow-wows. We beg to remind the brother, however, that while our debt is indeed now twice as big as it was in 1865, the population of the country is about three times as big as it was then. The average wealth of the people is more than three times as great and the total wealth of the nation is nearly ten times as great, so that if we have doubled our debt we have increased our assets nearly tenfold. In 1865 our debt was 12.3 per cent of our assets and we were justifiably ready to suspend to the limb of a sour apple tree anyone who so much as hinted at repudiation or bankruptcy. In 1918 our debt is only 2.5 per cent of our assets, which to our simple and unsophisticated intelligence seems to be a hopefully solvent condition, thank you.

* * *

General Pershing officially reports that an American sentry has had his throat cut after capture by the Germans. To Frenchmen and Englishmen this will be no news, for they have long known that the Germans make war as the Indians did, but it will be news to Americans, who have found it difficult to credit the official reports of German frightfulness and the murder and torture of their prisoners. Canadians can tell Americans how their prisoners were crucified, not figuratively but actually; how Canadians were nailed to the cross and left to die in their agony; tortures even more frightful and indignities unspeakable have been inflicted upon Allied prisoners. The white man braved the terror of the Indian and destroyed him; the Allied nations will defy German savagery and force the triumph of civilization. But Americans should remember the foe against whom they are fighting. It is the German people they are fighting; it is the German people who murder and crucify and mutilate.

* * *

And now we see the Bear that lies down like a lamb.

The Time Will Come

THE one thing that was certain from the start about the peace terms outlined by Count Czernin at Brest-Litovsk, on behalf of the Central Powers, was that they would not be accepted, or even seriously considered as a basis of peace negotiations, by the Entente Powers. They had been rejected in advance by President Wilson, in declaration after declaration; they were equally in conflict with the avowed purposes of Britain and France, as enunciated at various times by successive heads of the governments of those countries; and there has been nowhere any sign that they were regarded by responsible statesmen on either side of the Atlantic as offering the promise of an acceptable peace. In purport they may be roughly, though to be sure by no means completely, summed up as proposing to return to the *status quo ante bellum*; and the refusal of the Allies to consider them—whether accompanied or not by a re-statement of their own aims—necessarily means that the Powers arrayed against Germany count with confidence upon being able to bring about her ultimate defeat. These statesmen, as well as the great mass of the people of each of the nations they represent, are profoundly convinced that nothing short of defeat can extort from the rulers of Germany the only kind of peace which will make the condition of the world endurable; and it is for that reason, and not because they are "bitter-enders" by choice, that they refuse to be beguiled by any of the temptations which, in their successive "peace drives," the Germans have endeavored to set before the world.

If, however, German defeat were demonstrably unattainable, this attitude would have to be abandoned. And there has been no time in the past three years when the idea that Germany cannot be defeated has not been put forward, in more or less important quarters, at every available opportunity. The real reason that Lord Lansdowne's recent letter was received with so general a burst of indignant condemnation was that it clearly implied the impossibility of defeating Germany in any reasonable time. There was no essential difference between Lord Lansdowne's proposed indication of war aims and what had been said again and again by Asquith or Lloyd George or President Wilson; it was only the setting that was different. Whether Lord Lansdowne so intended or not, what nearly everybody understood him to urge was that the time had come for proposing a parley with Germany, and this because there was no prospect of any future time being more favorable. Whatever form the criticisms may have actually taken, what really inspired the resentment against his letter was that its language was calculated to strengthen the hands of those who want to patch up an inconclusive peace on the plea that Germany cannot be defeated.

But tremendous as has been the showing both of German prowess and German endurance, the idea that nothing better than a stalemate can be expected is based essentially on a confusion of thought. Those who put it forward are forever insisting that, on the one hand, it is impossible to starve Germany and that, on the other, an overwhelming victory over her forces in the field is equally out of the question. Each of these assertions may be true, taken by itself; there will be no Waterloo or Sedan, and the German people will not be forced to surrender through sheer starvation. But the end that cannot be attained by either of these processes may be, and there is every reason to believe will be, completely attained by the two together. That the German people are enduring extreme privations, privations in comparison with which those suffered by the population of France or England are almost insignificant, is unquestionable. That these privations are growing more intense year by year, and month by month, no one can doubt. The nation may be ready to endure even greater suffering and want; indeed there is hardly any limit which may safely be set to this process. But there is one condition that is absolutely essential to its continuance. You can cut down the rations of the German people to a pitifully small amount

of bread and meat, provided there is added the life-giving ingredient of hope. And of that, the supply has been bountifully renewed at frequent intervals by some dazzling success of German arms or German intrigue—the accession of Bulgaria, the wiping out of Serbia, the military defeat of Russia, the crushing of Rumania, the terrifying early success of the unrestricted submarine warfare, and lastly, the collapse of Russia under Bolshevik anarchism and the consequent successful drive against Italy. With ultimate victory thus held out to them as the sure reward of unfailing constancy under their privations, the German people are precisely in the state of mind of the population of a beleaguered city in any of the famous crucial sieges of history. They are holding out just as the people of Londonderry or Leyden held out, because of the great stake whose winning or losing turns on their constancy and fortitude. But they will not suffer hunger and want and disease and slow death for nothing. At whatever time the situation in the field shall become such that the only thing that holding out can possibly mean is a putting off of the evil day—and the longer it is put off the more evil—they will refuse to hold out. A defeat in the field that in itself would be far from fatal will suffice to show the hopelessness of the outlook; and the sufferings that hope made endurable will be found too great to bear when no motive exists to continue the agony.

At what time a sudden collapse of German morale may be brought about in this way, it would be idle to attempt to predict. The time will come as sure as there is a God in heaven and an American on earth. That the German Government is itself acutely conscious of the danger, the character of its present overtures sufficiently indicates. It wants to negotiate peace while yet its power shows no clear signs of breaking. When these signs do become manifest, its overtures will be different in substance, and above all different in tone. So long as Germany can use the language of an invincible, but more or less magnanimous, enemy it will be impossible to negotiate with her. When defeat has come, or when the shadow of defeat is unmistakably upon her, she can be dealt with upon a basis that will make possible a righteous and a lasting peace. And that time will come if we firmly refuse—as President Wilson, like the heads of the British and French Governments, has thus far unwaveringly done—to countenance any attempt of an undefeated Germany to forestall the day of a just and permanent settlement.

Has Government Control Come To Stay?

THE assumption by the Government of complete control of the railroads is but the latest of a series of great war measures of the same general nature. The ordinary processes of industry and trade have been, in one domain after another, set aside or profoundly modified, and the decisions of government agencies put in their place. Impressive as these developments have been, the vast scale upon which they are taking place—for the end is not yet—is not the only striking thing about them. What has made upon many minds an even stronger impression is the fact that these great changes, affecting as they do both the interests of the millionaire and the daily concerns of the ordinary citizen, have been effected not only without friction, but almost wholly without resistance or dissent. That the imperious necessities of this war, unprecedented for colossal magnitude in all human history, should have made these measures inevitable, can be no reason for wonder; but that the changes should have been accepted almost without a murmur is looked upon by many as a fact of the most momentous significance for our entire future. What we have done so readily under the stress of war, so runs the thought, we shall not be eager to undo after the war is over—when peace comes again to the world the old regime will be found to have disappeared forever.

Few things are easier than such prophesying; and few things are more worthless. What is going to happen after the war will depend on the state of men's minds at that time, and nobody knows what that state of mind will be. And it is only because of its possible influence upon the state of men's minds that this prophecy is of any importance. The reasoning on which it is based is utterly superficial; but the prophecy is of that kind which tends to bring about its own fulfillment. If the notion acquires sufficient acceptance, if enough people come to think that the change is predestined, the nerve of dissent, of resistance, may become fatally atrophied. It is a matter of real and practical moment, therefore, that the assertion be sharply challenged from the outset.

In the first place, then, it should be noted that the prompt and cheerful acceptance which has attended these sudden and vast extensions of government control cannot possibly be explained as due to indifference. Many may be indifferent; many may welcome the change as a stepping stone to thorough-going socialism; but it would be the height of fatuity to assert that everybody is either indifferent or pleased at the prospect of a permanent upsetting of the existing economic order. Obviously, the absence of resistance is due to the universal feeling that these things are necessary for the successful conduct of the war, and the universal loyalty which cheerfully accepts whatever is thus necessary. Some of it will very probably remain after the war; but whether it shall be much, or little, or none at all, a nation of self-respecting freemen must hold to be a matter to be decided not by inert acquiescence in the alleged decrees of a blind Fate, but by their own judgment and their own desires.

If that judgment shall not be wholly paralyzed and if those desires are not to be utterly at variance with the spirit of the American people as it has hitherto been manifested, the country will refuse to transform itself from a nation in which individual enterprise, ambition, energy, and self-dependence have been the mainspring of all economic activity into one in which the metes and bounds of each man's business are determined by governmental authority, unless good and sufficient reason is furnished for its thus making itself over. And such reason is not furnished, and is not likely to be furnished, by the experience we are now going through. It is true that government control, government management, government price-fixing, will in many vital respects powerfully promote national efficiency in this crisis. It is true that they will obviate or lessen many of the hardships brought on or threatened by the general dislocation of affairs through the war. But the difficulties thus surmounted are for the most part such as do not present themselves at all in normal times; and as for the increase of efficiency, a very large part of it will be obtained precisely because the single grand object aimed at is of a character so different from that of the multitudinous and varied objects with which the complex mechanism of industry and trade is concerned in the ordinary conditions of life. The task of the food controller, and the price-fixer, and the war-industries manager, and the railroad dictator, during the war will be difficult enough, in all conscience; but in one vital respect it is incomparably simpler than the like task would be in time of peace. To promote production, to prevent waste, to adjudge such amounts of all things needful to our army and navy, to our various allies, and to our own civilian population as are dictated by the war situation—this is the imperative duty of the governmental agencies, and to the demands of that duty all men yield unstinted acquiescence. Personal convenience, local preference, the desire of this or that class or section of the population—all these things are thrust into the background; they are as if they did not exist. But in ordinary times it is precisely the degree in which these varied objects are served or fall short of being served that measures the success or failure of economic arrangements and determines the attitude of the general public toward them. The moment the tension of

war necessity has been removed, a thousand claims will assert themselves which during the time of the nation's trial had been spontaneously kept in abeyance. And to respond to these claims will mean to abandon that simplicity and unity of purpose upon which the efficiency attained by government control had been essentially dependent.

And over and above all these questions of efficiency and inefficiency, of good adjustment and bad adjustment, there is the question of the way in which constant interference by government with the activities and designs of normal Americans in normal times is going to be received. It would have to be a wonderful gift in the shape of increased productivity that would reconcile our people to that sort of thing; they would have to "be shown," and shown so plainly that there can be no mistake about it. In certain special domains this may be possible; in the matter of transportation, for example, it has been universally recognized for more than a generation that a large amount of government control is essential to the best results, and our new experience will doubtless lead to a permanent extension of that control beyond the limits it had happened to reach before the war. But in general it is sure to be found that between the cup of increased productivity and the lip of government control there is many a slip. It is sure to be found, in instance after instance, that to put the heavy hand of the government on the sensitive organism of business enterprise is to pay the price without getting the goods—to give up our old-time freedom without getting the material reward for which it had been bartered. Some of us would be opposed to the exchange in any event; and surely there are not many who would be willing to assent to it without being well assured that the mess of pottage was really to be had, and that there was enough of it for a hearty meal—a thing which most emphatically remains to be proved.

Yet it was inevitable that the present Government control should be hailed—and feared—by many as the beginning of "Government ownership." There is nothing in the plan as proposed which makes such conclusion inevitable. Whether or not it will work out ultimately to that conclusion will depend wholly upon the way in which the lease is administered by the lessee.

The way to bring about "Government ownership" is to depart from the single purpose expressed in the President's proclamation (and in his own statement by way of explanation of that proclamation) and turn loose upon the problem the theorists of Congress and other departments of Government. Already there is much talk of the "economies" to be made by cutting executive salaries, abolishing freight and passenger agencies and "reorganizing" operating forces. Wages of employees are to be increased, without a doubt. The Government's war budget is a convenient place for dumping the deficit already estimated at one hundred million dollars or more on the operation of the lease—a deficit which will in all human probability be larger by a good deal as time goes on. The more changes that are made in existing methods with any object other than that of expeditious handling of traffic and the more tinkering there is with the present organizations of railroad forces the more probable becomes a perpetuation of Government control after the war in the form of complete "Government ownership."

The way to avoid this is to remember the reason why "control" has been taken by Government. It is not that Government knows better how to operate the railroads than do their managers; it is simply that the managers need the powers of Government to accomplish the task that confronts them. It is Mr. McAdoo's name and authority that they need rather than Mr. McAdoo's suggestions or orders. Furthermore, it is most important that the railroads leased to the Government should be made to return to the lessee an amount in earnings substantially equivalent to the rent paid. Prices charged to the public for transportation services should be large enough to cover the cost including the

rent. There should be no break in the accounting of the individual systems as at present carried on. Effort should be made to keep the industry in balance so far as the public is concerned so that no violent readjustments shall be necessary when peace returns.

There are those who honestly believe that Government can give better and cheaper railroad service than can be supplied by individual enterprise. There are those who honestly believe that it is good for a democracy to undertake all such public services as a matter of education, regardless of either efficiency or economy. And there are the Hearst newspapers. But "Government ownership" should come, if it is to come, after careful study and thorough discussion and not, as Mr. Frederick Strauss once said "as a by-product of regulation" nor as an accident of war. There are no precedents in the world which are a safe guide for the United States. It is useless to thresh over the old straw so familiar to those whose duty requires them to attend college debates; to do so leads nowhere and convinces nobody who is not already convinced on one side or the other. It is true as the President says that America was up to December 28th the only country in the war which had not assumed control of its railroads. It is also true that all the belligerent Governments have established in fact systems of State Socialism of a kind already far-reaching and likely to be more so. We may yet have to do the same thing in equal degree for war purposes. But at least let us not commit ourselves to *post-bellum* State Socialism without knowing what we are doing—and without intending to do it.

The Old Clo' Men

WHAT is shoddy? Shoddy is your old suit ground up in a mill and used over again in the making of new woolen cloth. It is "reworked wool," in the dignified language of the "old clo'" trade. Your experience has probably been this: In your youth when you came to town from the country you were enticed into some side street merchant's and patted, stroked and pulled into a suit that cost \$9.75. It looked marvelously well for the money. A few days later it began to sift apart. Your whiskbroom, when it touched it, looked like the brush and comb of a man whose hair preservative is not doing the work. When it rained, your garments ran away in rivulets into the city's sewers. In the end you had left a strong cotton mesh of cords, a sort of sieve, to which the wool had clung long enough to sell. That was shoddy at its worst. There was too much "reworked wool" in your garment. Mix shoddy in the right proportions with new wool and by a certain magic you have a marvel of warmth and wear. Well, that remains to be demonstrated, when sufficient experience has been accumulated in France and in the cantonments on this side of the water.

How did shoddy come to get into the American Army uniform? Before this war began our soldiers were clad in pure wool. If anyone had proposed to put shoddy into the coats and breeches he would probably have been taken out and shot. The war started, and lo! there was shoddy, an article of the national faith, standing upon at least as firm a foundation as the Declaration of Independence, to question or criticize which was an act of impious unpatriotism. The circumstances that preceded the canonization of shoddy were these: First the new wool men were heard from. The Boston Wool Association in the latter part of April offered 60,000,000 pounds of wool to the government, practically all the visible supply in the country, much more than enough to clothe our men in all wool uniforms. The government never replied to this offer nor to the subsequent one two months later of half that amount. It is said that failure to accept these offers, besides entailing the use of shoddy, cost the country \$150,000,000, the price of wool advancing rapidly in subsequent months. The opportunity was lost. A little later it was announced that because of the shortage in wool a

certain admixture of shoddy would be contained in American uniforms. This has been described as a splendid piece of wisdom on the part of the government. The clothing of the soldiers would be just as good and the supply of material for civilian garments would be interfered with as little as possible. Perhaps it was all of this. That depends upon the test of the uniforms in actual experience regarding which little is actually known as yet.

The news of the acceptance of shoddy sent a thrill through the old clo' trade. The nasal voice of its sidewalk supplicants took on a confident tone. Their salient skin showed a flush of excitement. The stooped shoulders were thrown back. There was a God in Israel; the war was not all for the munitions men. Were not the kings of the industry, the silk-hatted, fur-coated gentlemen, who had risen from crying in the streets to doing a rag business of \$2,000,000 to \$5,000,000 singularly honored by being called to Washington and sitting at the right hand of the man who was choosing cloth for the U. S. Army?

They were members of the Council of National Defense. That body had the same habit of parentage as the amoeba. It subdivided and resubdivided and took as much interest in its genealogical tree as does a monocellular organism. It often didn't know its own committees and subcommittees. It appears now that one of the most important descendants of the original amoeba was the old clo' subcommittee of the subcommittee on wool, of the committee on supplies.

At the head of this organization was Mr. Charles Eisenman, of Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. Julius Rosenwald's right hand man, Mr. Rosenwald being a member of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. Mr. Eisenman is still something of a mystery. He lives in Secretary Baker's home town, which may or may not explain why he came to be the virtual quartermaster general of the Army, Mr. Baker having given him authority to fix the prices to be paid for cloth for uniforms and determine the mills at which the cloth was to be made. He is spoken of as a retired business man. Some say that unobtrusively he is an old clo' man himself, that he brought E. A. Stone one of his right-hand men in Washington from Cleveland and set him up in the rag business in New York. But there is no evidence of this. Another theory is that the old clo' men who surrounded him in Washington, Mr. Sam Kaplan, Mr. Stone and Mr. Meyer, representative of the biggest rag business in this country, Rowitzer & Co., who turn over \$5,000,000 in a year, pulled the shoddy over Mr. Eisenman's eyes.

According to this theory Mr. Eisenman like Mr. Rosenbaum was virtually a figurehead and Mr. Sam Kaplan, one of New York's old clo' kings, was the real quartermaster general of the Army. That was the view of Mr. Alexander Kaminsky, the Demosthenes of the old clo' business, counsel of a ragmen's association, of which Mr. William P. Leuthner—"not a man of my faith" explained Mr. Kaminsky, as if that in the circumstance was distinctly worthy of remark. Mr. Kaminsky tried hard to have talk with Mr. Eisenman out of the presence of Mr. Sam Kaplan. He didn't succeed and thus an excellent oration was bottled up in the system of Mr. Kaminsky. The Senate Military Affairs Committee afterwards heard some of it.

Perhaps the notion of the greatness of Mr. Sam Kaplan sprang from the disordered imagination of the rag trade which saw itself suddenly one of the main highways of wealth, a real war baby like the munitions trade itself. At one time someone, perhaps Mr. Kaplan, Mr. Eisenman, Mr. Stone, Mr. Meyer had visions of the creation of "junior dictator" for the U. S., an office probably to be filled by Mr. Sam Kaplan himself. So did Mr. Kaminsky, Mr. Leuthner and others of the rag trade who were filled with alarm at the growing greatness of Mr. Sam Kaplan, Mr. Stone and Mr. Meyer, of Rowitzer & Co., the firm that does a \$5,000,000 rag business. They came to Washington to protest to Mr. Eisenman against the creation of a rag trust through the growing power of Mr. Sam Kaplan and

his associates. They were assured by Mr. Sam Kaplan and Mr. Eisenman that the Kaplans, Ira and Sam, Mr. Stone and Mr. Meyer were philanthropists. They rubbed their eyes. They knew Mr. Sam Kaplan, Mr. Stone and Mr. Meyer, whose firm, Rowitzer & Co., has been barred from bidding for War Department contracts on account of its practices. They knew them as sharp men who could make more money out of rags than anyone else in the trade, but it was hard to think of them as philanthropists. Still, had it not been said officially in Washington that they were philanthropists, and in war time is it not treason to doubt and criticize what is officially said in Washington? We are bound to believe that the old clo' men went away from Washington accepting Mr. Sam Kaplan as a philanthropist.

The philanthropy of Ira Kaplan brother of Sam and his associates, Mr. Stone of Mr. Eisenman's home town, and Mr. Meyer of Rowitzer & Co., was the base sorting contract. The three men named camouflaged their generosity by putting the business of sorting army clippings and army castoff clothing in the names of dummies. Members of the quartermaster's department who investigated the contract concluded that there were millions of profits in the contract for Kaplan and Stone and Meyer. The rag men say that the entire rag business of the country was to be commandeered and turned over to Kaplan, Stone and Meyer. The contract was investigated by the War Department and terminated, Mr. Eisenman protesting with great vehemence and vigor.

That is the story of how the old clo' man sat at the right hand of the man who was virtually quartermaster general of the Army, at least so far as cloth for uniforms was concerned. If Old Clo' preferred had been listed on the Stock Exchange, you would have seen it rise in a few weeks from par to 1,000. But Old Clo' is unobtrusive. As a war baby it does not make a noise like steel. Failure to buy wool when it was available not only cost the country \$150,000,000, but created an opportunity for Old Clo'. This opportunity was improved by Secretary Baker's singular arrangement which made an outsider, perhaps an old clo' man himself, quartermaster general of the Army. So completely was this the case that Mr. Eisenman dealt through Col. Zalinsky or Col. Hirsch, of the Quartermaster's Bureau and only copies of executed contracts came to Quartermaster General Sharpe. The part the old clo' man played in uniforming the army sounds like fiction, but it was fact. Perhaps that part was philanthropy. But hear the words of Kaminsky Demosthenes of Old Clo'dom: "The trade looked upon Kaplan, Stone and Meyer as out for all there was in it."

Our Russian Diplomacy

DAVID R. FRANCIS, the American Ambassador—at large—in Russia, appears to have furloughed the staff assigned to him by the State Department and to have entrusted his military advisers with the delicate diplomatic negotiations which have arisen since Mr. and Mrs. Romanoff moved to Siberia. The reasons which prompted the Missouri diplomat to make these innovations is not quite clear. Secretary Lansing has eschewed all conversation on the subject, but an inspired announcement from the State Department indicated that Mr. Francis acted under general orders to use his best judgment.

When an armistice was suggested, Lieut. Col. W. V. Judson bundled up a collection of American newspaper clippings, which contained threats that the United States would declare an embargo if Russia quit the war, and sent them to Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevik Minister for Foreign Affairs, attached to a friendly little note suggesting that it would be well to read the clippings carefully.

At the same time Major Kerth, Col. Judson's assistant, slipped out to the Kerensky headquarters which General Dukonin was holding against the Bolsheviks and handed him this formal communication:

"In accordance with perfectly definite instructions from my Government given by the American Ambassador at Petrograd,

I have the honor to inform you that owing to the carrying on of a war by the United States in alliance with Russia, which has for its basis the struggle of democracy against autocracy, my Government decidedly and energetically protests against any separate armistice which may be made by Russia."

The details of just what happened when Trotzky received the clippings and heard that the outlawed Dukonin had been honored with a formal note are not known, but the Bolshevik Minister for Foreign Affairs appears to have been chagrined. He communicated with Col. Judson—whether verbally or in writing is not disclosed—and Judson took his pad in hand and wrote another note. Here it is:

"My letter must not be construed as meaning that my Government has declared itself in favor of the success in Russia of any political party or any part of the population. Americans feel the greatest sympathy with the whole Russian nation in the complicated circumstances at present and do not wish to interfere with anything but to help in the settlement of any Russian problem whatsoever. Their representatives here are now informed that no influential part of Russian population desires an immediate peace or armistice and there is no doubt that Russia is quite right in the situation in which she now is to raise the question of a general peace. There are no reasons therefore, why the relations of the Allies to any influential part of the population of Russia should not rest on the most friendly basis."

Colonel Judson not only clarified the entire situation but also was good enough to speak for all the Allied Governments as well as the United States.

Trotzky seems to have been duly impressed by the logic of Colonel Judson's statements but quite hurt by Major Kerth's activity, so he issued this warning:

"Major Kerth's action is still more inexplicable since the head of the American War Mission made quite another declaration—that the Americans do not desire to interfere with the settlement of any Russian question whatsoever. It is to be hoped that Major Kerth and others will take note of these words and will be guided by them."

General Dukonin was killed by a Bolshevik mob at this period and Major Kerth retired from the diplomatic scene. A little later Colonel Judson was eliminated from the situation and the armistice was declared, hereby closing this chapter of American diplomacy.

Soon after Colonel Judson's diplomatic demise Colonel W. H. Anderson, a gentleman from Virginia, took a hand in the game and messed things up a little more. As head of the American Red Cross Mission to Rumania the Virginia Colonel decided to rescue Queen Marie from her own people by importing 75 motor car ambulances which had been shipped to Jassy but had been held up at the Russian capital. It was a most romantic dream and doubtless appealed strongly to the Virginia Colonel. Unfortunately the motors were routed through the Don Cossack country controlled by General Kaledines' counter revolutionists.

Trotzky got wind of the venture and intercepted enough of Anderson's correspondence to use as the basis for a statement to the revolutionary congress charging that the American Embassy was using the Red Cross as a shield to assist Kaledines and the counter revolutionists. He was wildly cheered by the delegates who appear to have been convinced by the recent activities of the American officers that the United States is opposed to democracy in Russia.

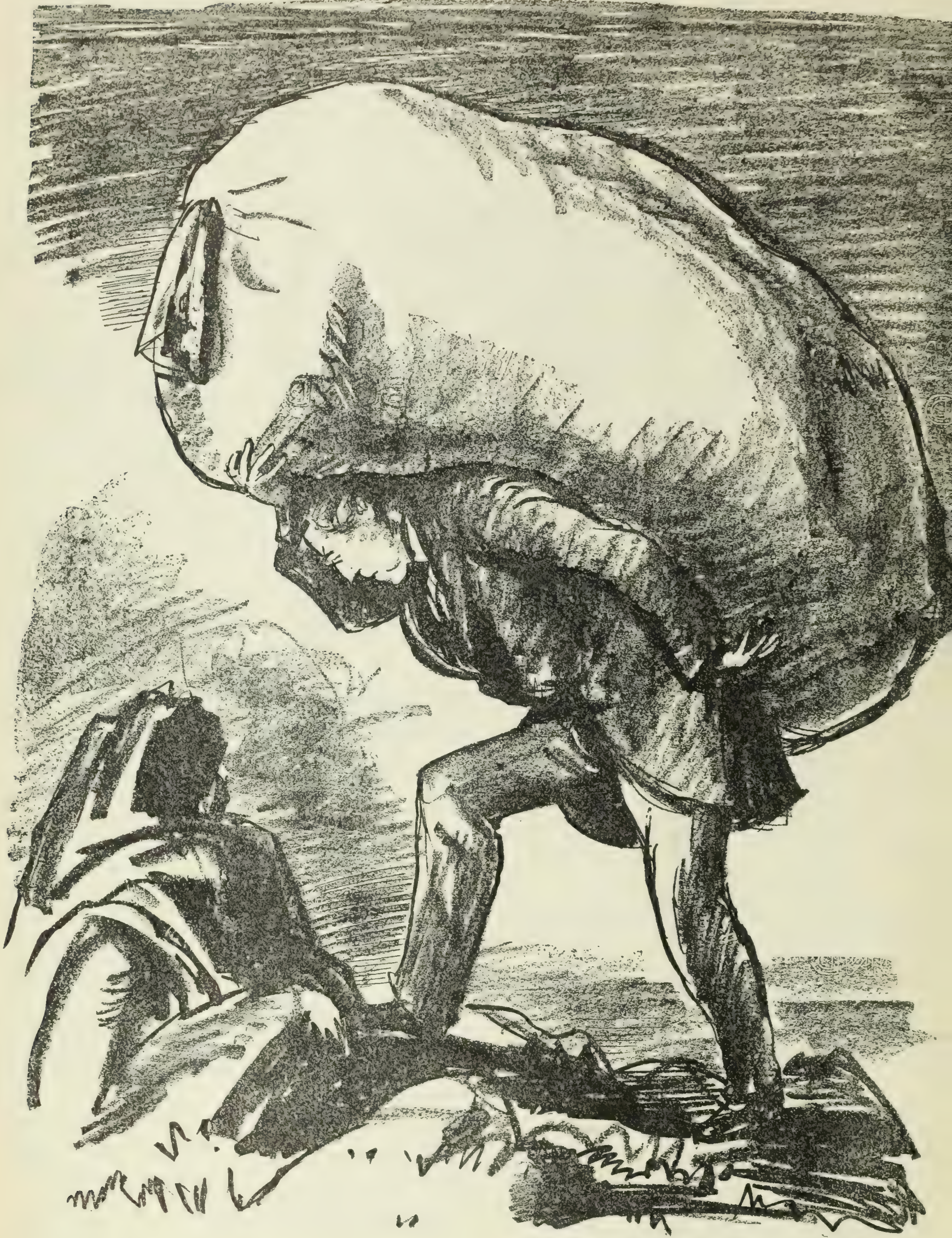
In Washington little is known of Colonel Anderson and while there is no reference to the Russian situation in the following Washington despatch to the *World* it may throw some general light on the qualifications which Colonel Judson had for the delicate diplomatic mission:

"Col. William V. Judson, U. S. A., Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia, told a House Committee several days ago that Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire forced the appointment of a city official against the advice of the authorities. Here is the answer Senator Gallinger today made to this charge while testifying before the Committee:

"Col. Judson is a martinet; a military man; he is dominant; he likes to centralize the affairs of men. He is something of a marplot and reaches out and tries to take a hand in everything.

"The dendrites of his brain are twisted," said Senator Gallinger, himself a physician, producing a medical dictionary and reading from it.

"A dendrite is a dendron; a dendron is a branched and tree-shaped protoplasmic process from a nerve cell, a neurodendron. A dendrite has to do with correct thinking,—with Co. Judson they are twisted."



How Long Can He Carry The Whole Burden of War Alone ?

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Week

WASHINGTON, January 11, 1918.

THERE is no change in the military situation. The Huns made a slight dent in the British line, but to no particular purpose, and the casualties were few. Secretary Baker, or whoever writes his ridiculous prognostications for him, switches back to his original anticipation, once discarded, of "the impending German offensive" as a sure thing, though how he knows it Heaven only knows. However, we are assured with equal certainty, "The French and British armies can be relied upon to withstand the shock"; so there is really nothing to worry about. Reinforcements from their Allies seem to have enabled the Italians to hold their own up to date and the truce between the Huns and the Russians still holds. The extent of participation by the Americans on the Western front has been grossly exaggerated. Small detachments of our soldiers go into the trenches from time to time to gain experience, but they have had no engagement worthy of the term so far and, unless Generals Wood and Kuhn should advise greater expedition, General Pershing is likely to adhere to his wise determination to keep his men out of action until they are fully trained and ready.

The two noteworthy events of the week were the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George and the President. The Premier spoke first and spoke well, but Mr. Wilson's declaration was a veritable masterpiece. He has never done, and we doubt if anybody living could have done, better. We liked particularly his definiteness. There was none of the hazy rhetoric which sometimes characterizes his utterances and leaves the reader guessing. His numerical summary of the

fourteen war aims was quite foreign to his usual method and, perhaps for that very reason at a time when the whole world was eager for something specific to take hold of, was tremendously effective.

Naturally and necessarily, the declarations of the two leaders coincided in all essentials, differing only in degree with respect to Alsace-Lorraine and Russia. Lloyd George bluntly asserted that her lost provinces must be restored to France, while Mr. Wilson insisted only that "the wrong should be righted." It is easy to understand that the British Premier felt a positive necessity of upholding the French in their chief purpose, but from the American standpoint the President's prudence was most wise and wholly sound. Surely, in the event of this remaining the only question undetermined, nobody could reasonably expect the United States to continue frightful warfare over a bit of disputed territory. That "the wrong should be righted,"—yes by all means, but the President did well to stop there, although it is a singular symptom of public sentiment that this particular phrase, misinterpreted in the hearing as a demand for full restoration, evoked the loudest applause from Congress.

With respect to Russia, we cannot but conclude that Mr. Wilson was wholly right and Mr. Lloyd George was wholly wrong. The latter, in a word, indignantly and, to our understanding, quite peevishly proposed to let the distracted people stew in their own juice. The new government, such as it is, had broken faith with Britain—the unpardonable sin from the viewpoint of a nation which has been known upon occasion to be "righteously arrogant"—and as a fit punishment the whole country could go to hell. Mr. Wilson took the opposite view, recognizing the plight of a great mass of human beings groping out of darkness and highly deserving of the utmost consideration for their faults no less than for their pitiable condition. Frankly, we had not supposed it possible for Mr. Wilson, who has long been regarded as distinctively stern and not altogether unforgiving, to stretch forth a helping hand so frankly, so generously, so sympathetically, so pityingly, indeed, to the brother who had not only erred but persisted in his error. In any case, he did it and did it nobly, to the infinite credit and great joy of the tolerant and kindly people for whom he spoke.

The net outcome of the two speeches is that Germany, whether as a people or as a kaiserbund, now knows precisely where she stands; if she will neither fish nor cut bait she can and will go ashore. All we ask of the President is to stand to his guns and he will have a solid country behind him, ready and eager to stay till the uttermost depths shall be covered with ice so thick that no squirming Hun beneath can hope ever to hack his way through.

It surely is an odd circumstance that, of all the railroads in the country, the Pennsylvania, which for years all Americans have respected as the pink of perfection, is said to have "crumpled" worse under stress than any other. The renowned Mr. Brisbane, of the *Washington Times*, attributes it to the privilege extended to Major General Henry P. Davison of attaching his private car to any train whose going and coming between Washington and New York happens to suit his convenience, but in truth so slight a cause seems hardly commensurate. And yet when, as happened last week, a train bearing Assistant President House, after having been accorded "right of way," finally reached Washington nearly three hours late, what is one to think?

At last Great Britain is to send us an envoy of the first class who will symbolize the unique relation between the two great English-speaking peoples.—*Washington Herald*.

Then ought not the United States to return *quid* for *quo*?

After visiting the two Secretaries, Mr. Billy Sunday remarked enthusiastically, "They're a couple of real birds—Baker and Daniels. Both are God-fearing, red-blooded Americans who are on the job and looking after the moral and spiritual welfare of the millions under them in a way that is a real joy." A deserved tribute, no doubt, but we suspect that the American soldier boys who are fighting the Huns or dying from pneumonia in various camps are more deeply concerned at the moment by official inattention to their mental and physical welfare. So, too, we imagine, are their parents. But Mr. Billy is in the right gallery, cheerily utilizing labor which might otherwise be of service to the country and burning up enough coal in his tabernacle to keep alive scores of suffering poor families in his immediate vicinity,—all at the expense of a deluded public and greatly to his own pecuniary advantage. "What do we care for your puny little wars?" demands the high apostle of prohibition. "Suffrage first and foremost," cries the feminist in a fever of exaltation. Time was when a compassionate American raised his hand and said, "Don't cheer, boys, the poor fellows are dying"; but this, this is the day of the fanatic who huzzas for his fad and doesn't care a damn for anything or anybody else in this seemingly God-forsaken world. How long, O Lord, how long!

We hear less and less of the Jews taking over Jerusalem. Washington, too, is golden.

From the *St. Louis Republic*:

Thus far the investigation campaign now in progress in Washington Secretary Daniels has had by far the easiest sledding. He was able to return what appear to have been satisfactory answers to all questions, and, on the face of the testimony as it stands, he has shown that the navy is giving a good account of itself.

One reason for the Secretary's satisfactory showing is that, notwithstanding much criticism and complaint, the navy has for a good many years kept up to modern requirements in many respects. It was the branch of the service in which this country has believed in preparedness, and Secretary Daniels' task was lighter than that of the Secretary of War.

Nevertheless, blundering and incapable men in the Navy Department could have covered the navy oceans deep in scandal since the time when Simms sailed for Europe. Nothing of the kind has happened, and the Secretary is entitled to the country's—and George Harvey's—approval.

So far, according to our recollection, our own navy has sunk the same number of our ships as the Germans, but this circumstance should be regarded perhaps as mere evidence of equal efficiency. In any case, it is undoubtedly the fact that the navy has been in far better shape than the army for years; otherwise it could hardly have withstood the shock of its present administration. The "investigation" referred to was merely a friendly frame-up instigated at an opportune moment by the Secretary himself. Nobody had asked for it, nobody wanted it, nobody was com-

plaining. In fact, considering the stupid and shifty policy which has handicapped it since 1912, the inadequate navy was doing extremely well,—and we cordially acquiesce in our contemporary's judgment that, since actual hostilities began, Mr. Daniels has done much better than his previous record had led one to expect.

The German Government reminds its "reptile press" (Bismarck's phrase) that "we do not wish to underestimate the ability of America to accomplish things, but must not, on the other hand, overestimate it." With an uncomfortable recollection of a certain imperial remark about England's "contemptible little army."

We all know of *Libre Belgique*, the anonymous periodical which is secretly published and circulated in Brussels, and a copy of which is regularly found on the desk of the German Governor-General every Monday morning. Very few copies of the paper get out of Belgium, as it is a capital offence to have the paper in one's possession; and of course its chief object in life is to get under the Teutonic skin. Here is one arrow that must have drawn blood:

Once upon a time Dr. Bethman-Holweg went up to heaven. The pearly gates were shut, but he began to push his way through in the usual German fashion. St. Peter rushed out of his lodge much annoyed at the commotion.

"Hi? there, who are you?" he demanded.

"I am Dr. Von Bethman-Holweg, the Imperial Chancellor," was the haughty reply.

"Well, you don't seem to be dead; what are you doing around here?"

"I want to see God."

"Sorry," replied St. Peter, "but I don't think you can see him to-day; in fact, he's not very well."

"Ah, I'm distressed to hear that," said the Chancellor somewhat more politely. "What seems to be the trouble?"

"We don't quite know, but we are afraid it is a case of exaggerated ego," answered St. Peter. "He keeps walking up and down, occasionally striking his chest with his clenched fist, and muttering to himself: 'I am the Kaiser! I am the Kaiser!'"

"Dear me! that is really very sad," said the Chancellor in a still kindlier tone. "Now I happen to be the bearer of a communication from my Imperial Master; perhaps it might cheer him up to hear it."

"What is it?"

"Why, the Emperor has just issued a decree, providing that in future He shall have the use of the nobiliary particle; from henceforth he will have the right to call himself 'Von Gott'."

"Step right in, your Excellency," interrupted St. Peter. "I am very sure the new Graf will be much gratified to learn of the honor done him. Third door to the right. Mind the step. Thank you."

Is it Bolsheviki, or Bocheviki?

The imperially inspired *Vossische Zeitung* affects to discern in Lloyd George's statement of the Allies' peace terms—or war aims; the same thing—"proof of England's weakness." At Donelson, if we remember aright, Buckner complained of Grant's "unconditional surrender" summons as "ungenerous," but we cannot recall that he interpreted it as a confession of weakness. But Mark Tapley himself was immersed in dolorous and inconsolable gloom by the side of the jocund optimism of old "Tante Voss."

The chief question concerning the disposition to be made of la follette seems to be a revival of Hamlet's problem, "whether 'twere better to endure the ills we have, or fly to others that we know not of." That is to say, Shall we endure the humiliation of retaining the pompadoured Bolsheviki in the august chamber once honored by the presence of "Billy" Mason and "Jim" Martine; or shall we expel him and thus incur the pestilential nuisance of his posings and ululations as a martyr? It would be sweet riddance if some modern Cicero could prevail upon him to play the Catalinian part of yelling "I go!" and suiting the action to the word. We'll run the risk of his adding "but I r-r-return!"

Must we, then, camouflage the clock? To the principle of the "daylight saving" scheme we give hearty assent; as a war measure and as a peace measure, too. We ourselves have often practiced it by rising to hoe the bean-patch while our neighbors were still seeking "a little more sleep, a little more slumber." It is illogical and wasteful to sleep in daylight in the morning and then to work by lamplight in the evening. We are told by experts in the higher mathematics that by shifting the day's operations forward one hour, from April to September, there would be effected in fuel alone a saving of \$40,000,000 a year. In these times of conservation and economy that sum is not to be sneezed at, or yawned at either. The only question is, whether to make such a saving it is necessary to monkey with the dial and say that it is twelve o'clock noon when as a matter of fact it is only eleven o'clock *ante meridian*. The advocates of chronological camouflage seem to think that it is too much to expect of people that they will get up at six o'clock while it is called six, but that if we should only take to calling it seven o'clock, getting out of bed would instantly and spontaneously become as easy as the proverbial rolling off a log. Maybe; though we must confess that we never yet have succeeded in making vinegar taste sweet by calling it molasses. Why not shift the operations but let the names of the hours remain truthful? If the commuters' train begins running at 7.30 instead of 8.30, and the bank opens at 8 instead of 9, we reckon that the commuting bank clerk will get up at six instead of seven, even though it continues to be called six; and so, *mutatis mutandis*, all round the clock. Let us save daylight—and oil and gas and electricity, too, not to mention our eyes—by all means; but also let us consider whether the psychology of indolence or of energy will not permit us to do so without saying that six is seven and twelve is one when we know all the time that it isn't so.

We believe in freedom of teaching. But the tears which we shed over dismissed college professors would be immeasurably more copious if those gentlemen did not so assiduously and with so high a degree of success devote themselves to the task of vindicating the wisdom and the justice of their dismissal.

From an American army bulletin board, "somewhere in France":

"After a raid by Germans on trenches held by American troops, a lone sentry was found with his throat cut from ear to ear. He had been surprised by an overwhelming force of Germans, and must have been so killed after capture. Such brutality is familiar to old soldiers who served against savages in the Philippine campaign."

But isn't it rather rough on the Filipinos to compare them with Germans?

"Forty millions of the masses are starving," says *Vorwaerts*, of Berlin, "and are unlikely to sit silent. We might have within a month an absolute catastrophe in Germany, and a collapse even worse than Russia."

"Now stab and end the creature—to the heft!"

The name of the manufacturer who made shoes with paper filled soles for our army, and the name of the inspector who approved the rubbish, are said to be known to the government. It might be interesting to have them made public, together with a pious admonition "don't nail his ears to the pump."

"It is not desired," say the German government, "to discuss or even to mention the German importations from abroad, especially from Holland." No; it is much more desirable, from the Bocheviki point of view, to dwell upon the iniquity of our putting an embargo upon exports to Holland of goods which Holland doesn't want but which Germany sorely needs as sinews of war.

The decision of the Supreme Court upholding the constitutionality of the conscription act is of course as gratifying as it was inevitable. But in some respects it seems much like a grave pronouncement to the effect that two and two make four—which indeed it might in some circumstances be desirable to make. As we understand it, the parties who assailed the act conceded that the Constitution gives Congress "power to raise and support armies," but denies that it therefore gave it power to compel men to serve in the armies. How an army is to be raised without in some way gathering men to compose it, they unfortunately omitted to explain; which was the fatal weakness of their case. Moreover, they lacked the neutral virtue of originality. There is an ancient and horrible example of a man who was "for the law but against its enforcement."

There is much virtue in a House of Lords. Sir John Jellicoe, the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, having proved himself so incompetent that even the long suffering English will have no more of him, is kicked upstairs and lands gracefully on the red cushions of the gilded chamber. Thus there is always a way of disposing of the unfit. The House of Lords is a sort of snug harbor for mental derelicts. When a man has been a conspicuous failure in diplomacy or politics, as a military commander or at sea, his "eminent and very distinguished services" are rewarded by a peerage, and in the House of Lords he is quite harmless and can maunder on to his heart's content.

But we are not so much concerned with the new peer as we are with his successor at the Admiralty. Sir Rosslyn Wemyss now controls the British Navy, and if the Jellicoe policy of over caution is to be succeeded by aggressive action more in harmony with the traditions of Drake and Nelson we shall welcome the change. The British Navy, reinforced by the Italian, French and American Navies, with the division of Japanese torpedo boat destroyers now operating in European waters, vastly outnumbers the German and Austrian Navies and is superior in tonnage and guns; and while we recognize the difficulties the Entente Navies have had to face, less of the Jellicoe policy of excessive safety for ships and more of the "damn-the-torpedoes-go-ahead" spirit of Farragut would, in the long run, make for safety. Eventually the greatest naval battle in history will be fought in the North Sea and the British and German Navies must fight to the death. The result is not in doubt if Beatty is a reincarnated Nelson and the Admiralty gives him a free hand, but the battle may be repetition of the Jutland action if the Jellicoe tactics are again employed and the engagement is broken off when the enemy is defeated but is permitted to escape annihilation because his opponent dare not risk his ships.

When a man commits treason, whether his act directly involves the killing of anybody or not, he incurs the penalty of death. When a man conspires or plans for the killing of other men, whether his act is treason or not, he incurs the penalty of death. When he commits both these crimes, treason and murder, or attempt at murder, in the same act, he doubly incurs the penalty of death. We are not blood-thirsty, nor enamoured of capital punishment; but we humanely and mercifully believe that there are times when an inexorable enforcement of the extreme penalty of the law operates ultimately to save rather than to destroy life.

With arms factories shut down or running on half time, and the men in our training camps drilling with wooden guns and those in France fighting with borrowed cannon, efficiency seems to be a trifle below par.

To adapt the words of John Paul Jones: "We have not yet begun to fight."

The Time Is Not Yet

THOSE who have read into every statement of war aims that has been made in the past year or two the beginnings of a negotiated peace naturally have no difficulty in performing that feat with regard to Lloyd George's speech before the Trade Union Conference. The statement contained in that speech is a little more detailed than former expositions of the purposes of Britain and her Allies; it disavows possibly a little more strongly any intention to annihilate Germany or destroy the "great position" she has occupied in the world—except as regards "hopes and schemes of military domination"; it states a little more explicitly—though still very far from definitely or accurately—the settlement that will be demanded of territorial questions; and it does very greatly restrict and tone down, though it by no means entirely abandons, the warning of economic discrimination after the war issued by the famous Paris economic conference. But after all is said and done, the statement makes no approach whatever to the terms set forth by Count Czernin at the Brest-Litovsk conference; and insofar as it mentions those terms at all, it is to wave them aside. In the main, they are pronounced to be "deplorably vague," and in the "one point" in which they are "perfectly clear and definite," their insistence on the return of the whole of the German colonies, they are declared to be impossible of acceptance. "Before any negotiations can even be begun," such are the Prime Minister's closing words on Count Czernin's move, "the Central Powers must realize the essential facts of the situation. The days of the treaty of Vienna are past. We can no longer submit the future of the European situation to the arbitrary decision of a few negotiators."

But, it may be urged, this is the way diplomats always talk; the pretense that there is no standing ground for negotiation is a regular part of the game. Let us look, then, beyond the mere disclaimer. Let us even waive consideration of such demands for territorial settlements as the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the giving up of Italia Irredenta by Austria, the creation of an independent Poland; far as these things are from Count Czernin's terms, it might be argued that there are ways of procuring modifications of all these matters—that a compromise is somewhat possible. However that may be, there remains in Lloyd George's statement that which has been the essence of every statement that has been issued from any authoritative quarter in Britain or France as to the results which must beyond question be achieved. Germany must abandon her pretensions to domination; she must make reparation to the victims of her most shameless crimes; and the menace of her overshadowing power must be forever removed. Indemnities, indeed, in the sense of compensation for the colossal expenses of warfare, are not demanded, nor have they ever been; but reparation, not only for the purpose of redressing as far as possible the injuries done to innocent victims, but also for the purpose of vindicating public right and re-establishing the sanctions of international law, is insisted upon as strongly as ever. "Unless international right is recognized," said Lloyd George, "by insistence on payment for injury done in defiance of its canons, it can never be a reality." Nowhere is there to be found any sign of retraction of the vital terms contained in Mr. Asquith's brief declaration of three years ago, and repeatedly reaffirmed since that time by the heads of both the British and the French governments.

All this Lloyd George demands; and not the faintest trace of this did the Czernin proposal contain. Yet even that proposal has been regarded by the most influential elements in Germany as a confession of defeat, except insofar as it has been looked upon solely in the light of a bait to catch the Russians, or a trick to make confusion among the Entente Allies. Clearly, the kind of peace demanded by Lloyd George would not receive a moment's consideration, in the present situation of affairs, at the hands of any element in the German Empire, unless it be the in-

significant body that may be infected with the Bolshevik spirit. Short of revolution, the only possible way to get a hearing for the fundamental demands once more reiterated by the British Prime Minister will be through the defeat of the German power. No form of persuasion, no manipulation of words however skilful, nothing but dire and unmistakable necessity, could bring the present rulers of Germany, or even any considerable section of the German people, to submit to that which has once more been declared to be the indispensable condition of a peace that could be accepted by the Allies.

At this particular time there was special reason for making the elaborate statement which the British Prime Minister has put before his people and the world. Yet, after all, the necessity, or the supposed necessity, of the statement was essentially of the same nature as that which has occasioned previous declarations of the same sort. There is a constant rumbling demand for re-statement of war aims or peace terms; and from time to time some combination of circumstances accentuates the demand, and makes it necessary for statesmen to satisfy the feeling behind it. This was Lloyd George's task, and the task has been well done. But it has been well done not because it has added very much to what we knew before, not because it has changed in any very important particular our understanding of what was to be demanded, but simply because it has once more laid the ghost of vague suspicions and quited the restless and ill-considered yearning for an impossible precision of definition. Among men of sense it has not encouraged the hope of a negotiated peace in the near future. Had it given encouragement to that hope, it would have done not good, but harm. It would not have brought peace nearer, but have put it farther off. For it would have promoted the dangerous delusion that we may possibly attain the peace for which the world has been suffering its unspeakable agony by any other means than that of compelling Germany to accept it as the result of manifest and thoroughgoing defeat.

Congress And The Railroads

IN two important respects, the Administration's Railway Control bill is being subjected to determined objection. The question of the determination of profits and the question of the cessation of Government control both bid fair to cause serious controversy. Unanimous as had been the approval with which the taking over of the railroads by the President was greeted, evident as had been the readiness of all parties—the railroads, the labor men, and the general public—to waive all special preferences in a genuine desire to coöperate for the common good and for the winning of the war, it was inevitable, and it was right, that when it came to a formulated legislative scheme the cardinal points of that scheme should be earnestly scrutinized, and that opposing views upon them should be resolutely put forward and maintained. The essential thing—absolute control by the Government for all purposes dictated by the war emergency—is an accomplished fact; there is no need of breathless haste in taking any additional step.

The first of the two questions above referred to is one of great complexity, and we do not desire here to express any opinion upon it. But the second question—that of the provision in the bill which relates to the time during which Government control shall continue—is at once of the highest moment and of the utmost simplicity. Section 12 of the bill provides that "the Federal control shall continue for and during the period of the war *and until Congress shall thereafter order otherwise.*" The words here italicized are objected to on the ground that they are calculated to bring about automatically—in other words, without any action of Congress explicitly intended for that end—the permanent transfer of the railroads of the country to the absolute control of the Federal Government. That this would be almost tantamount to Government ownership, and that it would inevitably be followed within a short time

by actual Government ownership, is too obvious to need insisting on. And it ought to be clear to every right-minded person that, whatever the merits of the question of Government ownership, it is not one which ought to be decided—or even half-decided—in any such insidious way.

It is quite true that Congress would have the power at any moment to bring Federal control to an end and restore the railroads to the management of their owners. But this would require affirmative action; it would open up all manner of questions, which might easily make that restoration practically impossible. Possession is nine points of the law, and the Federal Government is, by the language of Section 12, placed in possession indefinitely. The natural, the honest thing, if there is no purpose of slipping this great change through by indirection, is to have the railroads revert to the control of their owners automatically, either at the close of the war or at some other time defined in the bill. One amendment has been offered in the Senate fixing the close of the war as the time, and another putting it at six months after the close of the war.

It must be admitted that to either of these proposals there exists an objection of great force. The process of returning to the old order will be at best an extremely difficult, and possibly a critical, operation; and furthermore, the conditions which make Government control necessary during the war may, though in a less degree and in a different form, persist for much more than six months after peace has been declared. And, though Congress would have power to extend the operation of the act, it may be objected that there would be doubt and difficulty at a time when every unnecessary doubt and difficulty should be earnestly avoided. But there is an extremely simple method by which this objection can be completely obviated and every possible requirement of the situation can be met. There is no need either of having permanent Government ownership furtively slipped on to the country, or of having temporary Government control brought to a stop with a jerk at a date rigidly fixed in advance.

The time when Federal control should cease might, subject to a maximum limit, perfectly well be left to the discretion of the President. During the operation of the act, it is to his discretion, or that of his appointee, that the decision of all the vast questions of railroad transportation is left. Whatever in his judgment the public welfare requires to be done or to be left undone, that he can order the railroads to do or to leave undone. Just as he is entrusted with the power of deciding what necessity exists, so he might be entrusted with the power of deciding—within reasonable bounds—when the necessity has ceased to exist. Let Section 12 be made to read “the Federal control shall continue for and during the period of the war and for such time thereafter, not exceeding ———, as in the judgment of the President shall be necessary for the public welfare,” the blank being filled up with the words “six months,” or “one year,” or “two years,” or whatever may sincerely be thought requisite to cover the process of transition. If this amendment were offered, it would be impossible for any man to insist on the retention of Section 12 as it stands without acknowledging that his real purpose is to obtain snap judgment for government ownership—in other words, to compass by a trick, without the possibility of real discussion and under cover of a false pretense of war necessity, one of the most momentous political and economic changes which the country could possibly be called upon to consider.

A Real Pacifist Against Premature Peace

THERE are, no doubt, “conscientious objectors” who are really conscientious. There are “pacifists” who are not “slackers” but who are entitled to a high degree of respect. Such are, conspicuously, the members of the Society of Friends, with whom non-militarism has been for centuries a cardinal doctrine of faith and practice.

We suppose that no contemporary pacifist of any variety would have the effrontery to pretend to be more peace-loving than the Quakers, and we should doubt if any member of that honored Society would dispute the rank of John Bright as one of its very foremost and most truly representative men in public affairs. Bright was for half a century the chief peace advocate of England, and indeed of the world. It was said of him by his enemies that if a hostile army were to invade England, he would calculate which would be the less expensive in pounds, shillings and pence, to let it remain, or to hire it to withdraw. That was a scurrilous libel upon a great man, as we shall see, but it indicates the intensity of the pacifist principles with which he was credited, and which indeed he cherished; and it is of course a well known fact that he resigned from the British Cabinet and parted political company with one of his closest lifelong friends because that Cabinet had begun a war which he regarded as unnecessary and unjustifiable.

We therefore venture to recall, for the benefit of the conscientious objectors and pacifists of our time, who are eager for the ending of this war on almost if not quite any terms, and whose memories may not comprehend the statesmanship and the philanthropy of Bright, some of the very explicit views of that great man concerning war and peace, from which it is easy to deduce infallibly what would be his attitude toward the present conflict and toward proposals of terms of peace. It was in the time of our own Civil war, and at the time when the first important victories of the National arms had given rise to the thought that peace might be near at hand through a yielding of the Confederacy. Thomas had won Mill Spring, Burnside and Goldsborough had taken Roanoke Island, Foote had reduced Fort Henry, and Grant had electrified the nation by compelling the “unconditional surrender” of Fort Donelson. It was then, with those incidents just announced to him, that Bright wrote to his friend Charles Sumner—what? That he exulted in the prospect of speedy peace? No, but that he dreaded and deprecated it:

“I fear to hear of any surrender on the part of the South at present, fearing that men would be so glad to have peace that they would admit the Slave States again in their fellowship, and that twenty years hence you might find the old disturber still with you.”

So, *mutatis mutandis*, we must believe that were Bright living to-day, with all his vast philanthropy and his love of peace, he would say: “I fear to hear of any peace proposals on the part of the Central Powers, lest men should be so glad to make peace that they would admit Prussian militarism again into their fellowship, and that a few years hence we might find the old disturber still present with us.” Nor was that Bright’s only such utterance, a single one which might have been accidental and not indicative of a state of mind or fixed convictions. A few months later in the same year, just after Malvern Hill, he wrote again to Sumner:

“Nothing in public affairs has ever before made me so anxious as your great conflict. I wish it to end well, but I am not anxious about its ending suddenly.”

The same note was clear in other utterances, at other times. At midsummer of 1863, after the tide had turned at Gettysburg, and after the last futile suggestions of European meddling had been abandoned, he wrote to his old comrade Charles Villiers:

“I am not anxious to see the conspiracy in the States break down too rapidly. . . . Mr. Sumner fears they are going on too fast: so do I. I want no end of the war, and no compromise, and no re-union, till the negro is made free beyond all chance of failure.”

There could be no more logical and reasonable paraphrase of that than to say: “I want no end of the war, and no compromise, till Prussian militarism is crushed, the rights of nations are vindicated, and the world is made safe for democracy beyond all chance of failure.” It would be an insult to Bright’s memory to imagine that he would now assume any other tone than that. Again he made this

clear; writing to Sumner in the late summer of that same year:

"And compromise which gives up the [Emancipation] Proclamation will be the most deplorable event in history. It will be a curse on your reputation which no time can remove."

These were the deliberate judgments of the greatest pacifist and one of the greatest Christian statesmen of his age. There was no abandonment and no relaxation of his abhorrence of war, *per se*. But neither was there any purblind fanaticism about any peace being better than any war. He hated the war, but still more he hated to have it waged in vain. He longed for peace, but still more he longed for a just and righteous peace, the only peace that could offer a promise of permanence. And he held it immeasurably better that the war should continue, no matter how long or at what cost, until such an end could be attained, than that it should prematurely be ended by a compromise which would leave things as they were before. We commend his words and his luminous example to-day to every truly conscientious objector and to every sincere friend of peace.

Secretary Baker's Privy Council

WE regret that the Secretary of War is not more explicit. His announcement that he has created "a War Council within the War Department" is illusive. "The purpose of the War Council," the public has been told, "is to oversee and coördinate all matters of supply of our field armies and the military relations between the armies in the field and the War Department," but this brief extract from the letters patent, if we may so express it, adds to the mystery; especially as "all details as to the council are at the pleasure of the Secretary of War."

We are unable to see the utility of "a War Council within the War Department," unless it is the intention of the Secretary of War to destroy the General Staff, which we do not believe. The purpose for which the War Council has been created, that is, to oversee and coördinate all matters of supply of the armies in the field and the military relations between the armies and the War Department, is the very purpose for which the General Staff was created, and is the recognized function of the General Staff of every military establishment. The Act of Congress creating the General Staff requires that it shall render professional aid and assistance to the Secretary of War, General Officers and other Superior Commanders, and it shall act as their agents in informing and coördinating the action of officers who are subject to the supervision of the Chief of Staff. Furthermore, the Chief of Staff has supervision over all troops of the line, and of all matters pertaining to the command, discipline and administration of the various bureaus, and he performs such other military duties as may be assigned to him by the President. The Chief of Staff is, or properly ought to be, the organizer of the grand plans of strategy to be executed by the army commanders in the field, but he also oversees and coördinates all matters of supply to the armies in the field and is the channel of communication between the Army Commanders and the War Department. Yet with this existing organization Mr. Baker has created another, his War Council, whose announced purpose is to duplicate the work of the General Staff.

It is bad in conception and vicious in execution. It is certain to create friction with the General Staff, lead to a conflict of authority, bring about delay when instant decision is all important, and inevitably result in what is fatal to every grand enterprise, divided responsibility. Even if a War Council is necessary, the method adopted by Mr. Baker is so faulty, so irregular, so suggestive of ridding himself of an incompetent by kicking him upstairs, and withal is of such questionable legality, that it stands con-

demned at the outset. If there are incompetents in the War Department and in the interest of national safety they must be superseded, the means exist by which they can be displaced, but this is not the time, nor does the Secretary of War serve the country by trying to spare their feelings. This is war, and war is not to be won by mistaken kindness.

The Council consists of the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff, the Quartermaster General, the Chief of Coast Artillery, the Chief of Ordnance and the Provost Marshal General. These five officers hold their offices by virtue of their commissions as the heads of their respective departments, which confer upon them the rank of major general. They have been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, their tenure is fixed. They cannot be removed nor demoted by the President or any other authority, but, similar to all other officers, they are subject to trial by court martial. As the heads of their departments they are clothed with certain legal responsibilities.

Obviously there cannot be two Quartermasters General any more than there can be two Secretaries of War. Mr. Baker, with the agility of the resourceful lawyer, meets this trifling objection by recalling General Goethals to active duty as Acting Quartermaster General and promotes General Sharpe, in fact as well as in law Quartermaster General, to be a member of his privy council. We are not over concerned about the niceties of subtle technical legalism, for in an emergency such as this common sense may well be allowed to brush aside the clogging letter of the law while observing its spirit; but what we do see is that Mr. Baker has put another spoke in the wheel of action.

The Council of National Defense has been less useful than it ought to have been, because while it could advise it had no legal power to execute, therefore its recommendations, to be carried into effect, must be referred to the particular department concerned, and the head of that department was the only person who could legally translate the recommendation into the form of a contract or other binding authority. No man responsible for the expenditure of millions, and the even greater responsibility of efficient service, competent to be entrusted with such heavy duties, would affix his signature to a contract without investigation on his own part, with the inevitable result of delay, and often conflict of opinion.

Mr. Baker is seeking to rivet more firmly this indefensible system, to spin more red tape when his first duty should be to declare an embargo on red tape as a non-essential article of commerce. Can General Goethals, Acting Quartermaster General, sign a contract that requires the signature of the Quartermaster General? If not, it requires no great intelligence to predict a voluminous increase of official correspondence, and while red tapeism may be the gainer, wars are not won by the massed attacks of the typewriter. If the War Council is really intended to be the means whereby the war can be won and not merely an added frill on a camouflaged screen to conceal the operations of the War Department from public gaze, the Chief of Staff, already a much overburdened man, will either have to surrender his legitimate duties so as to devote all his time to the War Council or he must try to perform the impossible and divide himself into two parts. There is a limit to all human endurance, and when it is taxed beyond that limit it loses value.

The Secretary of War has we fear, mistaken shadow for substance. A Council of War we believe to be absolutely necessary for the proper prosecution of the war, but in that case it will be a Council not within the War Department but outside of it, to which the War Department, and even the Secretary of War himself, will yield obedience. Mr. Baker has simply created the machinery for greater delay. And of delay we have had enough.

Shipping

EACH American soldier in France will require four tons of shipping to supply him with food, clothing, guns and ammunition if he is to exert his full strength against the Hun. This figure is not the result of guesses. It is the final estimate of the Army officers who are responsible for supplying General Pershing's forces. Four tons, therefore, is the great common denominator which must be kept in mind constantly when calculating the extent of America's participation in the field.

After listening to the testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee which is now investigating the shipping board we are forced to the conclusion that the Allies may be grievously disappointed during the next year because of the board's failure to fulfill promises. There is one hope, Chairman Hurley possesses qualifications of the highest character and it is possible that he may turn out a great fleet before France is beaten to her knees.

Unfortunately none of the distinguished statesmen on the Senate Committee have enough knowledge of shipping to conduct a searching investigation. Their questions are so amateurish that the shipping board representatives have virtually guided the course of the investigation. Much of the time has been spent in discussing the various rows which have disgraced the board. It appears from the testimony of persons connected with the board that the Denman-Goethals row delayed the program three months and two more months were wasted before Rear Admiral Capps resigned. Members of the committee have found it extremely difficult to find a basis upon which to establish the actual progress that is being made or to name a definite date when a considerable number of new ships will take on cargoes. The shipping board, like all other war organizations, has been extremely free with promises, which have not been fulfilled on schedule and Congress is frankly skeptical.

When the immortal Denman startled the world with the glib announcement that he would build 1,000 wooden ships with relative ease the country swallowed his statement only to suffer keen disappointment so that Chairman Hurley's modest promise of 6,000,000 odd tons in a year has been received by the committee more as the expression of an optimist than as a guarantee.

Of course the shipping board wishes it had never heard of Denman or his wooden ships. That section of the wooden ship program which has been laid down in the meadows of the seaboard will be finished some day, but the best informed shipping men here fear that they will make better canal boats than transatlantic cargo carriers.

Chairman Hurley laid before the committee a comprehensive chart showing the present condition of the program. Unfortunately there are so many unknown elements in the equation that the chart cannot be considered with the degree of assurance that ordinary building programs present. In a nutshell the chart shows that contracts have been let for the construction of 8,264,308 tons, including the 3,056,008 tons which were requisitioned by the board while being built to private order.

On its own account the board has contracted for 1,551,900 wooden and composite bottoms and 3,638,400 tons of steel. The board estimates that the requisitioned ships are approximately 40 per cent complete and that the remainder of the program is 7 per cent complete. An attempt was made to ascertain just when the board hoped to commission a specified amount of tonnage, but the committee accepted Admiral Bowles' plea that it would be unwise to publish the dates because that is precisely the information desired at Berlin. Mr. Hurley insists that he will deliver. Many of the best informed marine constructors in the country insist that he cannot deliver.

Our own judgment is that the estimate of Mr. Homer L. Ferguson, the most practical and experienced shipbuilder, of a possible 3,000,000 tons during the year is nearer correct than any other. A pity 'tis, we fear 'tis true.

Give McAdoo a Chance

HAS not Mr. McAdoo enough to do, in all conscience, without being pestered constantly by talk about the Presidency? He has no such ambition. His intimates know that. But he has many friends and admirers throughout the country who are less well informed, and political speculation has ever been an obsession of our people.

Then, too, the mischief-maker, the advocate of this or that candidate no less than the out-and-out antagonistic partisan, is always with us. Ordinarily, moreover, such discussion is illuminating and often helpful to the country in its weighing of men. "Playing politics," too, is our national diversion and is good sport.

But nobody needs to be told that there is nothing ordinary in the present situation. The very life of the Nation is in peril and whatever is said openly or suggested privately that may tend to hamper the work of those charged with its salvation is, in effect, little short of treason. That this is true generally we cannot doubt all thoughtful persons would admit, but the point we wish to make as emphatic as possible is that it applies with peculiar force at this time to Mr. McAdoo. His new task alone is so heavily laden with possible consequences for good or ill that not only the winning of the war but the subsequent well-being of the Republic, through inevitable economic readjustment, hinges in no small degree upon its successful performance. That he is doing and will continue to do the best he can seems to be conceded universally. But he cannot hope to succeed unaided. He must have and, of course, ought to have all the help he can get from both the public and the Press.

Now, then, consider the handicap that is put upon him by aspersion of his motives whenever he finds it necessary, in the exercise of his best judgment, right or wrong as it may prove to be, to take drastic action which affects favorably or unfavorably the selfish interests of a class.

We had an example this week in the howling of shippers at the increase in demurrage charges, clearly designed solely to free cars for service, but attributed by some of those affected and by certain few railway managers as quite unnecessary and only an "advertisement of his superior efficiency."

We shall have another undoubtedly when, as surely he must do to retain the labor requisite to operation, he raises wages to a basis corresponding approximately to that established by the great industrial corporations. "Of course, of course," will be the comment, "catering to the union, reaching for the labor vote," "he has the bug," etc., etc.

And that will be but the beginning of a series of complaints from all who herald loudly the need of making "sacrifices,"—for others to bear. Let him shape his policies solely and vigorously upon considerations of necessity, justice and fairness, and still there is bound to arise in every instance expression of dissatisfaction certain to impair seriously the effect of every act, however commendable in itself, through aspersion of motive.

Here is where the Press can help and help enormously. Let it assume what it has every reason to assume, and what we know to be the fact, that Mr. McAdoo is giving his every thought and his every ounce of energy to the successful performance of his great part in winning the war and in preserving to all the people their inherent rights and justly acquired possessions thereafter. No flicker of imagining, or aspiring to, future political preferment crosses his mind at any moment. He has a tremendous job and is on it to the limit of his capacity, to the complete exclusion of all other considerations, political or personal. For purely selfish reasons, hardly less than from a sense of American fairness and from patriotic purpose, the Press and the public, through the Press, should see to it that he be not fettered by unwarranted and unworthy imputations.



THE PAUPER "CALLS" THE PRINCE

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Week

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1918.

SIMPLY as a matter of form, but in consonance with our custom, we note briefly a tentative transformation of the War College into a Weather Bureau. Unlike the Farmers' Almanack of old, however, the Weekly Report of the Secretary of War refrains from warning us "A-bout this Time ex-pect cold Weath-er" and sticks to facts, which are interesting and probably true. Thus we learn that "unfavorable atmospheric conditions" prevailed on the Western front, that the weather was really "intensely cold," that "deep snow" pervades the mountain zone and "fresh snow" has fallen in the Alpine region and that our own soldiers have been fully protected from the "abnormal cold" by their overcoats and blankets or, as some would say, by their warm shoddy. This is good news, to be sure. It is also as much we could expect to hear that "the equilibrium of battle has been maintained,"—a circumstance which, if we correctly interpret the military phrase, corresponds to our own information. Apparently the official prognosticator was otherwise engaged, mayhap before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs; else, judging from past performances, we would hardly be notified modestly but firmly at the close that "no conclusions can be safely drawn from the latest incidents."

When, two months ago, we said in THE REVIEW that the moment was "the darkest since the battle of the Marne," we were taken severely to task both in Washington and by the Press for "dampening the spirits" of our countrymen. The lickspittles of the Administration were particularly indignant. Unprecedented progress was being made, our regulars were being dispatched to France in safety on

schedule time, the camps were filling up, money was pouring into the treasury in unlimited quantities, everything was running smoothly, minor initial mistakes were being rectified quickly, etc., etc. Indeed, one who beheld or rather who said he beheld any but a roseate hue upon the horizon was an unfair critic, an incorrigible pessimist and little better than a traitor. But we spoke only the truth and we gave our reasons, which since have proved so fully warranted that they need not be recounted. Suffice it to say that the situation abroad has become, as we then declared it was bound to become, steadily worse until America, *which alone could win the war*, should be able to make her power felt. How completely this disquieting prophecy has been fulfilled appears from the statement of Sir Auckland Geddes which has come as a shock to so many people. The British army, he tells us bluntly, is "melting away" and recruiting has "broken down"; nearly half a million more men must be had almost immediately and can be drawn only from the million who had been held in essential occupations; boys and women must take their places, despite the amazing fact that 815,000 women are engaged in munition work; numerically, even, the Allied armies are now only "on equal terms" with the enemy's and cannot achieve superiority until "the full force of America" shall come into play; nevertheless, "notwithstanding the defection of Russia, the resources of the Allies and America are sufficient to assure victory, and nothing but a psychological catastrophe can save the central powers"; that is to say, of course, if they can be mobilized in time.

So it all comes back to our derided insistence of nine long months ago that it was "up to America" and no less up to the President, who had demanded and obtained full authority to *win the war*. "*Vite, vite*," we dinced ceaselessly into the ears of all who condescended to listen while those in control, after the fashion of the Secretary of the Navy, who as late as August could not determine a policy "until we know whether this is to be an offensive or a defensive war," complacently pursued their languorous way. And now, when Britain is debating whether she shall send old men or schoolboys into the trenches, what have we in France? "A substantial force," answers the elusory Secretary of War, and we are not permitted to note the number even approximately, although nearly everybody, including, of course, the enemy, knows full well. All, however, are not aware that, during the very period when the universal cry was for "ships, ships," the ships that we had were not sailing full. In his annual report the Secretary of War declared, for once, unequivocally and exultantly that the activities of his Department "have resulted in the transport of an army to France fully equipped, with adequate

reserves of equipment and subsistence, and with those large quantities of transportation appliances, motor vehicles, railroad construction supplies and animals, all of which are necessary for the maintenance and effective operation of the force." But now we read in the *Army and Navy Journal*, under the heading "Directions by the Secretary of War," the following:

The Secretary of War has pointed out that recently several organizations have been reported as fully equipped and prepared for duty overseas. Such organizations have been reported as ready to the chief of embarkation and later, when orders were received to move them to the port of embarkation, and in one case actually to place such organizations on vessels, report has been received that the organizations were not fully equipped. These incorrect reports, the Secretary states, interfere greatly with the duties required at the port of embarkation and may, if not corrected, result in holding up the sailing of vessels, or in their sailing without full passenger lists.

How true it is that sailings have been postponed constantly and that ship after ship has left port "without full lists," is known to everybody who has had occasion to inquire. Undoubtedly there has been and is a great shortage of ships, despite the cheering assurance, subsequently officially denied, that one new one was about to leave the ways; but there has also been a shortage of men and equipment.

And that raises the question why our "substantial force" of regulars are not more actively engaged. That they are not participating to any extent is evidenced by the small number of casualties reported,—assuming as, of course, we do, that the Department is adhering strictly to its promise to hold none back. The answer is that a very large percentage are not regulars at all, but are recruits, for whose intensive training General Pershing has not considered five months sufficient. And that is why England is being driven to her last desperate recourse and that France is becoming suspicious of glowing American promises, while our own Government continues to lag and lag and split hairs in committee rooms over "reorganizations" in management, soon, maybe, to be undertaken.

That all this is disheartening to a degree goes without saying; but the cause is not far to seek. It is sheer self-sufficiency based upon incorrigible optimism. Comment upon the jaunty Mr. Baker's flippant testimony must, as a matter of fairness and propriety, await his final appearance before the Committee, and there is no occasion at the moment to discourse upon the anti-knitting crusade of Mr. Daniels. Rather, by way of pleasing contrast, let us take to heart this succinct and sturdy utterance of Secretary Lansing to the New York State Bar Association:

This statement of the aims of this country in entering the war has not been received with favor by our German friends, and yet, unless we achieve these aims, we have no sure foundation on which to build an enduring peace. Unless these aims are accepted by the Prussian government this war must go on. We are in this war as a republic to the very end. The aims which we seek are to be achieved, and they will be achieved.

My message is: Let us all have courage. We are going on with this war. We must win it for the sake of humanity, and we will win it.

Passing the point as to the fittingness of the term "friends" as applied to the unspeakable Huns, these are good words, straightforward, determined and inspiring—worthy, we were going to say but of course shall not, of a Gardner or a Roosevelt. And yet even Mr. Lansing, in the course of his remarks, felt called upon, possibly from a sense of loyalty to his colleagues, to dilate upon the serene confidence which pervades the atmosphere of Washington. Not that he painted a false picture. Far from it. The pacifist official continues to cherish the illusion which we depicted in December, when we "frankly doubted" whether "either the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy has really believed until quite recently, or per-

haps believes even now, that this country would ever have an army of millions fighting in Europe"; hence the constant chatter of peace, peace, hardly surpassed in detriment to the cause by the most insidious propaganda. How the clear-visioned President can abide such associations, unless it be, indeed, his habit of mind to consider that when he says a thing must be done it is done, we simply cannot understand. Perhaps it is just as well.

The outcome of the inquiry into the ordnance condition of the navy by the House Naval Committee would be highly gratifying but for the well grounded suspicion that it was devised for whitewashing purposes to avert a thorough investigation. Chairman William Bacon Oliver of Alabama, whose acquaintance with life on the billowy wave seems to have been acquired chiefly in cradles in Eutaw and sea-going hacks in Tuscaloosa, naturally manifested suitable humility in the presence of a Secretary of the Navy who was brought up on Contentnea creek and accepted without question what his partisan and personal friend told him. Even so, as we remarked last week, the report was better than might logically have been anticipated, and we cannot see that the highly critical Mr. Britten made any serious dents in it. True, the number of craft of all sizes and shapes now in commission would have been four times larger if the recommendation of the General Board had been heeded in time, but for this deficiency the Secretary is no more responsible than the President. Both were as well satisfied in 1914 as they now seem to be in 1918. Nevertheless it is a comfort to hear even from a prejudiced source that such ships as we have are fairly well equipped with all kinds of ordnance material and that the few which have been sent abroad have acquitted themselves creditably. We were particularly interested and, truth to tell, somewhat amused by the peculiar emphasis with which the Secretary announced that the navy away back in April tested, adopted and now has in use in considerable quantity the very machine gun which his congenial colleague, the Secretary of War, rejected. We would not, however, assume that striking contrast was intended. Indeed, as we remarked at the beginning, but for Chairman's preliminary statement which induced the *Sun* to infer that "the inquiry was inspired to some extent by the Navy Department and intended to glorify the navy" and the *Herald* to conclude that it was "regarded as a proceeding to inspire the confidence of the people," we should be rather more than pleased with the demonstration; it simply happens that an obvious frame-up is never wholly convincing.

The President and the Secretary of War are reported to be opposed to the adoption of universal military training, at least until after the close of the present war. An interesting gloss is placed upon that record by the announcement that throughout Germany boys are being more rigorously trained than ever before in military arts and practice, so that the next generation of men will be if possible even more warlike than the present.

There's nothing like absolute precision of statement. To say that a training camp is without machine guns, when as a matter of fact there are two guns there for the use of the 40,000 men, is grossly incorrect and an unwarranted aspersion upon the energy and efficiency of the War Department.

In pretty nearly every case of sabotage, of disloyal conspiracy, or other such deviltry, *cherchez le Boche!*

When the Secretary of War makes the oracular pronouncement that "if you are omniscient and have an omnipotent man to run things, you have the ideal," he may be saying, like the poet's katydid, "an undisputed thing in *such* a solemn way,"—or flippant way, as you please,—but he must at least be absolved from the suspicion of talking about himself.

No portable camp kitchens have yet been provided for the army, presumably because there is not yet need of them. Preparedness, you see, consists in waiting until men are howling for dinner, and then advertising for bids to build kitchens in which to do the cooking.

Rising up from the *Lusitania* massacre, the murder of Edith Cavell, the extermination of the Armenians, and the wholesale ravishing of the women of Belgium and northern France, the Blond Beast indignantly exclaims that the American peace proposals are "brutal." Is it not, indeed, brutal to come between the hyena and his prey?

"America," says Mr. Lansing, "never has put her hands to a task but she accomplished it. All we have to do is to clench our fists and set our jaws and go to it with all our might." That was an impressive utterance, quite in the good old "manifest destiny to whip all creation" style. But it lost half its "punch" from not being accompanied with a "movie" of one of Mr. Lansing's colleagues in the act of clenching his fists and setting his jaws and going to it with all his might, to the tune of "Pat-a-cake, pat-a-cake, Baker man!"

"We now have nine Browning guns."—*Secretary Baker to the Senate committee.*

Nine little Browning guns, nine months after date;
One was for a pattern kept, and then there were eight.

Eight little Browning guns, primed to belch the levin;
One got a cartridge jammed, and then there were seven.

Seven little Browning guns, in the war to mix;
One went to training camp, and then there were six.

Six little Browning guns at the port arrive;
One was taken for a fair, and then there were five.

Five little Browning guns, waiting on the shore;
One found no ship-board room, and then there were four.

Four little Browning guns, sailing o'er the sea;
One got the *mal de mer*, and then there were three.

Three little Browning guns seeking derring-do;
One got lost in Gay Paree, and then there were two.

Two little Browning guns, shooting at the Hun;
One mired in Flanders mud and then there was one.

One little Browning gun, shooting all alone;
B---r sought a souvenir, and then there was none!

General Pershing, speaking with authority and by the card, says: "The general charges of drunkenness and depravity among the soldiers are utterly without foundation. Characterize them as false." And a most trustworthy correspondent, referring to official reports, adds: "In the whole command the latest reports show only three-tenths of one per cent of the men have contracted venereal diseases." By way of contrast, we shall print the report of the Secretary of the Navy—when we receive it.

The scarcity of wool, and the alleged consequent necessity of clothing our soldiers in shoddy, give point to the facts of record that there are 1,200,000 fewer sheep in the United States to-day than at the beginning of the war, that our production of wool has been steadily decreasing from 321,362,750 pounds in 1910 to 285,573,000 pounds in 1917, and that at present sheep are kept on the average on only one farm in seven. If the moral of those figures is not obvious to the nation, it ought to be. The sheep is so gentle and inoffensive a creature that we should think that even pacifists would be willing to raise it.

The storied essay on the snakes of Ireland comes to mind in looking toward the war on the eastern front. There is no war on the eastern front. Neither can we truly say that there is peace. Perhaps we might compromise by saying that there is Bolshevism. A truce, in which one side keeps its forces in full efficiency, shifts them about at will, and remains ready to renew the fighting with increased vigor at a moment's notice, while the other side stops its munitions factories, dismantles its fortifications, and demobilizes its forces and sends the soldiers home—yes, that is Bolshevism. Over here, when it took the form of keeping the nation unprepared while another was preparing to attack us, we spoke of it as anti-militarism. "You calls your names, and you makes your choice."

The Bolsheviks are consistent in one thing, at any rate, in their demand for German evacuation of Riga and Libau. To make peace without such evacuation would be self-stultification. It would be repudiation of the fundamental principle for which they have been contending. Their cry has been for peace without forcible annexations. But to go on and make peace while the Germans are in possession of some of the most important parts of the country would be flat repudiation of that principle.

A brilliant Englishman in this country once explained the difference between the business and political world thus. He said: "You have a very high standard of individual efficiency in this country and a low order of community efficiency. And in times like these you try your community activity by your standards of individual activity." Is the making of war a totally different thing from the making of steel and copper so that the "he-men" from the steel and copper world would not do in Washington? The business executive is essentially an autocrat while the political department head thinks always of his masters, of the public and what it will think, of Congress and the investigation it will make. He plays safe and then Congress does investigate and find him wanting. What will the war do? Bring into the government service the successful executives of the industrial world or develop a new type of political executive who will raise the standard of community activity? If government control is to remain after the war extended as it is now, a new standard of governmental efficiency must be set.

William the Damned says that in God the German nation has an ally "on whom it absolutely can rely." Reverently speaking, the Almighty must be grateful and flattered at such a testimonial to His trustworthiness.

The venerable President Emeritus of Harvard purposes to keep, or to enshrine in the University Library, the first class decoration of the Crown of Prussia which the Kultured Kaiser gave him in 1902, because it was given to him not as an individual but as the President of Harvard who was concerned with the establishment of the system of professorial exchange between that University and the University of Berlin. We beg to amend by saying that he was the President of Harvard who was gulled into being victimized by the great bunko game through which the poison of Prussian propaganda was injected into American intellectual life. As a memento of that achievement, the decoration is to be appropriately appraised.

"If the person known as Walter Spoermann, arrested in the act of setting a fuse to blow up a naval magazine at Norfolk, proves to be an officer of the German navy or the German army, as he is commonly reported, or if he is one of the persons left in this country by Boy-Ed or Papen to continue their dirty work, no time should be wasted in turning him over to a firing squad or placing around his neck a strong herpen noose."—*The Herald*. And yet can anybody picture Newton D. Baker signing a death warrant?

The New and Old Diplomacy

LORD READING is doubly to be welcomed; as good old Samuel Taylor Coleridge would have said, "in Sum-m-ject and in Om-m-ject." Subjectively, of course; because of his most agreeable and accomplished personality, and because both in his recent distinguished estate and in the antecedents thereof he so strongly appeals to American social and political predilections. If it were truly to be said of any of us, as we o'er truly said of the Enchanter of Erin, that "we dearly love a Lord," why, who more acceptable could be sent to us than a belted earl? But seeing that we are all quite agreed that

"The rank is but the guinea's stamp;
The man's the gowd for a' that,"

nobody could be more fitly welcomed than an envoy who was a man before he was a peer, and who is a conspicuous example of the increasing number of eminent British statesmen who have risen from the ranks through sheer force of intrinsic merit. It is an auspicious omen of the world-wide campaign for Democracy that both the Prime Minister and the most important Ambassador of the ancient British Kingdom are essential exponents of that principle.

We must be pardoned, however, if we dwell even more upon the objective features of Lord Reading's advent, and regard his appointment as one of the most delicate and tactful of compliments that British *savoir faire* could possibly have paid to us. For while it involves a new departure in British diplomatic practice, it is in fact a reversion to an ancient and honorable practice in American diplomacy, and to one, moreover, most intimately associated with the early relations between this country and the two great powers which are now chief among its allies.

We do not recall that hitherto the British Government has sent the Lord Chief Justice, who is the second highest judicial officer of the realm, upon a diplomatic mission, intending that he shall fulfil the latter while still retaining the former function. Yet we have a most vivid and grateful recollection that our own government did almost precisely that very thing, on two memorable occasions; the slight difference being that it sent each time not its second highest but its very highest judicial officer, to wit, in turn, the first two Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

It was to Great Britain that John Jay was sent as a special envoy, at the same time that he was Chief Justice, on a mission of the highest importance. He held the two offices concurrently, though he did not, we believe, exercise his judicial functions at so long range. Neither would he accept salary as Chief Justice for the period of his diplomatic absence; which was no novelty for him, seeing that on former occasions he had not merely paid his own way in the government's service but had in addition footed some of the government's own bills. And the precedent of thus employing a Chief Justice, established by our first President, was considered so good a one that it was promptly followed by our second President, who sent our second Chief Justice, Oliver Ellsworth, on a special diplomatic mission to France.

These two diplomats from the Bench acquitted themselves so well, both judicially and judiciously, that we are not sure that we can wish Lord Reading anything better than success equal to theirs. We can and do, however, bespeak for him a more just measure of appreciation on the part of his own countrymen than at least one of ours enjoyed; and we know that he is in no danger of the embarrassment with which the other of ours was threatened on the part of the country to which he was accredited. He will not have to wait, as Ellsworth did, for formal assurances that he will be received; so much we can guarantee. And we do not think that on his return to Great Britain he will be confronted upon the hoardings of London with anything like what Jay had flaunted at him from Robert Treat Paine's front fence in Boston:

"Damn John Jay! Damn everyone that won't damn John Jay!! Damn everyone that won't put lights in his windows and sit up all night damning John Jay!!!"

To what further extent British diplomacy will take leaves from the American book is a question of most interesting speculation. That we have set other examples of surpassing interest, and of quite antipodeal contrast, is beyond dispute. In the case of Jay, we took one of our very highest officers of state, of long and approved experience, whose unsurpassed fitness was a matter of practically universal assent. In the case of Colonel House, we have taken one of no office whatever, of a minimum of experience, and of a fitness which may indeed be quite unequalled but which all the nation must believe in simply on the personal confidence of the Executive who has chosen him to be his guide, philosopher and friend. Yet it may be that Colonel House will achieve a success far greater than that of Jay or Ellsworth. So let us hope and pray!

It is, indeed, gratifying to testify that the latest achievements of this novel system of unofficial diplomacy-at-large afford encouraging promise of high success; a success measured only by the ability or the willingness of the diplomat to remain at the scene of duty. We could not, of course, apply to Colonel House the equivocal definition of an Ambassador given by Henry Wotton. But greatly as his presence is prized at home, it must be generally recognized that his services abroad have been of so high an order that his continuance there would have been more promising of good than his return. His personal presence can scarcely be so indispensable to the President as to make it necessary to forego the value of his service in the foreign field.

However, we were considering him, not *per se* but as a precedent, possibly to be followed by Great Britain, as those of Jay and Ellsworth have been. The suggestion opens a vista of engaging possibilities, and of speculation as to who in Great Britain would be regarded as an equivalent to our versatile Ambassador-at-Large. Yet such speculation is probably as futile as it is attractive and piquant, since, as it took British diplomacy considerably more than a hundred years to adopt the precedent of Jay and Ellsworth, it is likely to be well on toward the middle of the next century before it essays to favor us with a similitude of Colonel House.

The Lumber-room of Europe

AMERICAN interest in the Balkans may be sentimental, but some sentiments are particularly strong. It was an American institution, Robert College, that first instructed modern Bulgars in the principles of free government and the rights of man. It was through the valor and devotion of two Americans, Eugene Schuyler and John Aloysius MacGahan, that the Turkish atrocities of forty-odd years ago were made known to the world and intervention was brought about. If we had no other title, these things alone would be ample ground for our insisting upon a voice in the equitable clearing up of that "lumber-room of Europe."

That phrase is happily designed, as none know better than the many Americans who for these many years have taken an intelligent interest in Balkan affairs. In no other part of the world are problems of nationality more intricate and vexing. In no other similar area are there so many conflicting claims, geographical, historical, ethnological, ecclesiastical, linguistic, and what not. Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, successively, have each possessed nearly the whole of it; have placed and left their impress upon it; and maintain to this day some valid interest there. And they three are of three different racial stocks, quite antipathetic each toward both the others. The difficulty of partitioning the peninsula among them justly and satisfactorily is undoubtedly very great; which is not to admit for a moment that it is insuperable.

Two salient, dominant facts appear. One is, that the great powers have never honestly tried to solve the problem. They ignored it down to 1875. Then, forced to deal with it in some way, in 1878 they made a treaty which was a travesty. So little regard had they for the integrity of their own work that when a German prince asked the advice of the German Chancellor as to acceptance of the crown of that Principality of Bulgaria which that Congress had created, Bismarck with contemptuous irony replied, "Oh, take it. It will be an agreeable souvenir!" The whole treaty was made not for the welfare of the Balkan peoples and not with regard for their rights, but for the sordid profit of the great powers. Moreover, it was made with the deliberate purpose that its ostensible aims should be defeated, and immediately thereafter the two great powers most directly concerned assiduously set to work to assure and to expedite that defeat. Russia undertook to make Bulgarian autonomy a failure, and Austria-Hungary similarly strove to compass the downfall of Serbian independence.

In these malign aims those powers did not succeed. But they did impede the progress of the Balkan States, and promoted animosities among them, fruitful of much further trouble. Moreover, their deviltries were renewed, with Germany added to the company of mischiefmakers, a generation later; when Austria-Hungary treated the Berlin treaty of 1878 as a mere "scrap of paper," and when several of the powers intervened to prevent the Balkan States from making their own well-earned settlement of the problem. When, therefore, the powers affect to dwell upon the difficulties of the Balkan problem, they are merely letting the wish be father to the thought, and are exploiting the evil results of their own iniquities.

The other point to be borne in mind is this, that despite all the complexities and difficulties of it the Balkan problem was solved by the Balkan States themselves in a way substantially just and undoubtedly satisfactory to themselves. They did this as a result of their marvelous campaign of 1912, and there is no reasonable doubt that the settlement would have proved permanent and beneficent in the highest degree, had only the powers kept hands off. But that settlement of Balkan affairs in the interest of the Balkan peoples was not satisfactory to the sordid powers. Especially was it offensive to Germany. Years before Germany's greatest statesman had declared that the whole Balkan Peninsula was not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier. But the Kultured Kaiser who had "dropped the Pilot" was "a bigger man than old Bismarck," and the policy was changed. The Balkan settlement cut the wasp's waist of that Mitteleuropa-North Sea to Persian Gulf scheme which the Hohenzollern Hun had conceived in collaboration with his friend Abdul Hamid, and therefore word went out from the Wilhelmstrasse that it must be undone at all hazards. German intrigues disrupted the Balkan League and plunged its members into war among themselves; and then, because Germany's tool was beaten in that war, and a new settlement was made equally with the former one at variance with Germany's designs, Austria was pushed forward to begin a wanton war of conquest in Germany's behalf against the one really independent and resolute Balkan State. Instead of all the Balkans not being worth the bones of one German soldier, the crushing of one Balkan State was worth lives of millions in a world-wide war.

That is the story of the "lumber-room of Europe." It suggests unerringly the way in which that room is to be cleared up and made orderly and sanitary for the rest of the house; and it suggests no less clearly the fundamental and righteous interest of the United States in the Settlement. The settlement must be based not upon the requirements of any European "balance of power," nor upon the schemes of selfish ambition of some alien power, not upon the natural rights of the Balkan peoples to determine for themselves their own destinies and their own relations among

themselves. That is the principle for which this country fought at the beginning of its national life. It is the principle upon which this nation is founded and to which it is dedicated. It may be an open question whether we should have intervened gratuitously in any foreign war to vindicate that principle. We certainly have not done so hitherto; though not before this war have we been a party to a treaty giving us ground to do so. But at least now that, against our wish and without our seeking, we have been dragged into this war, by virtue of its having been wantonly and wickedly waged against us by one of the belligerents, we have the clearest and most impregnable of rights to insist that in the settlement at the close of the war that principle, "dear to every true American heart," shall be completely and permanently vindicated.

Government Ownership by Rider?

THE final section of the Railway Control bill, now pending in Congress, reads as follows:

SEC. 13. That the Federal control of transportation systems herein and heretofore provided for shall continue for and during the period of the war *and until Congress shall thereafter order otherwise.*

Against the provision contained in the words we have put in italics there lies in full force the objection that applies to that notorious method of illegitimate law-making, the introduction of important new legislation by means of a "rider" to an appropriation bill. The rider is tacked on in the expectation that the necessity of the appropriation will have momentum enough to carry the law-making with it. This bill is not an appropriation bill; but it is a war bill, and its necessity is admitted on all hands. Under cover of that necessity, it is sought to bring about a change of the most tremendous magnitude, not for the duration of the war, but permanently. It is true that this intent is not avowed; it is probably true that many who favor, or at least fail to oppose, the provision have no such intent in their minds at all. But this only makes the matter worse; it gives to the provision the doubly bad character of being at once a "rider" and a "joker"—a peace provision illicitly tacked on to a war bill, and a provision of tremendous moment passed off as one of no particular consequence.

The case, in a nutshell, is just this: if the bill is passed as it stands, it will require *new legislation* to get the railroads back into the hands of their owners; whereas, if a time-limit were fixed, it would require new legislation to keep them out of the hands of the owners beyond that time. If there be no covert intention of making this bill the stepping-stone to Government ownership, its sponsors must be willing to limit its operation either to the period of the war or to a stated time beyond the war, or, as suggested in this paper last week, to a time not exceeding a stated limit, the precise termination to be left for the President to determine according to his judgment of the actual necessity.

At a hearing before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce, Interstate Commerce Commissioner Anderson defended the clause in the bill leaving to Congress the time after the war when the Government should relinquish control by saying it would be necessary to thoroughly study conditions as they existed at that time. But obviously that study of conditions could be carried on without the slightest difficulty if a time-limit, either rigid or elastic, were incorporated in the bill; and there is nothing in the world to prevent Congress from extending the time of operation of the bill, in case the result of that study should incline it to do so. The only difference would be that the extending of Government control would require deliberate affirmative action by Congress at the time it was done, instead of being brought about in advance, with no knowledge of the real conditions, and with the burden of undoing this haphazard settlement thrown upon those who simply wish peace conditions restored when peace is re-established.

How different the task of passing new legislation is from that of simply leaving old legislation undisturbed, it needs no argument to show. In the stress of war time, and with a President of Mr. Wilson's power and skill to push legislation, things go rapidly and easily enough—a very different job will it be, after the war, that will have to be tackled by the supporters of the sober and unpicturesque proposal that the railroads be returned to their owners. And, as has been pointed out, besides every other difficulty there will be the possibility that a bill for this purpose may be vetoed by the President then in office, thus making a two-thirds majority in House and Senate necessary for its passage. We believe that the Administration's purpose in this bill is absolutely sincere. We do not believe that the President has any desire that it should be anything but an honest war measure. We do not believe that he wishes by means of it to grease the ways for Government ownership. To remove from it that taint, and yet leave the bill absolutely effective for its purpose, all that is necessary is to strike out the closing words, and make the time-limit either the close of the war or a stated maximum thereafter, in the discretion of the President who is responsible for the original order.

Recognizing the Bolsheviks

SHALL the Bolshevik regime at Petrograd be internationally recognized? That is the question which is now being considered by the British Government, and which may soon have to be answered also by our own. Perhaps we should add to it the complementary question, to what extent, if any, recognition is to be given. We are told that the British Government is about to "establish informal relations with Maxim Litvinoff, who was appointed by the Bolshevik government Russian Ambassador at London." That is not surprising. It was, indeed, to be expected. But the entire significance of it depends, as we have suggested, upon the extent and nature of the recognition granted.

The policy of the British Government in such matters is substantially identical with our own, and we are not sure that ours has ever been better expressed than it was by Thomas Jefferson when, at the time of the French Revolution, the question of the recognition of a new and revolutionary government was first presented to us. The King of France, with whom we had been in alliance, and to whom we were bound by ties of friendship and gratitude, had been deposed and a revolutionary government had been set up which, our Minister reported, might prove permanent or might last only a short time. Jefferson, as Secretary of State, after much deliberation and counsel, thus advised the Minister:

"It accords with our principles to acknowledge any government to be rightful which is formed by the will of the nation, substantially declared. The late government was of this kind, and was accordingly acknowledged by ours; so any alteration of it which shall be made by the will of the nation, substantially declared, will doubtless be acknowledged in like manner. . . . But there are some matters which I conceive might be transacted with a government *de facto*."

Later, when the Revolution was a little more securely effected, he added:

"We surely cannot deny to any nation that right whereon our own Government is founded—that everyone may govern itself according to whatever form it pleases, and change these forms at its own will. . . . The will of the nation is the only thing to be regarded."

These utterances have for the century and a third since then formed the basis of our policy toward new governments the world over. From them it seems to be clear that we should not hasten to accord full recognition to a new government until it is quite clear that it has been "formed by the will of the nation, substantially declared"; but also that, falling short of such complete recognition, we may

accord a limited recognition, to a degree sufficient for the transaction of some kinds of business. In other words, Jefferson distinguished, as we shall doubtless continue to distinguish, between *de jure* and *de facto* governments.

Now in the present case it is quite clear that the Bolshevik government has not been "formed by the will of the nation, substantially declared." There has never been any demonstration of the national will in its favor. On the contrary, such demonstration as has been made appears to be strongly against it. Thus we are told that of 510 delegates to the Constituent Assembly, elected by the universal suffrage of the nation, only 158 are Bolsheviks, while 261 are Social Revolutionists. The Bolsheviks are not, therefore, entitled to recognition as the *de jure* government of Russia, and we have no idea that either Great Britain or America will accord it to them.

It is, on the other hand, similarly clear that they form the actual and the only actual government at the national capital and in a large part, probably the major part, of the national territory. In certain districts they are opposed by local organizations, as the French Revolution was opposed in La Vendee; but the only general government which opposed them has gone out of existence as completely as had that of Louis XVI in 1783. They are, therefore, the *de facto* government, and may properly, in our discretion, receive a limited recognition as such, for the transaction of necessary business pending the substantial formation of a government by the expressed will of the nation, which shall be at once *de facto* and *de jure*.

With Messrs. Lenine and Trotzky and their associates, then, other nations may do a certain amount of business, without harm and without prejudice. Indeed, we can conceive circumstances in which it would be foolish and positively wrong not thus to deal with them, in cases in which such relations might be greatly to our advantage or to the advantage of victory in the war and of peace and justice among the nations. We shall do well, however, to keep clearly and constantly in mind the limitations, the rights and the obligations of a *de facto* government; and the Bolsheviks themselves will do well to do the same.

If we define a *de facto* government, such as we may assume the Bolsheviks to be, as one which is actually in possession of the powers of sovereignty, though its tenure of them may—or may not—be wrongful or precarious, we may add that if it expels the rightful government and usurps its place its adherents do not necessarily incur the guilt and penalty of treason, its acts may be respected as valid, and its obligations may be honored by its *de jure* successor.

This last is perhaps at present the most important consideration in the whole case, and the one which most needs to be borne in mind by the Bolsheviks themselves. It was a principle of Vattel's, which has been universally accepted and maintained in international law since his time, that a State is a permanent entity, the rights and obligations of which persist, unchanged, through all changes of its forms of government. Thus what Vattel defined as "real" treaties remain valid despite changes of government and revolutions. The logic of this is obvious and convincing. The State insists that its rights continue, unchanged. Mr. Lenine strenuously contends that he or his government has succeeded to all the sovereignty which was enjoyed by Mr. Kerensky, or by Prince Lvoff, or by Nicholas Romanoff. Granted. Then he has also succeeded to all the duties, engagements and obligations of those preceding governments, and must loyally fulfil their real treaties. Also, he must honor and discharge their public debts. He has succeeded to the fiscal rights of his predecessors, and he has equally incurred their fiscal obligations. To repudiate their public loans would be as great an act of turpitude as to repudiate those which he himself had made.

These are some of the chief considerations which arise in connection with the proposal to accord to the Bolshevik regime the recognition of a *de facto* government. They will doubtless have their due weight with the British government and with our own.

A Man On His Job

ONE fact is certain. In three short weeks Mr. McAdoo has cut more red tape, smashed more silly precedents and broken ground for more constructive foundations than most officials in Washington ever have done or ever will do. He has attacked his stupendous problem with the kind of determination and straightforwardness that has astounded a certain class of cynical gentlemen who were quite sure that he would "ride to a fall."

Just before the new Director General took over the railroads, the managers of the great systems announced that they had reached the end of their tether. Chronic congestion was rapidly passing to chaos. They were ready, willing and anxious to let go. Conditions before Christmas were about as bad as a normal mind could picture them. But the elements had not been counted on!

Mr. McAdoo's assumption of control was followed immediately by the worst series of storms the country has been cursed with in a generation. Labor troubles, shortage of motive power and congestion became incidental to the ravages of snow, sleet and zero weather. This was bad enough but thanks to the inefficiency of the Fuel Administration most of the coal bins in the country were empty and the Director General of Railroads found it necessary to try to do the work which had been assigned to Dr. Garfield some months previously.

Just before his appointment was announced Mr. McAdoo enlisted a half dozen of the best railroad men in America and to this cabinet he assigned various details of organization and co-ordination. We look in vain over this list for the names of any of the types of theorists or hungry politicians that have been placed in responsible posts in other governmental departments. Each man appears to have been chosen, not because he had a theory to explore but because he knew how to get results.

In order No. 1 issued on December 30 Mr. McAdoo laid the foundation of his policy:

"All transportation systems shall be operated as a national system, the common and national needs being in all instances held paramount to any actual or supposed corporate advantages. All terminals, ports, locomotives, rolling stock and other transportation facilities are to be fully utilized to carry out this purpose without regard to ownership."

In the same order he announced that "all routes, agreements and schedules," no matter what authority they rested on, were to be wiped out if they interfered with expeditious movements.

The railroad employees, who had threatened to strike, sent their representatives to discuss the situation with the new Director General. He promptly made this statement for the benefit of the 2,000,000 members of the brotherhoods:

"We've got to get a new spirit in the railroad men of the United States. We've got to make them understand that they can get a square deal. I am told that the spirit has not been good in the past. It will take time for a spirit of co-operation to be developed but I think it will come."

Committees were appointed to investigate the entire labor situation with the understanding that they would report without delay and the wage scale would be adjusted to meet their recommendations. In the meantime the employees agreed to continue their work and to accept the settlement agreed upon by the committee. Mr. McAdoo considers the labor situation as good as settled. No trouble is anticipated. It took him less than an hour to dispose of this problem.

On January 2, the coal famine in New York was acute. Thousands of tons were on the Jersey side awaiting barge trans-shipment to the city. Mr. McAdoo ordered the Pennsylvania Company to open its tunnels to all coal cars and the order was obeyed without delay. On the following day the New England coal shortage became acute. Mr. McAdoo issued a pre-emptory order to place 500 additional cars

daily at specified coal mines for the exclusive purpose of hauling coal to New England.

On the 5th of January shippers throughout the country shrieked when the Director General ordered demurrage rates boosted so that every freight car would be available for the maximum service. For months the railroad companies had complained that they could not handle the freight because shippers refused to release cars. A straight drive at the pocketbooks of the shippers was made by way of remedying this situation.

The shippers are still shrieking at this "base extortion" but they are releasing cars very rapidly and the country will get more service per car than it was accustomed to heretofore. The penalties become effective on January 21.

Having cleared the way for a settlement of the labor troubles, opened the theretofore sacred Pennsylvania tunnels so that coal might be distributed and having made it unprofitable for greedy shippers to use freight cars for ware-houses at a nominal demurrage rate, Mr. McAdoo on the seventh day of his term turned his attention to the passenger service. He found, just what every well informed person knew—that there were entirely too many luxurious passenger trains clogging the rails, wasting coal and unnecessarily taking the time of employees.

He directed the various companies to eliminate more than 150 regular passenger trains on the Eastern lines and to reduce the number of parlor cars to the absolute minimum.

On January 6 Dr. Garfield again appealed to Director General McAdoo to supply New England's urgent coal needs. Mr. McAdoo had no coal but he phoned over to Mr. Daniels at the Navy Department to see if the Navy's store at Boston could be used. Mr. Daniels agreed to loan Mr. McAdoo 10,000 tons and Mr. McAdoo turned it over to Dr. Garfield for the suffering people of New England. Of course Dr. Garfield never thought of asking Mr. Daniels for coal.

Finding that his efforts to relieve congestion by releasing cars was not meeting with whole-souled approval the Director General on January 7 announced that the following week would be known as "freight moving week" and he urged all officials, employees and the people at large to assist in unloading cars with the greatest expedition. Reports received during the last few days indicate that the appeal has been heeded despite the extremely bad weather.

Reports reached Washington during the first week of January of a general demoralization in the railroad personnel throughout the East. Various reasons were assigned for the disintegration of the old organizations. The Director General issued a statement, with instructions that copies be pasted in all yards and stations reminding the employees that they were duty bound to serve the country to the limit of their ability. The plea appears to have had an excellent effect on the service generally.

Figures were presented to Mr. McAdoo indicating that there was an ample supply of coal and other provisions in the harbor of Baltimore but that three feet of ice threatened to tie up all water traffic indefinitely. These reports were received in the morning. Mr. McAdoo borrowed a battle-ship from the Navy Department. Within six hours the battle-ship had plowed a lane through the ice and traffic was resumed.

During the past week reports were circulated throughout the country that Mr. McAdoo was preparing to appoint representatives in each state thereby creating the basis for a great mass of red tape and disorganization. Undoubtedly those responsible for the circulation of the reports had in mind policies pursued by other branches of the government. But Mr. McAdoo disposed of this country course in a single paragraph. Here it is:

"It is altogether an error that I am about to make that it is State Directors for the operations of the railroad; his tem- such thing is being considered; make his

This, in a general way, vast, rents the high spots, the Ger- three weeks of Mr. McAdoo for his directorate. It is the record made by any official since the United States entered the war. It may be sustained.



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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING JANUARY 26, 1918

NO. 4

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The Week

WASHINGTON, January 25, 1918.

CONFORMABLY to our tiresome custom, we record the Secretary of War's official declaration that "by far the most important undertaking of the week resulted in bringing about a rectification of Italian dispositions in the Monte Asolone sector, which rendered secure trench elements heretofore not devoid of serious weakness,"—and we thank God from whom all blessings flow less freely that we like. There is an element of consolation, anyhow, in the information that the dispositions of some of the Italian soldiers are being rectified; it was high time. The remainder of the Secretary's pronunciamento is slush. Apparently he had not heard that the British sank the pestiferous *Breslau* and beached the rover *Goeben*; or it may be that he courteously refrained from encroaching upon the prerogatives of the Publicity Department of his colleague of the navy; but they did, really; and that is all that happened abroad.

More was doing at home. Indeed, if we may venture so far without inviting prosecution for loyalty, Washington has been the seat of war this week,—a circumstance from which we derive much comfort and some hope, because at last everybody got mad. Doctor Garfield began by angering the country, Senator Chamberlain continued by whacking good Mr. Baker,—a highly grievous offense in the eyes of the President, who promptly lost his temper,—Mr. Stone of Missouri entangled himself in a cuttlefish assault upon Our Colonel, Senator Penrose vociferated against the inoffensive Assistant President to no purpose whatsoever and Jay Ham Lewis, as usual, capped the climax by preening his artificial pulchritude before the ladies in the gallery. Despite the ludicrous, even disgusting, aspects of the per-

formance, however, no little good may ensue from the clearing of an atmosphere which some had come to regard as pellucid and others as turbid. Perhaps now we can get down to common sense.

It all resolves to this: Is the country satisfied with the way the war is being conducted? If so, there is nothing more to say; let criticism be barred and let "Baker and Daniels" continue, under sympathetic direction, of course, to shape the destinies of the Nation. If not, what is to be done about it? We don't know; does anybody? Now see what happened. Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, a Democrat and a consistent supporter of the Administration, became convinced, as a result of painstaking investigation, that "the military establishment of America has fallen down" and had "almost stopped functioning because of inefficiency in every bureau and every department of the Government,"—and he said so flatly, in so many words, in a speech in New York. Consequently the Committee, of which he is chairman and of which a majority are Democrats, had prepared a Bill to take actual control out of Secretary Baker's hands and vest it in a super-Cabinet of three really "distinguished citizens of demonstrated ability," whose acts should be subject only to "review" by the President.

Meanwhile, the Chief Magistrate himself, irritated beyond measure by the storm of execrations which greeted the luckless Garfield's edict, felt that he could bear no more and attacked Mr. Chamberlain in a most unbecoming and quite unwarranted manner, going so far even as to "infer" sarcastically that the Senator's criticism "sprang out of opposition to the Administration's whole policy," which, in point of fact and as none knew better than Mr. Wilson himself, Mr. Chamberlain had upheld both consistently and most effectively in every respect.

Senator Chamberlain responded mildly and somewhat apologetically, but declared his determination to proceed, upon the ground that it is "the people's"—and not presumably the President's personal—"war." Then the President called in his Senatorial satellites and snapped the whip of party and patronage and Our Colonel injudiciously appeared upon the scene in the nick of time to help him keep the Democrats in line. So we guess that Bill is dead—and the other providing for a Minister of Munitions also.

But that doesn't answer the question: Is the country satisfied with the conduct of the war? We say flatly, or we would if we could, to the President that it is not, that it is most discontented and highly distrustful and that his temporary triumph over Congress will serve only to make his personal accountability vastly more strict than the Germans were ever held to for sinking the *Lusitania*.

The next few days will be days of waiting, waiting behind the best devices of political camouflage. On the one side is the President's record of very considerable accomplishment and his appeal to all of those emotions of the race which have made kings the most nearly indispensable things in the world. And on the other is the cool, logical demand of the Senate for better and broader management of the war. What will be the result? The ultimate decision rests with the people. It depends on whether in these ten months we as a nation have discharged all the emotions which a declaration of war evokes and are now ready to begin to think coolly and accurately or not. The Senate Committee has been acting on the theory that we have,—but not so surely as one could wish for daily it asks "have we the country with us?" The President thinks that we have not,—but not so surely that he does not feel it necessary to sharpen his appeal to the national emotions beyond his wont.

All that is plain here is that there has been a wonderful stirring in the land toward a sharp scrutiny of what we have done in the last few months and of what we have left undone, for the purpose of avoiding in the future the mistakes and omissions of the past. If it goes on it will lead surely to the "distinguished men of demonstrated executive ability" and it will surprise those who say the "President always wins!" Perhaps it will change that apothegm to read "the People always win!"

Meantime, while we wait to hear from the men and women at home, it is worth while asking just how far the Administration is ready to fight a reorganization that will strengthen the Executive capacity to deal constantly and effectively with the problems of the war. Here is what the President has to say about this subject in his statement of Monday night:

I understand that reorganizations by legislation are to be proposed,—I have not been consulted about them and have learned of them only at second hand,—but their proposal came after effective measures of reorganization had been thoughtfully and maturely perfected, and inasmuch as these measures have been the result of experience, they are much more likely than any others to be effective, if the Congress will but remove the few statutory obstacles of rigid departmental organization which stand in their way. The legislative proposals I have heard of would involve long additional delays and turn our experience into mere lost motion.

There is nothing uncompromising about that. There is no flat statement that he will resist a War Cabinet to the last, that such a change in our organization would be impossible and unworkable. Put simply, these words mean "I don't really know much about these reorganization proposals, not having been consulted and cannot therefore express a final opinion upon them, but it seems to me to be better to try the reorganization that we have already adopted and not to undergo the delay of adopting something new." That is not a fighting utterance.

There is another light upon the Administration's real view, unfortunately not so clear. The President says he was not consulted about the proposed Chamberlain legislation. That is true, so far as direct consultation by the Senate is concerned. But he was as nearly consulted as was possible, since seeing the President by even a Senator or Congressman is one of the most difficult things on earth. While the War Cabinet bill was under discussion one of the members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee consulted Secretary Baker. As a result he told the committee that the Secretary had said that he and the President had discussed the subject of a War Cabinet and had about reached the conclusion that some reorganization along that line was necessary. With this understanding the Senate Committee submitted its bill to Secretary Baker before making it public, the expectation being that Secretary Baker in turn would submit it to the President. Certainly if the Secretary of War understood the mind of the President and if the Senator who talked with him understood the Secretary of War and correctly reported his views, before the language of the bill was known to the Administration, there

existed no determined hostility to a War Cabinet in the President's mind.

There is another light upon the Administration's position: On Sunday, after the bill calling for "distinguished citizens" was in the hands of Secretary Baker, the Associated Press sent out a report that the President was opposed to a War Cabinet because it would interfere with his personal conduct of the war. It is safe to say that this statement was inspired. It was put out to tell the country that the reorganizers were laying violent hands upon the office of the Presidency, and to arouse the emotions which cluster about that office. Perhaps at the time when the Secretary of War discussed a War Cabinet with Mr. Wilson, the President had in mind something much less vital than the War Cabinet the Senate Committee wants to create, a War Cabinet perhaps composed of members of Mr. Wilson's present Cabinet, another addition to the numerous advisory bodies in Washington.

At any rate it is impossible to see in all that has happened any determination to fight reorganization in any and every form to the last ditch. If the country wills a reorganization there will be one, a compromise if the country wills a compromise, no compromise if the country wills no compromise.

Now as to the "personal conduct of the war." The Senate Committee does not intend to interfere with the President's personal conduct of the war. The Senate Military Affairs Committee is not hostile to the President. Senator Chamberlain is not hostile to the President. He proved it only a few days ago by being one of the few to vote against the resolution requesting a suspension of the "stop work" order. The Committee has been appalled to find the extent the President is not personally conducting the war. Congress has voted to the President control of fuel and Dr. Garfield is personally conducting fuel. Congress has voted to the President control of ships and Mr. Hurley is personally conducting ships. Congress has voted to the President control over food and Mr. Hoover is personally conducting food. Congress has voted to the President control over industry and—but who is personally conducting industry? The theory of organization is to centralize authority and decentralize administration. Congress has centralized authority and the President has not merely decentralized administration but he has decentralized the authority too, except at times and on occasions when spasmodically he recalls it to his person and exercises it. This has been inevitable. No one could have done otherwise with the mechanism that exists.

The Senate Committee desires to improve that mechanism so that the President may, if he will personally conduct the war and not have a dozen different almost unrelated personal conductors.

The need is imperative. There must be planning. There must be foresight. There must be organization. The "stop work" crisis, springing from a failure to adapt means to ends, the supply of power to industry and facilities of transportation to the output of industry, proves it beyond the need of further evidence. Unless the war is personally conducted by one central agency, the present crisis is nothing to the crises that will follow.

A War Cabinet there must be; not necessarily nor perhaps desirably the precise kind of Cabinet defined by the Chamberlain Bill; but a War Cabinet, nevertheless, representing and holding the full confidence of all the people.

The need of a War Council or Cabinet may be more pressing, but it is no more apparent now than it was at the beginning of our war against Germany. The experiences of our Allies afforded a complete demonstration. Away back in May, speaking from common knowledge and from personal observation abroad, we said in THE REVIEW:

The overpowering and most pressing need of the hour is concentration of direction of the manifold divergent forces which must be exercised to their utmost if we are to win the war.

Physically, although of toughest fiber, the President is not a superman. A Solomon and a Samson coalesced would collapse under the tremendous burden which now rests upon his mind and body. What he needs is a combined sieve and buffer. A War Council there must be, to co-ordinate, to perceive, to suggest, to study, to safeguard the life, the health, the perspective and the vision of the leader of the Nation. It should comprise the five best minds in the country. Its members should be drawn from our entire aggregation of brains—from the Supreme Court, from the Congress, from the Cabinet, from the law, from finance, from business, from labor, from any of the professions, from any walk in life. They need not—it is better that they should not—be experts in any one phase. They should be the biggest, the broadest and intellectually the strongest in the land. They should be men of such repute as would command at once the full confidence of both President and people. They should forsake completely their present vocations. They should be vested with such authority as the President in his wisdom and from his experience should deem most helpful. They should be designated by and subject to instant removal at any time by the President. They should receive compensation commensurate with their responsibilities. They should dedicate fully and unreservedly mind, soul and body to the single purpose of *helping the President to help the People to Win the War*. Every Power now in conflict has been driven to this recourse. It is only a question of time when the United States will be compelled to emulate the common example. So why not do it *now* and save God alone knows how much treasure and how many precious lives?

Again, in September, lamenting the disastrous and possibly fatal delay in the building of ships which grew out of the Goethals-Denman controversy, we attributed the consequence "less to unwillingness of officials to accord with definite policies than to the absence of the policies themselves," and added that "if, at the outset, a War Council of intelligent and open minds had given full consideration to the arguments of both sides and the President had rendered a decision based upon their recommendation," the outcome would have been the same and "oh, the precious time that would have been saved!"

Simultaneously we bewailed the non-existence of a body empowered to decide between Secretary Lane and Secretary Baker with respect to coal production and viewed with dire foreboding the arbitrary exercise of authority by Mr. Baker in decreeing, "without due consideration of its positive hazards," a policy which could not fail to close hundreds of mines and so inevitably produce the present calamitous condition of the country.

A month later we were unable to "escape the conclusion that, if the situation in Italy had been carefully studied by a competent War Council and the findings of that Council had been placed before the President in the form of a recommendation"—to extend the aid which was denied—"this dreadful calamity might have been averted."

Month in and month out, indeed, as readers of THE REVIEW well know, we have beseeched the President to heed the lesson to be drawn from the mistakes of our Allies, to appreciate the magnitude of the task before us, to realize that, to be successful, this could not be "a partisan war," and that "not even a superman" could carry it to a victorious conclusion. Unfortunately, as we perceive the present deplorable situation, our fervent appeals have been only as cries in the wilderness, reaching, if at all, ears that were deafened or a mind unreceptive. But we are as firmly convinced in January as we were in May that "it is only a question of time when the United States will be compelled to emulate the common example," with the assent of the President preferably, but without it if necessary—and despite his possible opposition on the ground, reported by the *World*, that "it might embarrass his personal direction of war activities."

It is not many days since the Garfield order startled the country, but already the shock that was produced by its sudden explosion begins to seem a long-past experience. We all had to give vent to surprise and resentment at what was at once so unexpected a hardship and so mortifying an exhibit of failure; the next thing we all thought of was that, necessary or not, wise or unwise, it

was the duty of every American not only to obey the order, but to co-operate heartily in bringing about its success; and then we turned to a consideration of the "true inwardness" of the situation. And every day has broadened the scope and multiplied the aspects of that consideration.

From the very beginning, the question obviously divided itself into two. In the situation that existed on January 17, 1918, was it necessary to resort to a measure so extraordinary, and entailing so much loss not only to individuals, but to the nation, as the stoppage of a large part of the nation's industrial and business activities for fourteen working days? And if this necessity did exist on January 17, could it not have been avoided by competent management in the preceding six months?

To the first question few persons have felt warranted in giving a negative answer. Almost everybody is ready to admit that the immediate crisis required some violent remedy, and that the one adopted, though crude and wasteful, was probably forced upon the Government as the simplest for producing instant results. But there has been quite as much unanimity in regard to the second question. Nobody is inclined to blame the Administration for resorting to this device to get us out of the hole; but everybody blames it for having allowed things to get to such a pass as to make the measure necessary. The trouble has been impending for many months; and in going over the long story of what has been done in that time to deal with the situation, one does not encounter any sign of mastery of the problem on the part of those acting for the Government.

We say "those acting for the Government," because it would be unjust to Dr. Garfield to put the blame all on his shoulders. Indeed, since the big flare-up that was started by Senator Chamberlain's speech in New York last Saturday, followed as it was by the introduction of the War Cabinet bill, the question of the Garfield order has become merged, and almost lost, in the larger issue of the general competency or incompetency of the Administration in its handling of the great problems of war organization. The situation with which Dr. Garfield had to deal had in large part been shaped before he was appointed Fuel Administrator. The most notable fact in its antecedent history was the startling annulment by Secretary Baker of the arrangement arrived at with the coal operators by the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense with Secretary Lane at its head. The operators had voluntarily fixed upon a maximum price of \$3 a ton, which was about half what they were getting at the time, and Secretary Lane had warmly praised them for this prompt and, as he regarded it, patriotic action. Secretary Baker's repudiation of the arrangement was the cause of a great diminution in the production of coal during the summer, when transportation offered no such difficulties as have since arisen. As for the railroad-freight congestion, which appears to be the great and essential cause of the Garfield order, the Fuel Administrator certainly cannot be blamed for that; but it was clearly the business of the Administration, which had been given ample powers, to prevent its reaching the appalling dimensions so graphically depicted by Mr. Garfield.

But within his own sphere, Dr. Garfield has had five months to work in, and the result is anything but inspiring. When he took hold the latter part of August, and for several weeks thereafter, he gave repeated assurances as to the future of the coal situation, which had the effect of preventing great numbers of consumers from taking the steps they otherwise would have taken to secure supplies of coal for the fall and winter. He refused to consider a zoning system which had been proposed by the Railroad War Board, at the suggestion of the coal operators, and which was designed to prevent a large part of the work of transportation of coal that occurs when the source of supply for any given place is left altogether to the accidents of competition. There may be some explanation of these and other apparent mistakes; but the trouble with the record is

not merely that this or that thing was handled badly, but that there is no evidence of any part of the problem having been handled as it would be by a man of power, equipped to grapple with its difficulties and determined to overcome them.

When Secretary Baker appeared before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, he gave an exhibition of complacency which evoked severe criticism from sources very favorably disposed to him. That he had done as well as could be expected, even that it would be difficult to find any one that could do better, these critics had been inclined to believe; but to talk as though there was nothing that had to be deplored, or regretted, or apologized for, was too much for them. And now comes the President himself, and takes something like the same ground. It is a dangerous attitude, and yet the indications are that Mr. Wilson will persist in it. George the Third, when told that a certain official was not fit for his post, is said to have replied that any man was fit for any office he could get. This was, of course, a bit of sardonic humor; but Mr. Wilson seems really to believe that the fact that he has selected a man is conclusive proof of the officer's abounding qualification. On its face, for example, the appointment of Dr. Garfield to tackle the fuel problem was an absurdity; his total lack of experience in the handling of business or the management of great affairs of any kind, not to speak of want of contact with the particular business in question, constituted a fatal presumption against him. He is doubtless well-meaning, intelligent and industrious; and the deplorable thing about Mr. Wilson's attitude is that, in case after case, he seems satisfied to accept those qualities as adequate for the unprecedented requirements of this stupendous war. We can only pray that something less than irremediable disaster will suffice to bring the President to a different way of thinking.

One phase of the issuance of the famous Garfield order seems to have escaped the attention of the public prints. It is that those responsible for it had not the slightest comprehension of its inevitable effect upon either industries or public opinion. Whose fertile mind hatched the idea nobody seems to know. It was original, at any rate. No other nation now at war and, so far as we are informed, no other nation ever adopted such a measure. And it was novel to a degree in that, as the *Washington Herald* neatly remarked, it gave the patient knock-out drops after having prescribed a stimulant. But the performance seems to have been quite casual. The portentous document, we are told, lay upon a clerk's desk in the Fuel Administrator's office for a full day after it was ready for promulgation. Some say this was due to the weather, the idea being that it would be better to wait until the Bureau should promise "fair and warmer," because then there would be a better chance to score a triumph by starting up the trains, and the millions thrown out of employment without notice would suffer less from hunger and fewer would freeze than at zero time. Others divined that the Administrator's demonstrated foresight hardly warranted such a surmise and that the explanation was to be found in his paying attention to more important matters. In any case, it seems quite clear, as we have remarked, that neither he nor those whom he consulted had the faintest notion of what they were doing.

There is nothing surprising in that. When you come to think of it, what else in reason could be expected of an amiable theorist in solemn conclave with the omnipresent "Baker and Daniels," whose knowledge of great industrial activities would be just about sufficient, we imagine, to enable them jointly to skin a cat. Why Mr. McAdoo was notified by telephone only after the event and why Mr. Lane was not informed at all we have no means of knowing. "I was consulted, of course," loyally declared the President; but even his experience in such matters is far from limitless

and it is quite within the range of possibility that he was as surprised as anybody when the storm broke.

But isn't it amazing? Consider. Here was a decree, unsurpassed in the annals of autocracy, which reached into every nook and corner of the land, which forbade millions to earn their daily bread, which threw out of gear the whole industrial machinery of the country, which afforded no opportunity whatever for those effected to make some sort of preparation, which might seriously impair the prosecution of the war, which surely would cheer the enemy and dismay our Allies and which, above and beyond all, was more than likely to fetch obloquy upon the Administration at a time when it was carrying about all the criticism it could bear.

Obviously, the inevitable and disastrous consequences could not have been accorded proper consideration; indeed, everything indicates that to the President it seemed hardly more than a routine measure; he was "consulted," of course, but apparently so briefly and casually that he perceived no occasion to obtain the judgment of anybody trained and accustomed to weigh the effects of economic disturbances. It was touch-and-go from start to finish.

Granting, for the present purpose, the correctness both of Dr. Garfield's sapient observation that "war is drastic" and of the President's opinion that it was "necessary," why in the name of common sense was the order flung at the country like a thunderbolt without elucidation or explanation by a so-called Administrator whose executive ability was already seriously mistrusted? We venture to assert that, if Director General McAdoo, who has won for his judgment the confidence of the people, had issued the edict, having first obtained the concurrence of recognized leaders of labor and capital, and simultaneously setting forth clearly and succinctly the reasons why it was essential, there would have been no great outcry and no great disturbance in manufacturing or trading. The President need have no fear of the willingness of the people to make the sacrifices which he calls for, but they do want to be treated like sane, intelligent human beings, and they resent being slapped in the face by officials whose superiority in knowledge and experience they do not admit.

Worst of all is the apprehension created by such a proceeding. If a thing like this can be done overnight by some understrapper, with the approval of the President, what may not be expected at any moment in the future? Nothing—and to say this is to go far—nothing has happened since the beginning of the war indicating more plainly the need of a War Cabinet to serve "as a sieve and a buffer" for a President who literally makes the mistake of his life when he thinks he can do it all.

Caillaux and We, Ourselves

CAILLAUX, *per se*, is more contemptible than formidable. Just how pernicious his purposes were we do not yet know. They will no doubt presently be disclosed, under the dissecting scalpel of the expert Dr. Clemenceau. Vile as they may prove to have been, he was too slight a figure to execute them with effect. Not of such stuff as he are successful traitors made.

Neither is it ominous, *per se*, that there is a traitor in France, if he proves to be a traitor; not even though he be an ex-Premier. We ourselves had an Arnold, but he did not destroy America. Not at the hands of one man does a nation fall.

It is, then, as a symptom that Caillaux is chiefly significant, and as a figure-head. The most disquieting—we might almost say ominous—fact that has been reported in the whole case is not that he hobnobbed with Polo Pacha, or foregathered with Germans in Argentina, or plotted marplotry with the Italian alliance, or yet that the German Ambassador here was so uncommonly solicitous over the attitude of the German Government and press toward him. These things may be sufficient to damn Caillaux. They could not in themselves seriously imperil France. No; but the disquieting fact was and is that when the Government

arrested Caillaux for these things, more than a hundred members of the Chamber of Deputies voted to disapprove its action.

That does not mean, of course, that all those men are traitors. Some, perhaps, were moved by personal attachment to Caillaux, and others, perhaps a larger number, by personal animosity against Dr. Clemenceau, who has ever had a delightful faculty for making enemies. In that case, we must regard it as unfortunate and worse than unfortunate that men should thus rank personal feelings above national integrity and welfare.

But most of all, and worst of all, those votes indicated that many men in the Chamber, and therefore presumably throughout the nation, are discontented and disaffected. We would not say that they are disloyal or seditious. But they are weary of the war and are inclined to seek peace through some convention rather than resolutely to follow the Government in seeking peace only through victory. They are ready to listen to talk of compromise, forgetful or regardless of the eternal truth that "they enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin."

That spirit, as we know, infects and permeates to an ominous degree the life of France, both civil and military. It is to be found in the army and navy. There was a few months ago a widespread and disastrous epidemic of it in Italy, as a direct result of which occurred the retreat from Gorizia to the Piave and the loss of all that had been gained thus far in the war, and more. Russia is suffering from a most disastrous prevalence of the same pestilence, there known as Bolshevism, while here in the United States we have the same accursed thing under the guise of People's Council and what not else. That spirit in France has found an exponent, a figure-head, a rallying point, in Caillaux; and that is his chief significance.

With that state of affairs we are very directly concerned, not merely because, as we have said, our own country is tainted with it, but also because we must hold ourselves largely responsible for its existence in France. They are weary of the war, or weary of waiting for the war to end. In the last analysis, they are heartsick with hope deferred, weary of waiting for us to come to their aid. Nearly ten months ago we nominally entered the war. It was the psychological moment, we ourselves said. For two and a half years France had been damming back the flood of Hunnish barbarism, until her strength was almost spent. Urgently she needed our assistance, and gladly, gratefully, she hailed its expected advent.

At Kenesaw, Sherman signalled to Corse at Allatoona, "Hold the fort! I am coming!" From Allatoona, Corse signalled back to Sherman, "I am short an ear and a cheek-bone, but am able to whip all hell yet!"

So we bade France to hold the line, for we were coming, and she replied as confidently if not as picturesquely as Corse. But the essential difference between the two cases lies in the fact that Sherman did cover those eighteen miles between Kenesaw and Allatoona in record time, carrying along—so his boys said—duplicate bridges to replace those which were burned before him and duplicate tunnels to replace those which were blown up; while we—well, nearly ten months after date we have at the front a partially trained and partially equipped army not large enough to play any material part in the grim drama, and—oh, yes, we have nine machine guns, so Baker says! And if everything goes well with us, in another year we may have an effective army over there, capable of taking a decisive part in the war; always provided that France can hold out so much longer.

Just suppose that Old Pap Sherman, after sending that message, had sat down on the other side of Kenesaw to discuss the comparative merits of Sharp and Berdan rifles; would the vocabulary have been adequate to the expression of Corse's emotions?

There are those in France who, not without reason, are beginning to fear that our promise of aid will not be ful-

filled, at least not in time. And every German spy, and every Bolshevik, and every lafollette, and every People's Council pacifist in France is enabled to go about saying, "See! We told you so! The Yankees will not save you. Better make peace now, by a fair compromise, while you have the chance." Our Bakerized delay in getting into action affords Hun propagandists and French pacifists the strongest of their arguments in favor of a German peace.

It was well that our Government aided that of France in exposing the deviltries of Caillaux. We owed that service to France, if for nothing else, to atone for our delay which had given this opportunity for mischief. It will be better still to preclude all further deviltries of that sort, to annul all opportunity of them, by promptly and efficiently sending the promised aid.

Superannuated Generals

Our infallible Secretary of War has assigned General Bliss to represent the United States at the forthcoming Paris conference. As usual Mr. Baker acted against the best judgment of the army.

General Bliss was scheduled to retire on account of age last month. Mr. Baker decided to hold him over as permanent Chief of Staff. The army was astounded because General Bliss had done nothing in forty years of service that appeared to warrant his retention as the supreme military director of our fighting forces. The universal hope of the service was that General Bliss would be succeeded by a virile young man who would tear down the web of red tape that has delayed our preparations.

When the Bliss appointment was announced the army hoped that the administration at least would put a young man in as his assistant. Instead Secretary Baker appointed General Biddle, another officer of mediocre record, who will soon reach the age of retirement.

Having burdened General Bliss with the duties of Chief of Staff, Secretary Baker now sends him across the Atlantic to tell Haig and Petain how to run the war! In the mean time General Biddle will attempt to familiarize himself with the multitudinous duties of the Chief of Staff, which he will turn back to General Bliss upon his return from France.

If this were an isolated case of placing old men in the most difficult posts in the army we might pass it over on the assumption that Mr. Baker was guided by some good reasons. Unfortunately we have had entirely too much experience on the same line to accept any such assumption.

When General Pershing was sent to France, Secretary Baker picked General Sibert to command his first division. Sibert like Biddle is an engineer officer who has not commanded troops in many years. Nobody doubts his technical ability as an engineer. General Pershing found that he could not stand the strain of training men in the field and sent him home. A younger officer might have gathered very valuable field experience if he had been given General Sibert's experience.

When the first division of militia was sent across Secretary Baker assigned Major General William A. Mann to the command. Mr. Baker had known General Mann as a delightful old gentleman when he was Chief of the Bureau of Militia Affairs at the War Department. Every one else who knew General Mann marvelled at the appointment. As soon as he reached France General Pershing sent him home. He could not stand the strain even of training troops in the field. How Mr. Baker ever concluded that he could stand the strain of battle nobody knows—except Mr. Baker.

One of the first requests made by General Pershing after arriving in France was that he be given young men for division commanders. The ideal age, General Pershing reported, is between forty and fifty. Secretary Baker has paid absolutely no attention to this request. Since August, 1914, France has dropped more than 300 general officers on account of age, but our War Department persists in the

policy of promoting officers on the basis of seniority irrespective of every other consideration.

Mr. David Lloyd George has indicated that General Leonard Wood would be invaluable as America's representative at the Paris Council, but of course we could not expect this administration to give General Wood an opportunity of this kind.

Victory or Nothing

AT the bottom of a good deal of the agitation for precise definition of "war aims," or "peace terms," is a vague notion that by some stroke of skill it might be possible to bridge over the gulf between what Germany wants and what the world can tolerate. The notion will not stand a moment's clean-cut examination; but its emptiness has never been more effectively exposed than it was by Lloyd George in his speech at the final session of the British trades union conference. Referring to the war aims recently declared by the labor men themselves, he made this unanswerable appeal to their common sense:

If we are not able to defeat the German forces, if we are not able to resist the military power of Prussia, is there any man here in the possession of his wits who believes that one of your terms—the least of them—would be enforced?

He was not talking, said Mr. George, about "the demands of the imperialists"; he was talking about "the most moderate demands of the most pacifist souls in this assembly." However small your check may be, he said, you can't get it cashed "at the Hindenburg bank"; you can't get your terms, however moderate, conceded by the Kaiser or the German magnates "unless you have got the power to enforce them."

This obvious and elementary fact the people who are everlastingly prodding for greater precision in the definition of terms constantly ignore. They talk as though you could fix the duration of the war at one month, six months, or a year, or ten years, according as you include this, that or the other point in your programme of settlement. Hindenburg and Ludendorff and the Kaiser are making no such fine calculations. They have not reached the point of thinking any settlement possible that does not leave Germany as great a menace as ever to the rest of the world; and until they have reached that point, anything you may say as to what you are going to insist upon is worse than thrown away. If your demand is big, they will use it as a means of rallying the German people to still more desperate resolution and still greater sacrifices; if it is small, they point to it as proof that you are almost ready to give in, that the victory which will reward Germany for all her suffering is at last in sight.

The time will come, to be sure, when the question of bringing the war to an end will actually turn on the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the terms proposed. But this can only happen after it has been settled which side has won. What seems unreasonable to Germany when she thinks herself the victor may strike her as quite reasonable when she knows that she has been beaten. That will be the time to scan with care this or that stipulation, to decide whether the world can or cannot afford to waive this or that demand. Then some act of grace, some concession which may solve Germany's pride or promote her material welfare, may serve to hasten her willingness to end the struggle, and thus shorten the world's agony. But until then it is folly to suppose that any formulation of peace terms which will make the world's future safe can diminish in the slightest the determination of Germany to push the war with all her might. To get either much or little, we have got to beat her; when that has been accomplished, it will be time enough to consider just what can be done in the way of formulating terms which will hasten the return of peace without sacrificing the results of the war.

What is it in Senator William Joel Stone's head, anyway—a wheezy alarm clock or a beheaded chicken? In the course of his attack upon Mr. Roosevelt he recounted this episode:

On December 21 last John D. Shanks, a traveling salesman, was coming into St. Louis on the Frisco Railroad. In a conversation on the train he was reported as making a certain statement to several gentlemen with whom he was conversing. I quote the exact words of that statement as reported in all—not in one, but in all—the St. Louis papers, and which I have had officially verified. The statement is as follows:

"Wilson kept us out of war; like hell he did. It's a shame the way our soldiers are being treated in the concentration camps. They are not properly clothed, and the sanitary conditions are poor. Hoover's sugar plan is a big joke, too."

For saying this Mr. Shanks was taken from the train while in transit by policemen summoned by wire before he reached his destination, and, I am informed by the United States district attorney at St. Louis answering my personal inquiry, that Mr. Shanks is now under bond awaiting the action of a Federal grand jury for the crime charged against him for saying what I have quoted.

What I wish to know, Mr. President, is why Shanks should have been arrested for repeating what Roosevelt said, and why Roosevelt goes free.

Of course, of course; we all should like to know; but why should the Senator address his inquiry to the powerless President of the Senate; why not ask the President of the United States or his Attorney General? And while he is about it he might try to find out what there is in Mr. Shanks's remark to justify *his* incarceration. But what puzzles us most is, Whom in all conscience did Senator Stone think he was attacking, anyway?

We have no sympathy for the stupid. People who are cold because they cannot procure coal, or hungry because food costs too much, or tired because they have to work too hard, have only themselves to blame. The Government provides a ready means by which all the major ills of life can be banished. A man or woman, German preferred, has only to attempt to fire a military magazine, photograph a fort or tamper with the loyalty of our soldiers and a tender-hearted Government, which still regards a bloodless war as the highest achievement of statesmanship, will kindly provide luxurious quarters, with plenty of heat, good and abundant food and free medical attendance and amusements in a soft and pleasant climate, where the bill collector is unknown and the mandate of the Food Administrator and the Fuel Controller has no force. While loyal Americans go cold and hungry the German spy is pampered and coddled and lives a life of ease and comfort in the sunny South. We do not complain, but we confess to a feeling of envy when we write on a heatless Monday and think of the delights of being "interned" in a first-class hotel in the sight of waving palms and enjoying perpetual sunshine. Nor do we blame the humanity of the Administration; we simply wonder—but what's the use?

The Chinese used to say of their Emperor, in the remote inaccessibility of the Forbidden City, that he was "as solitary as a god." Without being seditious, we would respectfully suggest that a Chinese Emperor is not a desirable pattern, in that or any other respect, for a democratic President.

Now if only we can fight the Huns with as much readiness and zeal some of our protagonists display in fighting each other, 'twill be "a famous victory"!

Private British marine insurance underwriters are reported to have reduced the rate on transatlantic war risk business from $5\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 per cent. That should be of interest to Tirpitz. What price insurance on German U-boats?

Without warning the Germans torpedo merchant vessels, belligerent and neutral alike, and leave their hapless passengers, men, women, little children and babes, to drown, and when the submarine commander is ambitious to obtain the highest decoration in the gift of his august sovereign he turns his guns on the poor wretches in the open boats or clinging to life rafts or floundering about in the icy waters and completes the good work begun by his torpedo. When the British engaged the German built and German manned Turkish cruisers *Midullu* and *Sultan Selim* in the Dardanelles, sinking the former and putting her consort out of action, the British, instead of taking pot shots with their machine guns at their foe, launched their small boats and rescued 172 members of the crew of the *Midullu*. There is nothing extraordinary about this, the Anglo-Saxon has his traditions and carelessly lives up to them, but it gives point to a remark made by a captured German officer shortly after the outbreak of the war: "The English always will be fools and the German never can be a gentleman."

Sir Edward Carson has resigned, and it is earnestly to be hoped that this brings to an end the office holding career of one of the most dangerous and disturbing elements in English politics, who has done more to embitter the relations between England and Ireland than any other man, and who encouraged the Kaiser to believe England dare not go to war because of conditions in Ireland. It was Carson who led the movement for a rebellion to oppose home rule, who recruited an army, who imported guns and openly threatened civil war; and it was not surprising that the Kaiser thought England's hands were tied. Carson ought to have been shot, instead he was made Attorney General and resigned because of his refusal to accept the Irish settlement, later he was made First Lord of the Admiralty and so thoroughly proved his incompetence that he was kicked upstairs to the War Cabinet, and now for the third time he resigns, again because of his inability to agree with his colleagues in their efforts to reach an agreement with the Irish factions. Carson is the type of man who would sacrifice his country for political gain. He has gone a long way toward accomplishing his purpose.

There are 364 per cent more Federal Reserve notes in circulation now than a year ago, and the gold reserve is 118 per cent bigger; railroad stocks are 24 per cent lower, and industrial stocks are 17 per cent lower; and the cost of living is 31 per cent higher and the general commodity price level is 31 per cent higher. All of which is respectfully submitted to experts in the fascinating science of cause and effect.

Something more than a promise of sunbeams out of cucumbers is contained in the announcement that whereas we used to import some \$10,000,000 worth of aniline dyes alone every year, in ten months of last year we exported \$12,500,000 worth of dyes to 21 foreign countries, fully equal in quality to those which Fritz used to make. That is surely "going some," and we have a pretty confident notion that after the war we shall not quietly lie down and let Germany resume her old monopoly of that trade. But why the Dickens couldn't we have been as enterprising and energetic in the production of other things; rifles and machine guns, for example?

That is a commendable arrangement which is proposed, to Americanize the crews of all merchant ships, as well as crews of all ships used exclusively by the Navy and War departments. We believe that there has been much controversy concerning the origin of the phrase "Put none but Americans on guard!" and we ourselves have heard it attributed to almost every President from Washington to Wilson; but it's a good precept to apply to American ships.

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, speaking with all the Kultured weight of imperial authority, declares that the American army in France consists entirely of woodcutters, railway men and doctors, "except two or three divisions whose precious lives are being spared in quiet places, far behind the front," and it is quite cocksure that America cannot send 1,500,000 men to France, because it cannot spare so many from home. As we remember it, even some of the American railway men of which the "Norddeutsche" et cetera so condescendingly speaks gave a lot of pickelhaubed Boches "what for" the other day in a manner not at all to the Kaiser's taste. And while in this country we don't hitch women up with cattle to work in the fields, as in the land of Kultur, still we rather calculate that a nation of 105,000,000 can spare 1,500,000 quite as easily as one of 65,000,000 can spare the—how many is it?—seven or eight or nine millions that Germany is putting out for "cannon fodder"; eh, Fritz?

And then, there is always that remark about England's "contemptible little army."

The heading of a current dispatch announces "Kaiser's Birthday to Be Celebrated Suitably." We wish that it might be, but we have our doubts. We haven't heard of their capturing him yet.

There is no more piffling and mendacious pretense in the world than that we have been dragged into the war by the other Powers, and that Germany had nothing against us and would never have given us any trouble if we had not mixed ourselves up with the Allies. The cold, concrete, cubical fact is that Germany had her eye of conquest fixed on America first of all, and had made up her mind to attack us, whether she attacked any European Powers or not; and this was the intention not merely of the Kaiser and his military entourage, but of the "men of light and leading" among the German people. Many years before this war such men were saying: "The Germanization of America has gone too far to be interrupted;" "Germany is the only great Power which is in a position to conquer the United States;" "The Monroe Doctrine cannot be justified; it remains only what we almost universally regard it, an impertinence." These pages could be filled with such citations, without drawing from the remarks of the Kaiser himself, General von Bernhardt, and the rest of that swaggering ring.

The people delegate power to Congress; Congress delegates power to the President; the President delegates power to a commissioner or administrator; and—we have an old legal maxim which says *Delegatus non potest delegare*.

The quick wit of a Fiji Islander, we are now told, was responsible for the capture last September of Count Felix von Luckner and his comrades of the *Seeadler* raids. Now if only some Borneo head-hunters, or painted-faced Marquesans, could capture the Kultured Kaiser!

No more "blue Mondays." Henceforth they are "Garfield Days."

Rumors are increasingly persistent that Count Luxburg, formerly German minister to Argentina, has become insane. If the unhappy report is confirmed, it would appear to suggest a fitting successor to Count Hertling in the next German Chancellor crisis.

Thaw McAdoo's Only Hope.—*Newspaper headline.*

Oh, very well. If the industries of the country must be shut down, opened up or exempted at will by some lunatic named Harry, a certified professional can hardly be more dangerous than a casual amateur.



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The Brothers Kaplan and the Brothers Baker

WASHINGTON, February 1, 1918.

Scene: Committee room of the Military Affairs Committee of the United States Senate. Time: January 10, 1918. Witness on the stand: The Honorable Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, smoking debonairly.

Senator McKELLAR—*Mr. Secretary, do you think that is a wise governmental policy, that policy of secrecy about contracts?*

Secretary BAKER—*Yes, sir; I thought it was necessary under the circumstances, Senator.*

Senator McKELLAR—*Do you still think it is necessary?*

Secretary BAKER—*I am inclined to think it may still be necessary.*

This colloquy followed immediately a series of questions and answers respecting a secret contract, subsequently modified and finally abrogated, between the United States and the Base Sorting Company, under which, as originally drawn, the company derived "abnormal" profits. It is not necessary to recount the details of this arrangement. For the present purpose, it suffices to record that the Committee on Supplies, of which Mr. S. Kaplan was a member, made the contract with the Sorting Company, of which Mr. I.—we think it was Mr. I.—Kaplan was one of the owners. Senator McKellar stated the facts succinctly and asked with utmost seriousness, so far as one can judge, "Do you think it is wise governmental policy for these things to be permitted?" And the Secretary of War, according to the official stenographic report, replied, "It has turned out to be unwise, because it has given rise to suspicion, but the only answer I can give to you is to limit all families to one member so that no one will have relatives. [Laughter.]"

Truly, a clever and amusing retort, quite in line with the sprightly repartee which already had characterized the Secretary's responses respecting the condition of various cantonments.

Nevertheless—and this is a point to bear in mind—Mr. Baker, replying to a direct question by Senator McKellar regarding Mr. S. Kaplan, remarked drily, "I think his services have been discontinued." At this point the Brothers Kaplan pass off the stage, somewhat disheveled but duly comforted by the certificated assurance of Mr. Eisenman that the abrupt cancellation of their contract enabled them to appear as renderers of patriotic service, free of charge or of commissions of any kind whatsoever. We shall recall them for the sole purpose of establishing an interesting analogy and fixing a date, namely:

About the time—July 22, to be exact—when Mr. S. Kaplan reached Washington to assume his official duties and agree upon a contract six days later with Mr. I.—we still think it was Mr. I., although there was another one—Mr. H. D. Baker arrived from Cleveland unofficially. Now Mr. H. D. must not be confused with Mr. N. D. The distinction must be drawn as sharply between the two as between Mr. S. and Mr. I. Like Mr. S., Mr. N. D. was an official of the United States Government,—Secretary of War, again to be exact,—while Mr. H. D., like Mr. I., was only a private citizen, patriotically disposed to accept a suitable contract with the Government with a view to making the world safe for democracy. Precisely, too, as Mr. I. was a brother of Mr. S., so was Mr. H. D. a brother of Mr. N. D.,—and both approached the War Department in furtherance of their identical purpose, we must assume, in a fraternal spirit. Both succeeded, moreover, in obtaining an opportunity to serve their country on the first line of the Contractors' Division.

There was this difference, however, between Mr. H. D. and Mr. I. Mr. I. knew his business from a to izzard and Mr. H. D. didn't

know his from a side of sole leather. How could he? Passing as immaterial his manufacturing experience in boyhood, the first we heard of Mr. H. D. in large affairs was as purchasing agent for the Tom Johnson municipal administration in Cleveland, wherein Mr. N. D. also served his apprenticeship and won his spurs as a knight of the uplifters. Subsequently he accompanied Mr. Johnson to Lorain in one of several capacities and at one stage of his career had something to do with Mustrite, or Muskrat, explosives in Sharon, Pennsylvania. What or whom thereafter he did or was done by until the war broke out we cannot say because we do not know nor, except in so far as fellow feeling induces a clannish interest in the advancement of a progressive and patriotic citizen, particularly care.

The salient point is that, when he arrived in Washington, Mr. H. D., like Mr. I., had at his back, in reserve, so to speak, a Company; at least that is what they called it; a live, frisky young concern, right out of the Baker's oven, as one might say. It was born, *i. e.*, incorporated, under the laws of the State of Ohio, prematurely or otherwise, on July 15, 1917, and was christened "The Engel Aircraft Company,"—not the "Baker-Engel" nor the "Engel-Baker"; just the "Engel," of Niles, O.; President, H. D. Baker; Vice-President, A. J. Engel; Secretary, George S. Patterson; Manager, H. D. Baker; formed for the purpose of "manufacturing, buying, selling, operating, storing, assembling, repairing and dealing in and with aeroplanes of all kinds and parts thereof and all articles and things appertaining thereto."

Capital stock authorized \$3,000,000, of which \$1,000,000 is preferred and \$2,000,000 is common.

Of this about \$225,000 was issued to Mr. A. J. Engel for a small plant in Depew, N. Y., and about \$350,000 has been delivered or pledged for the plant of the Niles Car and Manufacturing Company of Niles, O., where aeroplanes or parts thereof are to be manufactured for the United States.

One million dollars, par value, was issued outright to Mr. H. D. Baker under some arrangement by which purchasers of preferred stock should receive an equal amount of common as a bonus.

Total amount originally issued for actual cash, \$38,610.

Total amount originally issued for "Good will" (of the United States?), \$1,993,454.

Cash in bank as of October 31, \$13,079.94; cash on hand, \$500.

As the President and Manager of this powerful corporation, representing nearly \$14,000 in cash and nearly \$2,000,000 in Good will, Mr. H. D. experienced little or no difficulty in realizing his ambition to serve his country upon a

cost-plus basis. The first contract he obtained was for 500 "spares" or frames of aeroplanes and the second was for 1,000 of the same. The "cost" of these two preliminary undertakings, assuming no padding en route, is put at between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000 and the "plus" or guaranteed profit is 15%, thus making sure a tidy net gain for Mr. H. D.'s company of something like \$200,000, upon an actual cash investment of \$38,160, with no risk whatever and with much more in all likelihood to follow.

Whether additional contracts have been executed or are now under way we are not informed, but in any case there ought to be no difficulty in disposing of preferred stock upon the basis proposed,—although perhaps it would be better to await the fate of the half-billion appropriation sought this week from Congress by the Administration to "help finance" such companies. But that is a matter for determination by Mr. H. D. himself, who seems to know his way about, even though his knowledge of aeroplane manufacturing is still in process of acquirement.

In any case the analogy between the brothers Kaplan and the brothers Baker appears as nearly perfect as could easily be imagined—barring, of course, Mr. I.'s superior qualifications for the work which he proposed to undertake, and the larger financial responsibility of his firm.

Now the question is, Will the similarity extend to the consequences? Grant that the still secret contracts between Mr. H. D.'s company and the United States is highly desirable; so, according to the Secretary of War's testimony under oath, was that of Mr. I.'s concern. Assume, as of course we do assume unhesitatingly, that Mr. N. D. had no part or parcel whatever in facilitating Mr. H. D.'s operations; neither, according to the evidence, had Mr. S. anything to do with Mr. I.'s enterprise. And yet—

Mr. I. Kaplan lost his contract and Mr. S. Kaplan lost his position in the War Department,—both by order of the Secretary of War, who thereby expressed with manifest clearness his view of the correct way to treat fraternal performances of this peculiar nature.

We await the outcome as to the brothers Baker with abundant charity, but with slight hope and little faith.

The Week

WASHINGTON, February 1, 1918.

THE event of the week was the oral and somewhat oratorical defense of his Department by the Secretary of War. Although foiled by the Military Affairs Committee in his modest attempt to obtain the use of a forum pre-empted by his Chief, to the end that all the world might hear, he was accorded the exceptional privilege of a capacious chamber and spoke freely for several hours. He also spoke earnestly, without a trace of his accustomed jauntiness and said many things which were good to hear. We liked especially his handsome and obviously sincere tribute to the splendid body of army officers whose "zeal,

devotion and self-sacrifice" during this most trying period has been, as he truly said, beyond praise. Never in the history of the Republic have been exhibited finer examples of fidelity and uncomplaining service to country in the face of criticism, honest enough in most instances, but often ignorant and desperately hard to bear,—as some day a seemingly ungrateful people will come to realize.

No less gratifying was the Secretary's complete reversal of his own attitude towards Congress and the people whom they represent. For the first time, in public at least, he seemed to appreciate the vastness of the responsibility which has devolved upon himself and to evince a willingness to regard a situation which involves the lives and properties of millions with becoming gravity. It must have been humiliating to have to say, "I seem yet to have left at least upon the minds of some members of the Committee a feeling that I was fencing and defending the actions of my subordinates when that was not my intention," but he said it quite like a man and thereby demonstrated the effectiveness of wholesome criticism upon even the most self-satisfied and egotistical of natures. And, unlike some of his previous performances, this was not mere play-acting; it was the utterance of a thoroughly chastened spirit, which is not likely soon again to essay flights into the airy realm of flippancy.

When, however, we have paid due tribute to the tone of Mr. Baker's address, we have about reached the limit of commendation. The hard facts which we now confront as the consequence of lack of foresight, lack of preparation and lack of ability to master problems were beyond his ken. He did not refute the accusations of glaring incompetency which stare us in the face because he could not; he could only gloss them over and talk about something else,—especially futures.

It is easy enough to say that we will have 500,000 soldiers in France "early this year," but the record of the past does not inspire confidence. It is equally simple to promise 1,500,000 for the end of the year, if we have the ships and if this and if that, but no competent observer believes for a moment that it is possible to place anything like that number of fully equipped and adequately trained men actually into the trenches before 1919. To make excuse that France and Britain are supplying Pershing's small force with artillery "because they asked to" is utter nonsense, of course, in the light of Mr. McCormick's revelations. That American engineers are building a railway and that the health of the soldiers is excellent we have no doubt. Why should we?

No; there is nothing new in Mr. Baker's statement, and nothing particularly encouraging. The most we can say for it is that he made the best of a bad case—a performance for which he is far better equipped than he is for getting things done in such a way as to render explanation and excuse unnecessary. We shall miss our guess completely if, at the conclusion of the hearing now going on, the country is not convinced that, however clever Mr. Baker may appear as an advocate, as a Secretary of War, in time of war, he is an irremediable failure.

Wilhelm Vindicates Wilson

THE Kaiser vindicates the President. We say the Kaiser, because we understand that Count von Hertling's speech was carefully revised and edited by William the Damned before it was delivered. The voice was the voice of the Chancellor; the thoughts were the thoughts of the Kaiser. In that utterance he dissents from Mr. Wilson on a majority of points, including the most important; and in the tone and terms of that dissent he vindicates in the strongest manner the wisdom, the justice and the imperative necessity of the American demands.

He does that both in spite of and because of the fact that he is both illogical and impertinent. He is illogical, because he declares that the question of the disposition of

the Russian territories now occupied by Germany is one that concerns nobody but Russia and the four Central Powers and that is therefore none of our business. Now Germany alone has invaded and occupied Russian territory, yet he insists that Germany's allies also are concerned in the disposition of it. If so, then logically Russia's allies are equally concerned therein; and Great Britain and France and America may reckon themselves Russia's allies still, despite the Bolsheviki. They need not repudiate their compact, just because a temporary dictatorship at Petrograd does so.

The Kaiser is illogical, also, because he declares that the question of German withdrawal from France is one to be settled between Germany and France alone, and that France's allies have no concern with it, while at the same time he serves notice that Germany will concern herself very directly in the settlement of Turkish affairs and will give to that "loyal, brave ally" the most "energetic support" in maintaining Turkish despotism over all the lands that suffered the scourge of the Kaiser's boon companion, Abdul the Damned. If France must fight her battle with Germany alone, in Alsace and Champagne, logic requires that the Turk must fight alone against Great Britain in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

In these same matters, too, he is impertinent, because he says in effect that they are none of our business, while he claims as his own particular business matters which concern him no more than these do us. He is impertinent and arrogant, just as he was more than a dozen years before this war, when he declared that thenceforth the United States would not be permitted to "make any great decision" without consulting him and obtaining his permission. Of course, his impertinence does not greatly matter. We can afford to ignore it, and to proceed with the pious task of exterminating the brood of the Blond Beast until the creature abates his arrogance and howls and whines for mercy. And that is precisely what we shall do.

We say that the Kaiser's utterance vindicates the President's terms of peace, because it reveals the arrogance and the illogical nature of the opposition to them, and because, perhaps most of all, it betrays either his inability or his unwillingness to recognize what is after all the fundamental fact in the whole case. That is, that we are interested, and purpose to maintain and to assert our interest, in all these things from which the Potsdam Junker would debar us, because the world has entered a new era in international affairs, in which a wrong to one nation is seen to be a wrong to every other nation. Wordsworth long ago enunciated the impregnable sound principle that "every independent nation is interested in the maintenance of the independence of every other country." So every nation that wishes justice for itself is interested in the doing of justice to every other country. We are convinced that the peace of the world, which of course means our own peace and security as well as that of other lands, can be restored and confirmed only by the doing of justice among the nations; and we know that justice requires that the international highwayman shall be compelled to surrender his swag to those whom he has robbed, and shall be prevented from hereafter renewing his depredations.

This Kaiser of Kultur insolently puts forward the proposition that he and his three pals, particularly the Unspeakable Turk, whom he singles out for special praise, are to be permitted to stand together, each assisting the other in defense against the demands of justice and in retention of ill-gotten gains, and that at the same time all other powers, in opposition to them, must dissolve their alliances and act separately. Germany is to back up Austria-Hungary and Turkey in their oppressions and aggressions and general deviltry, but for America and Great Britain to interest themselves in the securing of justice for France and Italy, that would never do. Such is the arrogance of the Hun. It has its answer. "In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right, we

feel ourselves," said President Wilson, "to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together to the end."

The issue is joined. The chief exponent of imperialism proclaims the solidarity of autocracy the world over. Very well. The chief exponent of democracy proclaims the equal solidarity of democracy the world over. He does so, as he himself has said, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. We shall see which solidarity proves to be the more lasting and triumphant. There is nothing further to be said. Not words but shot and shell are the answer to the Kaiser's arrogant defiance.

Our Diplomats

STARTLING as the assertion may be to certain self-complacent Americans, it is quite possible, on occasion, to learn from our English cousins—and allies—and to profit by their example. During a period beginning soon after the outbreak of the European war and ending with our declaration of war against Germany there existed constant, intense and inevitable conflict between American and British interests. England and her allies attempted a long range blockade of German and near German neutral ports. The famous "Orders-in-Council" constituted a thorn in the flesh of every American importer and exporter. Restrictions imposed by British authority and enforced by British mastery of the seas resulted in piling up on the quays of Rotterdam and other neutral ports vast quantities of goods consigned to—and in many instances paid for by—American importers; while the feelings of American businessmen were rasped to the quick by the inexperienced and gilded youths of the British diplomatic service whose contempt for "trade" rendered their conduct and themselves as soothing to the often righteously indignant businessman as nettles to a baby's cuticle.

Under these untoward and uncompromising conditions the British Foreign Office confided to Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice the representation of his government in Washington. His was a ripe diplomacy, matured in the difficult school of St. Petersburg. He came armed with an enviable acquaintance gained during an earlier service as secretary of embassy. Of Irish descent he brought with him a measure of Celtic humor which enabled him to meet discouragement with a smile and dispel criticism with a quip. Confronted by the reckless competition of the Teutonic Plenipotentiary, von Bernstorff, who was conducting a press propaganda from his embassy, in flagrant violation of the canons of diplomacy, Sir Cecil was never guilty of the slightest infraction of diplomatic decorum, nor could the unintelligent criticism of a portion of the press of his own country, which charged him with sitting supine while von Bernstorff monopolized the public prints and perverted American popular sentiment, drive him to do aught which could merit criticism from this country or alienate the sympathy of the Wilson administration. In a word, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice filled a delicate role like the accomplished diplomat that he is with such tact, and ability and courage that to him must be accorded full share of the credit of bringing the United States to perceive that in essence the ultimate interests of his country and this were identical, their futures alike menaced by German imperialism, German ruthlessness, German reckless disregard for all that does not make for the greater glory of the Hohenzollerns.

And now Sir Cecil Spring-Rice is recalled and Lord Reading, an Earl of the Realm and Lord Chief Justice of England, has been designated to succeed him. Why? Because Sir Cecil's Government is dissatisfied with his services? Because the Foreign Office fails to recognize the good work he has performed? Not at all. He is recalled because the task of the British Ambassador to the United States has undergone a change and the Foreign Office believes it has found one better fitted by experience and ca-

capacity to perform the duties which the mission now imposes. To Sir Cecil was allotted a task analogous to that of the skilful lawyer who conducts the delicate negotiations necessary to reconcile the conflicting interests of two great corporations and bring about their coalition. That coalition effected the services of the lawyer who brought it about give place to those of one chosen for his business sagacity and administrative ability, to whom may be safely entrusted the direction and promotion of the combined interests of the allied stockholders.

In Lord Reading the Lloyd George government believes it has found an administrator of this type. Reconciliation of conflicting interests will form a small part of the new Ambassador's task. His, rather, will be the duty of contributing to the economic administration of the combined resources of the two allies. To this end he will assume supervision over the British War Mission, organized by and until now directed by Viscount Northcliffe. A man of wide vision, a marked taste for business enterprise and a comprehensive knowledge of the law, Lord Reading has been chosen to perform the duties of the British Ambassador now that the United States and Great Britain are allies.

Thus England has learned one of the hard lessons taught by the stern necessities of war. It is that no record of successful achievement, no delicacy for personal feelings, no consideration of partisan affiliations, no deference to political expediency must be permitted to interfere with the designation of the man best fitted to serve his country in a given post. Has the United States profited by England's example?

England believes Lord Reading will prove the most efficient representative the Empire can have in Washington. Has the United States good reason for believing that the present incumbents are the men best fitted to represent the Republic in its embassies in London and Paris?

The Rehabilitation of Poland

THE problem of Poland is in some respects the reverse of that of the Balkans. In the latter, as we have seen, various peoples are inextricably commingled in the same land. In the former, one people has been partitioned among several alien powers. Obviously, there is a great difference between them in the ease or difficulty of settlement. It would be impossible to "unscramble" the Balkans. In Macedonia there must remain Bulgars, Greeks and Serbs, with perhaps a sprinkling of the descendants of the prehistoric Pelasgians, all mixed together, so that any government which is established must have many ethnological aliens under it. In Poland there is small difficulty of that sort. The population of most of the provinces is practically homogeneous, or at worst comprises not more than Poles and one other race. What is needed is, to take those provinces from the three powers which stole them, and reunite them as an independent state.

In asking for such a settlement as one of the essential conditions of peace, the President is logical and just. He is logical, because in its oppressed and partitioned estate Poland has long been a frequent and fruitful source of menace and even of disturbance to the peace of Europe. In order, therefore, to restore and to confirm peace, that cause of irritation should be abated, and there is obviously only one way in which that can be satisfactorily done. He is also just, because few lands in the world have been treated with more flagrant injustice than Poland, or are suffering more acutely from such treatment at the present time. On both of these grounds the United States has ample title to place in the agenda of its irenicism the rehabilitation of Poland by the inclusion of all the indisputably Polish provinces in a politically and economically independent state, with a frontage upon the sea.

There is a peculiar appropriateness in the prospect of such an achievement in the event of the downfall of Prussian military autocracy, because it was to the foundation of

that autocracy that Poland owed her ruin. We must remember that it was the Teutonic Knights who, after they had been transformed from fanatical Crusaders into a sort of international Highbinders, began the attack upon the integrity of Poland. It was they who organized a Prussian state as an *imperium in imperio* within the Polish realm. Their overthrow and all but extermination at Tannenberg did not suffice. The mischief had already been done. The cancerous growth had been implanted in the Polish body-politic.

Naturally enough, it was the successor of the Teutonic Knights, Frederick the Great, who conceived, suggested, and took the lead in the first Partition of Poland. Austria was second in the job, and Russia last; though in extent of territory taken the last became first. But it was Prussia that was above all the author of the scheme, and she conceived it with the bald cynicism that has generally characterized her aggressions upon her weaker neighbors—not that she had any particular title to it, but simply that she wanted it and was able to take it.

Now all three partitioning powers have made professions of readiness to rehabilitate the ancient Polish realm; not perhaps, as it was in the Jagellionic days, when Poland was a light to all the continent, which would perhaps be too much now to expect, but at least on a considerable scale. Between the Russian and the German proposals, however, there is a radical difference. Russia suggested and indeed promised a Poland approximately as it was just before the First Partition, comprising the provinces since held by Russia, by Prussia and by Austria. Germany, on the other hand, has planned merely a Poland consisting of the provinces which were taken by Russia. There has been no pledge of any restoration of Posen, of Silesia, or of Galicia. And even Russian Poland is to be made "independent" under the military and economic suzerainty of Germany. Obviously, such an arrangement would be worse than that which has hitherto prevailed. It would be to transform Warsaw into another Posen.

The settlement outlined by the President commends itself to reason and to justice. It is to erect an independent Polish state including the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations. That is a proposal which not one of the three partitioning powers can reject without implying a purpose to continue holding an indisputably Polish population under alien rule. It is a proposal which must logically be supported by those who would restore Alsace-Lorraine to France, the Trentino and other lands to Italy, and the Serbian Provinces to Serbia. Since we are in this war for the vindication of democracy and of the right of nationalities to self-determination, that is a legitimate proposal for us to make and for us to maintain.

Conscription of Labor

SOME months ago it was urged in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that there should be a nation-wide mobilization of productive labor, and especially of agricultural labor. It was as obvious then as it is now that there would be a scarcity of food, for us and for the Allies who are doing the fighting for us while we slowly get ready to fight for ourselves, and that there was urgent need of cultivating every available acre of land in the most thorough manner possible. That was a need of the war, just as much as building ships and recruiting regiments.

There was hope, and there was ground for hope—at least to optimists like ourselves—that there would be a voluntary and spontaneous response to this demand; since, apart from other considerations, doing so would involve no risk of wounds or death in battle and would promise handsome profits in dollars and cents. Nor was that hope altogether vain. There were some commendable activities in back-yard gardening, and some with either patriotism or ostentation plowed up their front lawns and planted potatoes—which was particularly good when the lawns

were old and worn out and needed remaking. There were also some expansions of regular farming, and the net result was that our crops of corn and oats and potatoes were bigger than ever before. Indeed that was true of most of our crops except the most important of all, wheat, which fell considerably below the record, because of "circumstances beyond our control."

Now it is obvious that this year's need of increased production is still greater than last year's. Our Allies, whom we are bound to feed, are on rations, and close rations, too. We ourselves are suffering scarcity of certain important kinds of food, and are considering the possible necessity of a general food-card rationing system here. That would be a mightily unpleasant thing; a good deal worse than Monday holidays. But if we are not to have it, there is just one way to avoid it. That is, while economizing prudently the supplies we have, to put in our very besticks for replenishing the supply at the earliest possible date, and for replenishing it as far as possible beyond all previous records.

The question is, are we going to do that voluntarily, or must we be conscribed? You know, we waited at first for voluntary enlistment in the army, in fulfilment of the Bryanesque boast that if the President called for a million men at sunrise, he'd have them at sunset; but we should have had to keep on waiting for a sunset "far on, in summers that we shall not see" before that boast would have been fulfilled; and so we had to resort to conscription. Now, we don't say that conscription is the nicest thing in the world; though as a matter of fact it is something that we have been practising without demur from the very beginning. We ourselves hate like sin to be conscribed for jury duty when we have a patch of beans to plant, or to be drafted on a sheriff's *posse comitatus* when we want to go fishing. But there's no use in squealing. We have to do it, and so does every other good citizen. The public good requires it, and that is the supreme law.

If, then, the public good requires that men shall be conscribed to work on farms, we do not see why it is not just as legitimate to do it as it is to conscribe them to fight in the trenches, which the Supreme Court has unanimously declared to be entirely constitutional. Moreover, since we have made a law, or issued a decree, forbidding under heavy penalty the hoarding of food, it would seem to be equally legitimate, and quite logical, to prohibit the hoarding of land on which food may be grown. Therefore we venture this proposition, that it would be entirely proper to enact that all arable land shall be planted and cultivated, and that all able-bodied men shall work; on the ground and for the reason, of course, that the safety of the nation in this time of war requires it.

By this we do not mean simply a general enactment that all men must be industrious, such as some States have already made; after the fashion of the boy who played at preaching and the burden of whose sermon was, "All men, be good!" Something more specific is needed. We should say that first of all an agricultural administrator should ascertain how great an area of land in his district—say a county—is not going to be planted and cultivated by its owners, and then should draft men from among the idlers in sufficient number to cultivate it. Over in New Jersey they have a bill on the carpet to some such effect; providing that every able-bodied man shall work at least a certain number of hours a week, and providing that the fact that a man is hanging round the corner store or the gin-mill shall be *prima facie* evidence that he is a subject to whom the act needs to be applied.

There is no occasion, either, to fuss and fiddle over the question whether a tooth harrow or a disc harrow is best, or whether to plant dent corn or flint. The only question is whether we are going to let good land lie idle and able-bodied men loaf, and suffer scarcity of food, or are going to set those men at work on that land and have food for ourselves and to spare for the Allies who are fighting our battles for us.

Levy—Palmer—Rosenthal

Congress created the office of Custodian of Enemy Property so that every German dollar and every German financial instrumentality in this country would be controlled by our Government. The absolute necessity of breaking the financial power of the Kaiser's agents in America was so evident that not even the *la follettes* dared attempt to block the legislation. The administration's bill passed with a whoop. Patriots thereupon proclaimed that German intrigues would be reduced to a minimum because there would be no funds with which to pay the gang of arson and dynamite men left with us by Bernstorff to complete his crimes.

President Wilson appointed Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, custodian. This is the same Mr. Palmer, whose friends credit him, with having nominated President Wilson at the Baltimore Convention. Governor Wilson despaired of the nomination after Speaker Clark obtained a majority and telegraphed to Mr. Palmer to withdraw his name. Mr. Palmer tore up the telegram, disobeyed orders and nominated Governor Wilson anyhow,—so the story goes. Mr. William F. McCombs laughs when he hears it told.

Mr. Palmer was offered the post now held by Newton D. Baker but he declined it; being a good Quaker he could not be a warrior. Mr. Palmer wanted to be Attorney General and some folks say that the President-elect thoroughly understood this at the time and also knew that he would not accept the war portfolio.

Be that as it may, Mr. Palmer ran against Boies Penrose for the Senate. He broke all records by polling fewer votes than any Democrat has polled in Pennsylvania in recent years.

A little later he retired to the law office at Stroudsburg, Pa., which he had deserted some seven years previously to go to the House! But how things had changed! Having been advertised as one of President Wilson's most intimate friends, Mr. Palmer found that he was in great demand among those interests which were in difficulty at Washington. His friends told their friends that, with the possible exception of Colonel House, Mr. Palmer was the closest man in the world to President Wilson. They insisted that he was making more money out of his law practice than all the lame ducks and "influence brokers" at Washington combined.

In the Spring of 1915 Mr. Palmer came to Washington and attempted to get pardons for a group of gentlemen who were en route to the Penitentiary. On March 11 the Philadelphia *North American* and other dailies printed some very harsh things about Mr. Palmer and his friends. In this particular instance his legal activities came to naught and his clients continued on their way to the pen. Finally President Wilson appointed him to the Court of Claims. After weeks of very deliberate consideration Mr. Palmer went to the White House and told the President with many regrets that he could not accept the appointment. He had to consider his family needs.

In August the *World* began its sensational expose of German intrigues in this country, based principally on confidential documents hypothecated from the hand bag of Privy Councillor Albert, Field Marshal of Bernstorff's sabotage brigade, and on August 23, devoted a chapter of the expose to the publication of a "conversation" which a mysterious "M. P." had with President Wilson, which was duly turned over to "Legal Agent" Levy, who passed it on to Dr. Albert and the German Government.

We have not the space to reprint the entire chapter, but here are a few paragraphs:

The most important feature of the correspondence relating to the operations of German officials and their allies in the United States presented by the *World* this morning suggests a fascinating mystery.

The correspondence introduces as the chief figure of it a person of the greatest prominence and influence in the affairs of the United States Government—according to the correspondence. He is designated as "M. P." and, if the communication revealing the

extent of his resources is to be credited, is privileged to walk in and out of the White House and the State Department at Washington, secure from the President and the Secretary of State secrets which he in turn communicated in the form of a "conversation" destined to reach in a roundabout way the officials of the German Government.

The memoranda is in the form of a "conversation" with "Legal Agent" Levy and John Simon, who, from the tenor of the "conversation," appears to have been intrusted with some of the most subtle and important undertakings of the German Government in the United States.

John Simon is a member of the firm of Simon & Bros., cotton brokers, who have offices in Rooms 71 and 72 of the Cotton Exchange Building in this city, and who, in another communication presented by the *World* this morning, is shown to have been active in the movement to forward supplies to Germany by way of the ports of neutral Denmark.

"Legal Agent Levy," not as yet identified.

The conversation with "Legal Agent" Levy and John Simon was reported on July 23—just 24 hours after Mr. Palmer had visited President Wilson. The *World* did not involve Mr. Palmer directly by name but on the following morning at Stroudsburg he volunteered this statement:

The story printed in the *World* this morning which indicates, though it does not say, that I am the mysterious "M. P." referred to in somebody's report of an alleged conversation with the President, is all a fairy tale as far as I am concerned. I never had any such conversation with the President and never reported any such conversation to anybody, anywhere, at any time. I never saw this Dr. Albert whose private memoranda are presumably being published by the *World*, and I never heard of him until these articles began appearing. I never had any communication of any kind or character with him.

I did see the President on July 22, and I talked to him about two things. I tendered my declination of the office of Judge of the Court of Claims, to which the President had appointed me some time before.

The other matter concerning which I spoke to him was at the request of John B. Stanchfield, a leading member of the New York bar and a personal friend of mine. He had requested me to convey certain information to the President which had come into his possession. This had to do with the formation of a steamship line by certain prominent American citizens residing in New York, whom Mr. Stanchfield represented. The line was to carry non-contraband to neutral ports in Europe. My conversation with the President was with regard to the attitude of the Government with respect to such commerce to neutral ports and had nothing whatever to do with the various matters printed in the *World*.

Neither the President nor I said anything which could be twisted into the kind of statement which the *World* has printed this morning. I reported to Mr. Stanchfield concerning my talk with the President and that was the end of it.

Of course, we do not know how "legal agent" Levy came into possession of the "conversation" but it appears that his friend John Simon was quite as much interested in shipping goods to a "neutral port" in Europe as Mr. Palmer's friends were in forming a steamship line to handle such shipments.

Mr. Palmer appears to have figured but little in the public prints following the lamentable "M. P." business, until President Wilson announced his appointment as Custodian of Enemy Property.

Soon after he opened offices here the *World* printed this item:

A. Mitchell Palmer, custodian of enemy property in the United States, announced today appointments in his organization which will handle millions in money and property till the end of the war.

Moritz Rosenthal of New York is made chief of the Legal Department. Mr. Rosenthal is a partner in the banking firm of Ladenburg, Thalmann and Co. at No. 25 Broad Street.

Mr. Rosenthal practiced law in Chicago until he deserted the bar for the more lucrative banking business. So far as we know he has not appeared in court since he moved to New York some six years ago—but has devoted all of his time and energy to directing the affairs of his adopted banking house.

Ladenburg, Thalmann and Co., is one of the most powerful German banking houses in America. Its connections in Germany and with Germans here are generally reported to have been quite as close as the connections which J. P. Morgan and Co. have with the Allied people

and their governments. In Wall street the firm name is synonymous with German finance. It is, in fact, a fair guess that the German banking group with which Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co. is connected is interested in about three-fourths of the business which the Custodian of Enemy Property is required by law to take over.

For these reasons the appointment of Moritz Rosenthal as "Chief of the legal department," was about the most astounding that could be made. Several Americans employed in Mr. Palmer's organization appear to have developed evidence indicating that Mr. Rosenthal was misplaced. Just how the evidence was brought to the attention of Mr. Palmer can only be surmised, but we are obliged to the Washington *Evening Star* of January 8 for this item:

A. Mitchell Palmer, alien property custodian, has announced the resignation of Moritz Rosenthal as general counsel. Mr. Rosenthal before resigning completed the organization of the law bureau and he will act hereafter for Mr. Palmer in certain special matters.

The custodian has made no announcement concerning the "special matters" which Mr. Rosenthal will handle hereafter. Since "Legal Agent" Levy is not available we assume that the services of Mr. Moritz Rosenthal will be wholly agreeable to the German owners of great quantities of securities which Mr. Palmer is expected to sequester. So it goes in Washington.

Dies Irae: Jan. 27, 1859

"Let the day perish wherein I was born. . . . Let that day be darkness. . . . Let darkness and the shadow of death stain it."
Job: III: 3, 4, 5.

NINE spirits gathered round that natal couch,
(Nine, but One Other stood within the gloom,)
And each upon the babe bestowed a gift
No time might squander and no fortune lose.
(Nine; but One Other stood, and watched, and smiled
A smile more dreadful than a frown, to say
"Well done! Mine own vice-gerent shall he be,
To make of Earth a training-camp for Hell!")

So came the Nine, and each a gift bestowed:
Filial Impiety, with clanking gyves
For mother's hands beside the father's bier.
Ingratitude most arrogant, to drop
The Pilot ere the harbor-bar be passed.
Falsehood, to lie, and lie, and lie again,
Blaming the blameless victim for the crime.
Arson, with torch enkindled for Louvain;
And Sacrilege, with bombs for Rheims prepared.
Lust, savage, bestial, with leering eye
Seeking the maids of Flanders and of France.
Murder, anticipating Saint Cavell.
Foul Massacre, with an insatiate maw,
Scanning the Lusitania's sailing date.
And blatant, shameless Blasphemy, to cry
"Forward with God!" down the steep road to Hell.

Thus the Nine gathered and bestowed their gifts,
(Nine, while One Other lurked within the gloom,)
And each imparted with his gift a touch
Of Oestrus-goad, that from year to year
Should drive him restlessly from crime to crime.
(Nine; but the One who stood and watched
No longer smiled but frowned a dreadful frown,
And said, "Too much! With such endowment cursed
No mere vice-gerent will this monster be,
But rather a pretender to my place,
To make me abdicate the throne of Hell!")

"Let the day perish wherein I was born. . . . Let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it."

Count Luxburg has been officially declared insane by the Argentine medical authorities. An unnecessary waste of time and effort. He is a professional German diplomat.

It is well known that the Germans have a monopoly of God, and one of the Kaiser's court preachers has kindly introduced Him to the world by telling us that "only when you feel yourself the child of God can you believe in the God of the Germans, who is and ever must be the Lord of the world." *La Libre Belgique*, the gadfly that stings the hide of the German masters of Belgium, suggests that the Kaiser to show his approval will confer upon God the nobiliary predicate of "von" so that hereafter Germans can address Him as Herr von Gott. It sounds sacrilegious, really it expresses in a few words the arrogance and megalomania that have made the German people the contempt of the world.

"They are afraid to conquer," was Cromwell's scornful characterization of the Parliamentary leaders conducting the war. Sometimes we think certain leaders of today are filled with the same spirit. But in 1776 and 1861 it was different.

Baron von Spiegel und zu Peckelsheim, which sounds like the name of a Hoboken delicatessen store but isn't, commanded a German submarine until he was captured by the British. The baron wrote a book in which he declared he had seen British hospital ships carrying arms and munitions, but he now retracts and admits he lied. This is not surprising, one expects a German to lie, but again it proves the correctness of German psychology as revealed by a German that "a German never can be a gentleman."

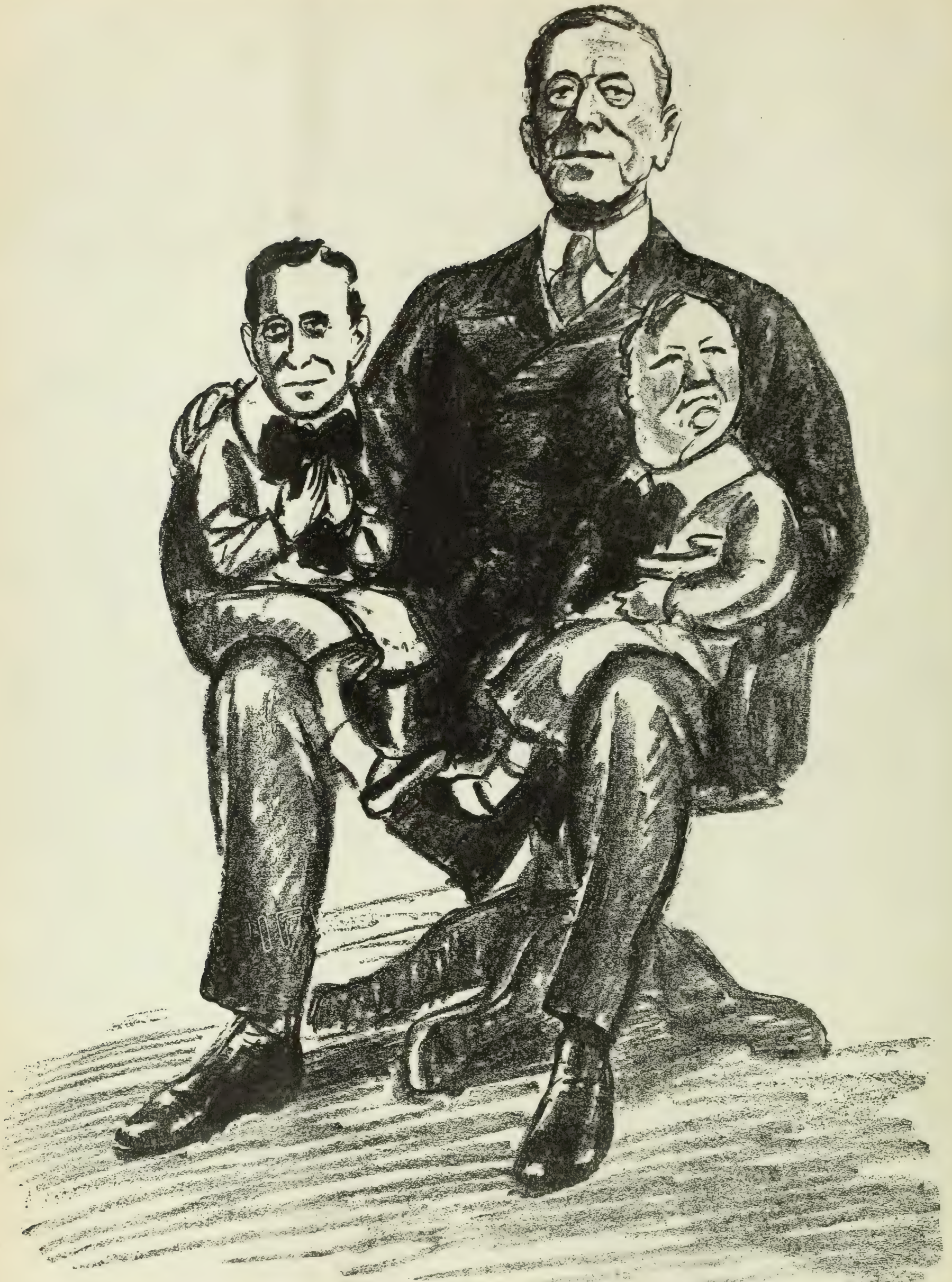
One hears interesting stories in Washington. The latest has to do with gas masks. When Pershing's troops arrived in France, fully and completely equipped as Secretary Baker has so repeatedly affirmed, in addition to borrowing guns, ammunition, motor trucks and a few other trifles from the British and French who were so badly off that only America could save them, they sponged on the English for gas masks, and samples were sent to the United States as patterns for the use of the American army. Secretary Baker's experts, who knew as much about gas masks as they knew about gas meters, decided to improve upon the British pattern, and a hundred thousand of the Washington idea of what a gas mask ought to be were manufactured and sent to Pershing, who looked them over and cabled to Washington they were very beautiful and exquisite works of art, but as a device to save troops from suffocation they were about as valuable as a burnt match at the north pole, and he suggested the British Government be asked to send gas experts to Washington to instruct Mr. Baker's amateurs. Pershing is now getting gas masks, but without the War Department "improvements."

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SATISFACTION

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

VOL 1 WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 9, 1918 NO. 6

“Unwept, Unhonour’d and Unsung”

WASHINGTON, February 8, 1918.

WE, the American people, are at war. Already a larger number of our sons and brothers have perished than were killed in the greatest battle of the civil conflict at Gettysburg or in the bloodiest fight at Antietam. Here is the record of deaths from the beginning of mobilization in September to January 18:

Deaths among all American troops in France since embarkation began last July.....	317
Deaths among regular troops in the United States, September 21, 1917, to January 18, 1918.....	350
Deaths among national army troops in the United States, September 21, 1917, to January 18, 1918.	1,263
Deaths among National Guard troops in the United States, September 21, 1917, to January 18, 1918.	1,305
<hr/>	
Total deaths all troops in United States, September 21, 1917, to January 18, 1918....	2,918
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Total deaths among troops in France and the United States	3,235

Daily, in the *Official Bulletin* and in the newspapers, we read the names of those who have died in France in the service of their country. Three hundred and seventeen they number to the date mentioned. A few were killed in action or while acquiring experience in the trenches, but a large majority died in camps from exposure and diseases contracted therefrom.

Equal recognition has been accorded to all in the official publication of our Government.

During the same period 2,913, nearly ten times as many, of our young men, no less loyal, no less brave, no less devoted, have died in the camps in the United States, chiefly from causes which it makes the heart sick to recount. They gave their lives to their country and to the great cause of human freedom as freely, as manfully, as uncomplainingly as their comrades who hap-

pened to be sent to France gave theirs. But we look in vain to the *Official Bulletin* or to the Press for their names.

For them there is no Roll of Honor.

Why? Is our Government so fearful of the fatal effects of its own handiwork that it must needs deny to its own soldiers the slight tribute of honorable mention? Is the necessity of covering up blunders and averting accusations of neglect so great that even so little comfort of natural pride and splendid patriotism cannot be accorded the anguished hearts at home? Is a proper and righteous demand for just publicity again to be pushed aside ruthlessly upon the damnably false notion of “conveying information to the enemy”?

Millions of dollars are being expended by the Committee on Public Information in propaganda designed solely to excuse and to exploit inefficients in public office. Cannot a few hundreds be allotted to grateful memory of our honored dead?

Nothing, we take for granted, can be expected of an *Official Bulletin* so debased that it prints pages of refutation by a Cabinet officer of an arraignment by a Senator of the United States, to which it gives a few scant lines.

But the *Congressional Record* is an official document and still under the control of Congress.

May we not, then, in the name of the American people, ask the American Congress to publish in their own imperishable record the names of all American soldiers who have already given their lives to their country and to inscribe daily thereafter the names of the thousands who are yet to die upon—

THE NATION'S ROLL OF HONOR

—to the end that the splendid sons of the great Republic shall not pass into the Beyond “unwept, unhonour’d, and unsung”?

The Week

WASHINGTON, February 8, 1918.

CAN it be possible that the President is unaware of the growing hostility of the country to his Administration as a consequence of common discontent with his conduct of the war? Is he, in his self-imposed isolation, obsessed with the notion that the American people are satisfied with the way things are being done, or, if done at all, done so badly? Does he really think that a hundred millions of intelligent men and women believe that he alone, advised only by Colonel House and aided only by Baker and Daniels, can conserve the lives of the hundreds of thousands of young men whom he has called to the colors and can safeguard the vital interests of all?

It seems incredible. And yet how else can we account for the amazing obduracy which denies to a co-ordinate branch of the Government the "common counsel" which he has so often set up as an essential factor of successful rule by democracies? We make no complaint of his refusal to accept the War Cabinet proposed by the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate. The powers conferred by that Bill upon a subsidiary body are far and away beyond and without the scope of reason or of common sense.

But the fundamental idea is sound and practicable and must be accepted if this is to become a people's winning war instead of a President's losing war. Mr. Wilson may, if he likes, continue to regard the representatives of the people in Congress contemptuously as powder to be ground in the mill or as time-servers to be crushed under the heels of partisanship and patronage, but if so he soon will awake with a start to realization that, in this critical condition, it is the Congress, not the President, who has the backing of the country. How else can the recalcitrancy of lifelong Democrats like Chamberlain, Hitchcock and McKellar be accounted for? How else the original unanimous vote by the Committee in favor of so drastic a measure? Even the rockribbed Kirby of Arkansas had heard from home and must have squirmed when brought under the White House lash and compelled to reverse his position.

Whatever of partisanship there is in this distressing struggle, moreover, was injected by the President himself when he summoned only Democratic Senators to the White House and peremptorily but impotently forbade, not merely enactment, but discussion of a statute by the Congress of the United States.

We do not condemn, but do criticise and gravely lament, the action of both the Senate Committee and the President. Both were partly right and partly wrong, but both went too far in their resentment, each of the other. Neither can long maintain the doggedness of the present without forfeiting the respect which should be due to patriotic servants of the public. If pride forbids acceptance of "compromise," let "consideration" or "tolerance" take its place.

The Bill should be redrawn immediately, upon the lines we suggested long ago, depriving the President of no part of his prerogatives but conferring upon him the concentrated assistance of which he stands so sadly in need and without which, it is now quite certain, he cannot hope to obtain the wholehearted support of the country or to carry the great war to a successful conclusion.

IT will not do. Such statements as are being made in the Senate of the United States—deliberate, serious, circumstantial and abundantly substantiated—cannot be disposed of with a jaunty quip or sneer, or with a covert suggestion of pro-German camouflage. There were perhaps those who thought that the Military Affairs Committee was completely crushed when the President himself practically charged Senator Chamberlain with falsehood and with opposition to the war policy of the government. Their illusion was rudely shattered, however, when Senator Hitchcock, hitherto one of the most loyal and efficient

supporters of the government, fairly out-Chamberlained Chamberlain in circumstantial and scathing exposure of bureaucratic inefficiency and blundering. In response to him, however, there came no fulminations from the White House of "astonishing and absolutely unjustifiable distortion of the truth." Instead, an administration spokesman on the Senate floor tried to meet one of the points made with a feeble piping about "hearsay evidence," only to be confounded by finding that the "hearsay" was backed by the official report of the Quartermaster-General of the Army. Third came Senator Wadsworth, with the authority of extended and detailed personal investigation, and with equally grave indictments of the broken-down military administration; to whom down to this moment no reply is forthcoming. Whether to such utterances the reply be rhetorical denunciation, or smirking insinuation, or sullen silence, one thing is sure: The nation listens to the words of its Senators, and will not be satisfied with anything short of a far more worthy reply than any that has yet been given. Such a reply is now awaited, even from the man who alone, in words or deeds or both, is competent to give it and who is on both public and personal grounds most concerned in giving it, and in giving it promptly and conclusively.

THE agent of a hostile foreign government is convicted of having, on American soil, conspired to destroy a merchant vessel belonging to a friendly power and sailing from one of our ports, and to do so in a manner peculiarly certain to make the ship and her cargo a total loss and most likely also to destroy the lives of some if not of all on board—in the favorite phrase of Hunnish diplomacy, *spurlos versenkt*.

For this atrocious crime, not his first offense, either, but one of many which he is known to have committed and indeed the third of which he has been actually convicted within a year, he is sentenced to the full penalty of the law, which is a year and a half imprisonment at hard labor and a fine of two thousand dollars. That is, by the way, identical with the sentence formerly imposed upon him for merely fomenting industrial strikes, and is not nearly as severe as that which might be imposed upon some poor devil who had forged a check or stolen money. But "it is the law."

We have the highest respect for the court which administered the law and for the judge who pronounced the sentence in this case. But the law itself we must regard as so inadequate and futile as to amount to a travesty upon justice. It minds us of the days when a man might be absolved from murder by a fine, but was infallibly to be hanged for stealing a sheep. We are not bloodthirsty or vindictive, and have no love for the taking of human life. On the contrary, we should like to prevent all criminal destruction of life, and it is on that ground that we deplore the feebleness of the existing law to deal fittingly with such a case as this.

When a man repeatedly and persistently plots wholesale murder in one of its most atrocious forms, we believe that justice would be done, humanity would be mercifully served, and human life would be more sacredly safeguarded, if within twenty-four hours of conviction he were disposed of, not by a firing squad of gentlemen with clean, soldier-like bullets, but at the noosed end of a felon's rope. And the fact that he is a man of wealth and fashion and a blood-relative of the Kaiser of Kultur should not for a moment stand in the way or delay his fate.

FOLLOWING is the official report of the latest session of the Supreme War Council at Versailles:

The council was unable to find in von Hertling's and Czernin's recent utterances any real approximation to the moderate conditions laid down by the Allies' governments. Under

the circumstances the council decided that the only task before them to meet was the vigorous and effective prosecution of the war until the pressure of that effort produced a change of temper in the enemy governments, justifying the hope of the conclusion of a peace based on the principles of freedom, justice and respect for international law.

The council arrived at a complete unanimity of policy on measures for the prosecution of the war.

The London *Times*, which seems to have become the New York *World* of the Lloyd George administration, approves the pronouncement as greatly needed and highly satisfactory, but other British journals, headed by the *Daily News*, find it disappointing as bearing no constructive suggestion. We frankly perceive little point in it one way or the other. The so-called proposals of von Hertling and Czernin had already been rejected contemptuously by both France and England and there is certainly nothing new in the council's arrival "at a complete unanimity of policy on measures of policy for the prosecution of the war." It arrived there at the first meeting, according to Colonel House, who attended in *persona grata*. The compromise which ensued from Mr. Lloyd George's inability, for political reasons, to accept the President's wise and strong appeal to make of the council a businesslike, directive body, exercising real authority, seems to have left it as a high-class debating society engaging itself at intervals in star-chamber proceedings. Its sole "policy," so far as one can judge, is that of drifting along defensive lines, until the enemy shall choose time and place for attack.

The result fully justifies our insistence at the time of the formation of the council that, since the United States is now relied upon to win the war, the United States should assume a position of leadership in shaping an aggressive program. But highly as we hold Colonel House's judgment to be, his temporizing nature clearly unfitted him for the performance of a task requiring determination of the firmest order, and the mighty aggregation of fame and talent assembled by our Allies easily overwhelmed our unofficial representative, who prudently scooted for home on the first boat he could catch.

Consequently the United States was practically without representation at the latest gathering. True, General Pershing and dear old General Bliss, into whose mind Senator Williams remarked with unconscious humor in his reply to Senator Hitchcock, nobody could inject an idea, were present in a military capacity, and Mr. A. H. Frazier, Secretary of the Legation in Paris, "attended without participating." In the ordinary course of events, the American Ambassador would have filled the gap, but apparently, and doubtless for the best of reasons, the Administration did not regard Mr. Sharp as competent. The other Powers were fully represented by their Premiers and highest military officers.

Presumably the United States will be represented officially at future meetings by the member of the Cabinet who is to be given his sailing papers. We say "presumably" because we have our doubts as to the extent of the authority which will be accorded him to speak for the Nation. So far as the war is concerned, therefore, we may perhaps as well make up our minds to continue to be "in it but not of it."

THE official announcement that the President is to send a member of his Cabinet to represent himself and the country at the Supreme War Council came as a surprise to those who had reached the conclusion that Colonel House was regarded as the only American statesman capable of meeting foreign rulers upon a basis of true equality. The decision was accepted by some as an answer, if not a virtual concession, to the criticism which was evoked by the original designation of a personal and unofficial envoy, but a more likely supposition is that the Colonel did not care to return.

Be that as it may, the President's probable selection from his what-not in the corner of the sitting room of the china figure deemed by him best qualified for this most important post affords room for interesting speculation. Fortunately, there is no lack of excellent material. Indeed, if we can accept as correct the carefully reasoned judgment, explicitly expressed in the New York *Herald*, of Brother Frank Harris, of the *Ocala Banner*, that Mr. Wilson's Cabinet is vastly superior to Mr. Lincoln's, the President's perplexity will arise from an embarrassment of riches. Passing somewhat hurriedly, then, Brother Harris's insistence that in "extraordinary genius and intellect" history will rank Mr. Bryan as higher than Mr. Seward, we may proceed with our conjectured dissertation.

Inasmuch as Great Britain, France and Italy are represented in the Council by their respective Premiers, it is but natural to regard the designation of Mr. Lansing as the most fitting and the most acceptable both here and abroad, in view of the admirable manner in which he has performed such tasks as have been assigned to him. He would, moreover, leave in his place Counselor Polk, whose efficiency in all matters not reserved for higher consideration has been amply demonstrated. Mr. McAdoo, we fear, could not be spared for the moment, but nobody would miss Mr. Redfield, whose stately presence at any rate would be surpassed by none other. Mr. Daniels, too, might go if Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt could bear the pain of separation, and he could utilize his spare moments to marked advantage in reforming the morals of Paris. Mr. Lane and Mr. Houston seem to be barred, possibly by their luckless possession of abundant common sense, from participation in the conduct of the war, but the urbanity of Mr. Burleson would be a compelling, if not a wholly decisive, influence, and the postal business of the country would go on, we suspect, "as usual," if at all. Secretary Wilson is probably too distinctively a specialist, but Mr. Gregory lacks neither breadth nor experience and possesses the exceptional advantage of having sat for years at the feet of Colonel House himself.

There remains, of course, Mr. Baker, who might appear before the Supreme War Council as a sample Pacifist, but hardly as an international statesman, unless his experience as Mayor of Cleveland should be regarded as affording adequate equipment, and even less as an expert upon anything relating to war except shoddy for the living and coffins for the dead. In point of fact, recent revelations have made it quite clear that, of all the Cabinet members, Mr. Baker would prove the least effective during the progress of actual warfare. We assume, therefore, that Mr. Baker will be sent.

If so, we beg to suggest most respectfully that the appreciative Huns be notified in advance of the exact route and schedule of his sailing, even though by so doing we enable them to serve their own selfish purpose by shrewdly sparing his ship at sea.

WHERE on earth is War Brother H. D. Baker? The last we heard of him he was somewhere else in West Virginia, presumably on his way to Washington to see what was happening to that airplane contract, but if he has arrived nobody seems to know where he is stopping. In any case, we wish he would hurry up; we are in a fog of bewilderment and need his help.

This is the situation: On the very day when this paper appeared last week Senator Frelinghuysen brought the carefully labeled "Engel" contract to the attention of the Military Affairs Committee and elicited from Colonel Deeds of the War Department the information that when Mr. H. D. first applied for a contract he had only "a paper company" and maybe not that; so he was "flatly turned down," but not for long, as he quickly reappeared with a photograph of a plant, and negotiations were resumed to

mutual satisfaction. "They are doing a very good job now," Colonel Deeds testified firmly.

But the Colonel was mistaken; they were not doing any job at all, good, bad or indifferent, according to the Secretary of War, who issued a statement on the evening of the same day to the effect that when he heard what was going on he "realized that the situation had inevitable embarrassments" and "called in General Squier and directed him in my name to cancel the contract." That would seem to have settled it, but no! The Secretary continued:

At my request, Mr. Eugene Meyer, Jr., then went to Cleveland and discussed the matter with the directors and my brother. My brother generously resigned from the company and arranged for the termination of his financial interest in it on the basis of the return to him of his actual cash outlay, with interest, but without profit; his only compensation being for time actually devoted to the affairs of the company on a reasonable salary basis. His interest in the common stock of the company is returned to the treasury of the company.

Why Mr. Meyer should have been sent away out to Cleveland to "discuss" a matter which had already been disposed of by peremptory order can only be imagined; nor is it quite clear why Mr. H. D. should have felt called upon to "generously resign" from a company which no longer had a contract with the Government. Another odd thing about it was that Colonel Deeds, testifying on January 31, knew nothing of the cancellation on January 21. Colonel Montgomery, who followed Colonel Deeds the next day, was better informed, possibly because he had read the Secretary's statement, but even he did not know when the order was issued. "The company," he added, "promised exceedingly well."

We erred, it appears, in one respect last week, namely in "assuming unhesitatingly" that Mr. N. D. was ignorant of Mr. H. D.'s enterprise. His own statement reveals the facts that Mr. H. D. had apprized him long before of his intentions and that the Secretary himself had learned further, "on inquiry," that the company had been formed "with a view primarily of aiding the Government,"—on the cost-plus basis. We were right, however, in our guess that the first contract was only a beginning. "We had intended," Colonel Montgomery testified, "to give the company considerably more work."

Now we hope that all this is as clear to the reader as it is to us. There remains only a small matter of relative dates to complete the circle, to wit:

Some time away back.—Mr. H. D. notified Mr. N. D. of his intention to enter the aircraft production game.

July 15.—Mr. H. D. organized his company.

October 25.—The company got its first contract.

January 21.—The Secretary cancelled the contract and sent to Mr. H. D., by hand of Mr. Meyer, his generous resignation.

Just when, in the three months which intervened between October 25 and January 21, the Secretary heard of Mr. H. D.'s success in obtaining a contract does not appear in the record. It is, however, an interesting coincidence, if not indeed a striking example of cause and effect, that on Saturday, January 19, two days before the cancellation order was hurriedly issued by telegraph on Monday, January 21, the Honorable George E. Chamberlain delivered in New York a certain speech, which plainly foreshadowed a most thorough inquiry into the doings of the War Department in all phases, including, of course, essential particulars pertaining to secret contracts.

The net result is that, of the brothers Baker, Mr. H. D., like Mr. I. of the brothers Kaplan, loses his contract, but that Mr. N. D., unlike Mr. S., retains his official position. So much at least is clear; and yet we cannot rid our mind of the impression that Mr. H. D., who is a business man and less addicted than other members of the family to display of glittering generalities, might shed light upon some of the high spots which are still partially obscured; so again we wish he would hurry up.

The German Strike and War Prospects

"**R**EVOLUTION in Germany!" cried the newsboys, selling early afternoon extras when the German strike movement was at its acme a few days ago. But nobody that knew anything was surprised to find, a day or two later, that the revolution existed only in the imagination of newspaper headlinists or in the sanguine hopes of rainbow-chasers. This is not to say, however, that the whole story of serious unrest in Germany is an invention either of the enemy or of sensational newsmongers. Just how much it means, just how much there has been of it, nobody on this side the water can say; but to discuss it as of no significance would be almost as great a mistake as to magnify it into the dimensions of a revolution.

The troubles which Germany has been going through, and which it has been compelled to resort to military force to suppress, prove nothing as to the immediate prospect of a revolution; there is little or no more reason to expect one in the near future than there was before the strike troubles were started. Neither do they indicate any probability that Germany will be seriously hindered in her war industries work by labor discontent; the indications are that the Government has the situation well in hand. What does give vital significance to the demonstration of discontent is the evidence that it furnishes of what the German people are likely to do not next week, or next month, but whenever the turn of the tide may come in the military situation.

It is not pleasant to remember, but it ought to be perfectly easy to remember, that the German army is not only unbeaten, and not only in possession of a vast area of conquered territory of the first importance, but is actually still in a position to justify the contemplation of a tremendous offensive, an offensive whose success would be almost fatal to the hopes of the Allies. So long as victory thus seems a possibility, so long as the prestige of German arms has not been shattered, there is little reason to look for anything more than mere demonstrations of discontent among the German people. Even among peoples in whom the tradition of discipline and obedience is infinitely less strong, discontent does not develop into revolution while the army is holding its own against a foreign enemy. The military situation and the political or domestic are not two separate and independent facts; there will be no collapse at home until there has come something like a collapse at the front. What the strike troubles that have just been suppressed show is that the German people will act just like any other people when things come to a sufficiently bad pass. If they will go so far while the prestige of the army is still unbroken, and while victory still seems in sight, they will go a hundred times as far when the army shall have made its supreme effort and failed. And they will not have to go a hundred times as far in order to bring about a complete collapse of Germany's military power.

Were it not for this consideration, the prospect before the world would be dismal, indeed. All military authorities seem agreed that since the elimination of Russia nothing remains for the Allies to look forward to but the workings out of the terrible arithmetic of attrition. Keep up the killing on the Western front, and after a certain length of time the German lives, being thinned at a somewhat more rapid percentage rate than the Allied lines, will become unable to hold against the superior man-power of the enemy. But this process is of ghastly slowness, and were there not something else to look to, would be truly appalling to contemplate. This something else has existed all along, but the strike troubles have made its existence more evident. It is the state of mind of the German people. The German Government has been perfectly aware of the problem that this presents. To keep up the people's hope of victory has been as essential a part of its task as to provide cannon or shells for the army. And something more than mere holding out against attrition is necessary to sustain that hope. The people will not look on in mute

agony, starving and freezing at home, losing their best and dearest in the field, with nothing better to reward their sacrifice than the sense that they are putting off the day of reckoning. Their hope has thus far been fed at frequent intervals by great and spectacular military successes. The latest of these is now pretty far back; to gain a new one a great offensive on the Western or the Italian front seems the indispensable way. Without some such move it is hardly conceivable that the German people can be got to endure another winter of war and distress. And if the move is made and fails—provided America is seen to be really throwing her might into the scale thus making the odds hopeless—either the German Government will accept the terms of peace it has hitherto rejected, or the revolution which last week existed only in imagination may become an accomplished fact.

A War-Till-Victory Congress

THE Congressional elections are still nine months off, but the nomination machinery, or the pre-nomination machinery, will begin to be put in motion before very long. It was therefore an act of wisdom, as well as of patriotism, on the part of the executive committee of the League for National Unity to issue at this time, and not later, its "appeal to the voters of the United States to elect a War-Till-Victory Congress next November." For the appeal is directed, in the first instance, to the two great national parties. They are urged to make sure, in every Congressional district, that the voter shall be safe in voting for either the Republican or the Democratic candidate, so far as regards the one supreme interest of the country at this time. "No man ought to be nominated by either party," says the appeal, "of whom it is not certain that if elected he will support the Government in its high resolve to destroy Prussian militarism and establish a just and secured peace."

It is quite possible that the Congressional elections of this year will be held at a time when the fate of the world will turn on America's steadfastness. If all goes well in the terrific trial of strength which will take place on the Western front during the coming spring and summer, Germany may, before next November, be ready to accept the terms which have been declared by ourselves and the Entente Allies, the terms that are essential to the future peace and safety of the world. But three and a half years of experience have demonstrated the folly of counting upon such success before it has been achieved. What we have to be prepared for is a situation in which Germany, baffled but not yet beaten, will again make a tremendous "peace drive," a drive for a peace based upon the claim that the war is a stalemate. To grant that claim would be to give up those war aims which have again and again been asserted by our President, and by the heads of the British and French Governments, to be indispensable for the security of the free peoples of the world. Yet winter after winter the effort has been made to break down the determination of the free peoples arrayed against Germany to fight the issue out; winter after winter the effort has been brought to naught by the splendid steadfastness of those peoples. Whether the propaganda for a German peace will be foiled in 1918, as it has been in 1915, in 1916, and in 1917, is a question the answer to which will be given in this country.

What the actual spirit of the country is admits of no doubt. The nation is clearly behind the President in his war programme. It wants peace as soon as it can get a just and enduring peace—a peace which will leave the world free from the overshadowing menace of German autocracy and militarism—and no sooner. It has cheerfully assented to every measure that has been found necessary for the prosecution of the war. Taxes on an unheard-of scale have been accepted as a matter of course; the great draft, which almost everybody thought would give rise to considerable discontent and disturbance, has operated almost without a trace of friction. In no war in which our country has been en-

gaged has there been so great a concord in the public sentiment of all sections.

But while this is not an overdrawn picture of the nation's loyalty, there are, in many parts of the country, and to some extent perhaps in all parts, elements that are not in harmony with the dominant sentiment of the nation. There are those whose sympathies were with Germany at the beginning of the European war, and who still have some leanings that way; there are the pacifists, and the semi-pacifists, who, without having any sympathy with Germany, are not whole-hearted in support of the war, and are constantly on the watch for a chance to promote a patched-up peace with little or no regard to its terms; there are the inveterate anti-Britishers; and, of course, there are a certain number of plain pro-Germans, outright disloyalists. Now the danger as to the Congressional elections is that, in districts where such elements are especially numerous, politicians will try to win an election by putting up candidates who will attract the lukewarm or disloyalist vote. And against that danger the timely appeal of the League for National Unity should serve as an effective protection.

Would it not be a good plan for each of the great parties to hold some kind of national convention or conference for the express purpose of carrying out the suggestion of the Unity League? A declaration adopted by such a conference or convention would go far toward securing the desired action by the party in each Congressional district. That action, as contemplated by the League, would include not only the requirement that any nominee of the Republican or Democratic party shall be unquestionably a determined supporter of the nation's war policy, but also fusion of the two parties in any Congressional district where such fusion may be necessary to make certain the defeat of an anti-war candidate. No more patriotic service can be rendered by anybody than the carrying out of this programme; for nothing can do more to hasten the coming of peace than a demonstration that America presents an absolutely unbroken front in the prosecution of the war to a triumphant issue.

What Lincoln Would Say

NOT more than one other name in American history is held in equal veneration with that of Lincoln. Not more than one other voice speaks in memory from the past with authority comparable with that of his. We should doubt if more than one other in all the history of the world has been more misquoted and misrepresented and claimed as the advocate and exemplar of causes which would in fact have been quite abhorrent to him. But on the one supreme issue of this day there can be no possible question as to what he would think and say were he now among us. We may with absolute assurance apply to our own time his words of fifty-four years ago, with only the change of a phrase or two to adapt them to present conditions:

"The Almighty has His own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that Prussian militarism is one of those offenses which in the Providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both *Europe and America* this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came,—shall we discern therein any departure from those Divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him?

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the *strength gained by years of military despotism shall be wasted, and until every life blighted by that tyranny shall be paid for by another taken by the sword*,—as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with

firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right,—let us strive on TO FINISH THE WORK WE ARE IN; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a JUST AND LASTING PEACE among ourselves and with all nations."

We commend those words, the peroration of Lincoln's greatest and last address, to the American people for consideration upon the coming holiday which marks the anniversary of his birth. They are his exact words, save for the substituted phrases which we have printed in italics. If there be anyone who challenges the fitness of those changes, or disputes that the whole passage thus modified is what Lincoln would say if he were to speak to us at this time, we do not envy him the task of making his objection good. Nor can we question, nor permit question, that were he to-day to stand by the Marne or the Yser, amid the ruins of Ypres or by the scarred but impregnable ramparts of Verdun, he would, even with an accession of emphasis and of spiritual fervor, exhort us,—

"That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The Burden of Example

ONCE more we are profoundly and sincerely flattered through the apt means of discriminating imitation; the act being performed by no less a personage than the Most Honorable the Marquess of Lansdowne. We have recently remarked upon the signal compliment that is paid us in the sending hither of the Lord Chief Justice of England as a Special Ambassador of the United Kingdom, in emulation of our own such use of two of our earliest Chief Justices. Now the distinguished former Foreign Secretary of His Majesty's Government adds to the welcome and gracious process.

A little time ago, it will be remembered, Lord Lansdowne caused a pronounced sensation—we might almost say in the speech of the unconventional world, he raised particular hob—with an utterance which, whatever he may really have meant by it, was interpreted as a plea for abandonment of the war and for peace through compromise. Now he completely reverses himself. Without, indeed, so much as referring to that former utterance—without so much as the informal but expressive "Ah, forget it!"—he puts himself on record to the exact contrary of it. He declares that he is, and that he believes all Englishmen are, quite ready to prolong the war as long as may be necessary to "get a clean peace, a peace which will be honorable and durable." In brief, he turns away from the Pacifists, the Bolsheviks and the lafollette, and aligns himself with President Wilson and Lloyd George.

This extraordinary reversal we must regard as a manifestation of fickleness and inconstancy, qualities not characteristic of our British cousins, but rather as the indication of a determination, made, as Monroe said, "on great consideration and on just principles," to follow the most distinguished American example of recent years, and thus to give to the latter the grateful compliment and the not unwelcome support of imitation.

Lord Lansdowne, we may be quite sure, had vividly in mind the quondam assurance that in respect to military preparations for any emergency we had not been unmindful or negligent; followed by a practical confession that we had been so neglectful that the most urgent and extraordinary measures were necessary. He remembered well the intimation that this nation was too proud to fight, with its proximate addendum that we should be eager and proud to engage in the same war from which we had formerly refrained. He had not forgotten the imperative proclamation of the essential and fundamental principle of peace without

victory, with its no less authoritative corollary of no peace without victory as an immutable *sine qua non*. Nor had there escaped from his attention the pontifical pronouncement that with the causes, motives and purposes of the war we were not concerned, not even to the academic extent of seeking to know what they were, and the speedily subsequent decree that we must actively and belligerently concern ourselves with those causes, even to their remotest and most recondite extremes.

Revolving these things in mind, it is not difficult to picture Lord Lansdowne as chivalrously deciding, at whatever cost of personal comfort and apparent consistency, not to let those examples of uncomfortable caprice stand singular and solitary, but to place his own by their side; not so complete and striking, perhaps, as they, but at least not altogether unworthy of ranking with them. Thus a high compliment is paid, thus generous support is given to the versatile policy of self repudiation, and thus notice is served upon the world that even in their vagaries of inconsistency the Allied Governments stand as one.

There now remains the third and final achievement of Anglo-American replication. That is, the sending forth of some quite unofficial and uncredentialed Lord High Ambassador to the World at large *et in Partibus Infidelium*, to follow fearfully and afar the footsteps of the most distinguished diplomat ever born in Harris County, Texas, U. S. A. For that consummation, however, we must be content to wait. So great an achievement is not to be hastily performed; nor should we wonder if a single Power were deemed not sufficient for it, but if a consensus and cooperation of all the European Allies were required to provide a Roland for our Texan Oliver.

Grateful, indeed, have been and are and ever will be these acts of adulatory and commendatory emulation on the part of our elders who have now become our pupils. But awe-inspiring is the burden of responsibility which we thus assume, in becoming the exemplar of the world. In the first of the three cited cases, no doubt, our example was sound and it was beneficently followed. In the second case at least no mischief of a serious nature has been done. But in the third, we hesitate to imagine what may be the result of an attempt, no matter how earnestly made, to equal the incomparable and to rival the unrivalled. Among nations, as amid the sports of youth, "follow your leader" may be a very pretty game. But there is danger of misfortune if the leader—in the conventional paraphrase of high diplomacy — throws stunts that the other fellows can't do.

Josephus the Just

STRANGE things continue to happen behind closed doors at the Navy Department despite the fact that Josephus Daniels, through the medium of a personally conducted Congressional investigation, appears to have satisfied a number of his friends, that he has been cured of some of those idiosyncrasies which have made his name a household word.

We pass over without comment the charge made so generally that Mr. Daniels has done the Navy incalculable harm by promoting his favorites at the expense of the best officers in the service to present as succinctly as we know how the records in the cases involving Captain Victor Blue and Lieutenant Ernest Friederick.

Those who have been unfortunate enough to follow closely the administration of the Navy by Mr. Daniels will remember the part played by Captain Victor Blue in depriving the fleet of a full complement of officers and men. It is almost five years now since Assistant Secretary Roosevelt—voicing the unanimous sentiment of the service—began the fight for an increase in personnel. Admiral Fletcher, then in command of the fleet, the General Board and virtually every ranking officer in the service pleaded with Mr. Daniels to urge Congress to give the Navy at least 20,000

additional officers and men so that the ships might be ready for an emergency.

For reasons best known to himself Mr. Daniels opposed the increase and blocked the necessary legislation with the result that we are now training the men who should have been at the guns when we entered the war.

Captain Blue, then Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, supported Mr. Daniels on every occasion, with the result that their names were linked as the greatest enemies of the Navy. Captain Blue became so unpopular at the department that he was finally placed on active service. Of course it was but natural that Mr. Daniels should have an extremely strong attachment for him. How could it be otherwise, anyhow, since they both hailed from North Carolina. The Navy would have been glad to see Captain Blue sent to Guam, but Mr. Daniels placed him in command of the Texas, one of the most powerful ships in the fleet.

Several months ago rumors were current at the department that Mr. Daniels intended to promote his friend and give him a squadron of the fleet. Unfortunately, the Texas ran aground on the coast of New England about this time and Captain Blue instead of getting a promotion was ordered before a court, charged with neglect of duty. He made the unique plea that his navigating officer was in charge when the ship ran ashore and therefore he should not be held responsible. The Navy does not recognize dual responsibility and the court promptly ordered that Captain Blue be demoted twenty numbers. Such sentences invariably mean that the penalized officer loses his command as well as his rank.

About the time the Texas was beached an American destroyer operating in the war zone fired upon an Italian submarine. The record shows that Lieutenant Ernest Friederick received a wireless at three o'clock in the morning warning him that enemy submarines were operating in the vicinity of his patrol. Young Friederick took the bridge and doubled the lookout. A few minutes later a submarine appeared. Friederick gave the customary signals to ascertain her nationality. His signal was not answered and he opened fire with full steam ahead. The submarine ran up the Italian flag just in time to save herself from the American gunners—not, however, before two of her seamen had been killed.

Friederick was court martialed. He accepted full responsibility for the attack. He regretted the loss of life but said frankly that he would do precisely the same thing in similar circumstances because his first duty was to save his ship and his men. Privately members of the court commended his course, but explicit naval regulations compelled them to find him guilty of a technical violation.

The court imposed the minimum sentence—the loss of thirty numbers—but attached to its finding a strong plea for clemency on the ground that the Italian submarine's commander was to blame for failing to signal. The Italian Government, upon being informed of the verdict cabled Ambassador Cellere to urge Secretary Daniels to put aside the sentence because the submarine commander was clearly at fault and that Friederick should be decorated rather than punished.

Mr. Daniels has just functioned on the two findings. Captain Blue's penalty has been cut in half and he has been restored to the command of the Texas. The recommendations of the court which tried Lieutenant Friederick have been overruled. He has been demoted thirty numbers and has been relieved of his command.

A Good Appointment

THE announcement that Secretary Baker has recalled Major General Peyton March from France to become Acting Chief of Staff of the Army is the best news we have had from the War Department in many months. It is particularly welcome because it is the first admission made by Secretary Baker that he has discovered—what everybody else knew—that the War Department

cannot be managed successfully by the clique of aged swivel chair generals who have been in charge up to the present time.

We do not believe that the mere appointment of General March will revolutionize the War Department or break the power of the bureaucrats over night, but we do believe that it will eventually result in tearing down red tape and smashing the silly precedents under which the department is now crawling.

The March appointment is important because it places at the head of the army a man in sympathy with the virile elements of the service. It means that hereafter the progressive element in the army will know that their recommendations will be acted upon and that they will not be blocked by any of the genial old gentlemen who have managed to side track or pigeon hole most of the vital recommendations made heretofore.

There are no reasons for believing that General March has such transcendent ability that his appointment represents the best that could have been made. There are other officers in the service—notably General Wood—who are better equipped for the post. The fact is, however, that General March is the right type of man and his real value to the country will be estimated eventually by the degree in which he represents the viewpoint of the men of his own school and type.

The new chief of staff has an inherent hatred of red tape. During the Mexican mobilization he was attached to the office of the Adjutant General where his particular duties required him to accelerate the formation and enlargement of organizations for service on the border. His ruthless methods of attacking red tape, smashing regulations and violating time honored precedents were a constant source of irritation to some of the older gentlemen at the department. Much to the amazement of his superiors he got results in record time.

His fellow officers know him as a man who has never failed at any duty assigned him. In the very nature of things virtually all of his assignments, before he was sent to Europe as Chief of Artillery, have been inconsequential, but he handled them with a thoroughness which convinced those who have followed his career that he had the "punch" necessary to do bigger things. Every report received from Europe indicates that with the exception of General Pershing he has been the most efficient American officer over seas.

We learn from Mr. Creel's *News Bulletin*, which instructs his 20,000 four-minute spellbinders, that the Huns must still be treated gently as neighbors and loved as ourselves. While there may be "recognition of the terrible things that would happen if the German government should triumph, there must be no preaching of hate," since "this debasing feature is not necessary to secure and maintain our army." That is to say, we may hang our clothes on a hickory limb but not approach the water and must fight the barbarians, if at all, with gloves on.

It begins to look as though it would not be criminally libellous to describe Sir Edward Carson as the lafollette of the United Kingdom.

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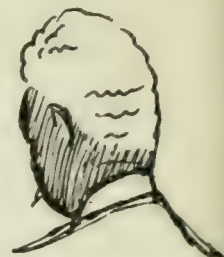


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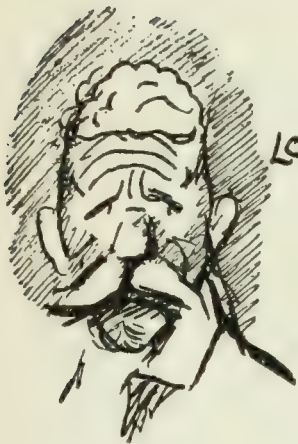
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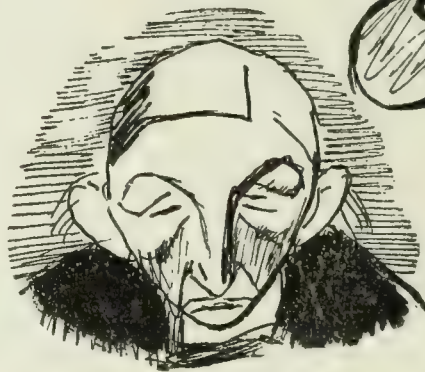
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The Week

WASHINGTON, *February 15, 1918.*

TIME was when we rejoiced to hear that the President had taken typewriter in hand and was about to address an epistle to the Barbarians, but we have to confess that upon receipt of information to that effect on Sunday night last we shivered slightly, though whether despite or because of the teetering presence of Colonel House we cannot say. Somehow it did not seem to be a fitting or advantageous time for Mr. Wilson to address the world through Congress. So far as one could perceive, everything had been said that really required expression, and whatever might be added, however admirable in tone or phrase, was likely to do more harm than good. It was with distinctly appreciable relief, therefore, that when, on the following day, we had listened apprehensively to an utterance which read as well as it sounded, we realized that nothing more serious than an anti-climax had emerged from the thought of our Chief Magistrate to disturb the tranquility of our Allies and ourselves.

The question in the President's mind undoubtedly was whether an attempt to "drive a wedge" between Austria and Germany would counterbalance or surpass in effectiveness the inevitable accompanying suspicion of weakening on the part of the United States. To pronounce it a hazardous undertaking is to state the case mildly; few we venture to assert would have essayed it without grave misgiving; but, apparently following his own instinct and heeding the information which Colonel House is commonly supposed to obtain furtively from foreign sources, he deemed the effort worth the making; and time only can prove or disprove his judgment.

Offhand we think little of it. Austria wants peace, of course, but she is tied from neck to heels to Germany and Czernin, as the President himself intimates, is far too vague

to be convincing. True, as contrasted with Hertling, he speaks in propitiatory fashion, but only, as Lloyd George truly and somewhat sharply declared, in seeming, not "in substance,"—"a polite statement to President Wilson" undoubtedly, as the British Premier added, but when analyzed nothing else than "a definite refusal to discuss any terms which might be regarded as possible terms of peace." Nothing conceivable being impossible in these strange times, it may transpire that the President's intuition, fortified by Colonel House's occultism, has penetrated the real purpose of this tricky diplomat more deeply than the lay mind can imagine, but our own guess is that he is grasping at a straw as elusive as an eel.

In any case, whether this suspicion be right or wrong, the impairment of the President's own great influence is only too ghastly apparent. Even the English statesmen and public journals, striving manfully to heed the recent adjuration of the formerly unfriendly *Spectator* to refrain from complaint of anything the President may say or do, had obvious difficulty in restraining their impatience at this latest demonstration of independent dealing with the situation at its most crucial stage. Mr. Asquith remarked somewhat haltingly that "Mr. Wilson has discriminated both with respect to tone and substance between the declarations of the German and Austrian Ministers and showed quite convincingly the utter futility of these partial and piecemeal bargains," but there he stopped,—and Lloyd George significantly cut Czernin's statement into bits without even referring to the President's carefully wrought interpretation. Simultaneously the newspapers ignored completely the main point in the President's utterance while commending the segregated phrase, "We cannot turn back;" the *Times* alone seeing in the address an important refutation of "the Bolshevik illusion that Prussian militarism can be exorcised by rhetoric,"—which, we must confess, strikes us as rather funny.

Our own papers were equally dazed. Ignoring the Pacifist and furtively pro-German journals, whose delight at assumed "peace overtures" was restrained with obvious difficulty, we turned, conformably to our custom when bewildered by paradoxical magisterial declarations, to the *World*, the unofficial bulletin of the Administration published in New York by First Lieutenant Ralph Pulitzer. But we might as well have looked at the editorial page of the *Washington Post* or down a well. Instigated apparently by the need of upholding a stern announcement from the State Department that there was no change of attitude, Mr. Cobb declared firmly in a leading editorial: "This is not a modification of the fourteen conditions of peace put forth in the President's address of January 8, but an explanation of them in relation to the attitude of the United

States toward the questions involved"; but simultaneously, upon the front page of the same paper, Mr. Swire, a frequent visitor, if not guest, at the White House, said no less positively:

Washington, Feb. 12.—President Wilson's speech to the Congress yesterday is defined by those who have the right to speak with authority as being *a forthright declaration of preliminaries to peace*. That is the spirit in which Mr. Wilson himself wishes his address to be regarded.

What a patient outsider can deduce from authoritatively contradictory interpretations such as these the reader must determine for himself. For ourselves, we can only say that, if constantly changing "war aims" requiring so many explanations must be heralded to the world at all, they would better be phrased with sufficient explicitness to prevent the sending of a chill down the backbone of everyone who believes that true peace can be achieved only through, not without, victory and is not yet convinced that the United States of America is a quitter.

That the President is instituting a series of conferences with the leaders in Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, is good news for us all. Whatever faults there may have been on either side or both sides, the pulling and hauling that has been going on during the last few weeks has had some undeniably good consequences, and perhaps none of them is better than this. These are not times for party loggerheads. And it is clear that nobody, except possibly an insignificant minority in either party, has wished for anything of the kind. Indeed, even in such conflict as there has been between the two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, party distinctions have been comparatively little in evidence. But conflict there has been, and just as it seemed approaching the point of bitterness the right way out of it appears to have been taken.

The War Cabinet bill, whatever may have been its intention, had the look of a serious infringement on the President's domain; and the fact that he so regarded it was in itself sufficient to make it a measure practically impossible. The President's counter-proposal—a bill authorizing him to make blank paper of everything that has been established by law as to the organization, the powers, and the duties of all executive departments—naturally made Congress gasp. Strong as the habit had grown of granting to the President sweeping and uncontrolled power in almost every domain of the national life—and it is a good habit in time of war—it was not strong enough to carry a proposal to make the President the sole creator of the whole machinery of government, limited by nobody, answerable to nobody, not even so much as reporting to Congress what it may have been his sovereign pleasure to decide upon. Evidently what this situation called for was to find some means of attaining the common end avowed in both these measures, by means less subversive of the self-respect either of the legislative or the executive branch of the government.

That common end is the increase of administrative efficiency. On each side it was held that the measure proposed by the other was not only offensive from the standpoint of due respect for the established boundaries of legislative or executive power, but that even at the cost of this offense the desired efficiency would not be attained. On behalf of the Administration it was contended that the introduction of the new régime of a War Cabinet would involve so violent a break with existing arrangements as must inevitably cause, for some time, a slowing up instead of an acceleration of the nation's war activities. On the other hand, opponents of the Administration's bill pointed out that while giving to the President the blanket power which was so amazing, it furnished no guarantee whatever that the kind of fundamental improvement contemplated by the War Cabinet bill would be instituted at all. And there was force in both objections.

Out of the conferences between the President and the Congress leaders it is not too much to hope that there will arise a scheme which shall combine the good qualities of

both bills and eliminate those that are objectionable. Even by the offering of his own bill the President has admitted that things have not been done as well as they might have been. By taking counsel with the leading men of both parties he appears further to have admitted that his policy of "splendid isolation" can no longer be unbendingly maintained. When we have got so far as this, we have good reason to expect that we shall get farther. And of all men Mr. Wilson is perhaps the one who, once launched upon this course, ought to be most ready to continue in it. The one political doctrine to which throughout his career, both as a publicist and as a statesman, he has been most continuously attached is that of the merit of the English parliamentary system of a responsible ministry as distinguished from the American system of sharp cleavage between the executive and the legislature. It is true that in practice he has tended rather to claim for the executive the function of legislating than to recognize the limitation imposed upon this function by the answerability to Parliament which goes with it in the English system. But surely this has been due to what he has conceived to be the pressure of immediate exigency and not to any deliberate doctrine of executive omnipotence. He has now a fine opportunity of putting into practice something closely approaching the British principle of co-ordination between executive power and parliamentary control.

Secretary Baker's widely advertised reorganization of the General Staff is good as far as it goes. But, unfortunately, it is a half way measure conceived, we fear, more in the hope of placating public opinion than in giving the War Department the kind of machinery it must have and will have if this war is to be won without sacrificing thousands of our boys uselessly.

The impression sent broadcast through official channels that the proposed changes represent a reorganization of the War Department is misleading. Why the Administration's press agents gave that impression we do not know, but we do know that the reorganization will affect primarily the General Staff, while the departmental bureaus will continue to crawl, snail like, through the mass of red tape created by the bureaucrats during the last half century. The same old bureaucrats will remain as a wall between Mr. Baker and the army that fights.

The nation-wide demand for a reorganization of the War Department has been based upon the dual fact that the system is obsolete and the personnel is inefficient. Mr. Baker's reorganization will remedy some of the most glaring defects in the system, but it will not reform the personnel. When all is said and done we find Mr. Baker offering a partially repaired machine with the same crew of worn out hands in charge.

Heretofore virtually every paper that originated in the War Department or the army eventually crossed the desk of the Secretary or the Chief of Staff. The most absurdly unimportant matters congested channels which should have been kept cleared for action on vital questions. Under the reorganization plan Mr. Baker has assigned five general officers who will divert most of the unimportant matters from his desk or that of the Chief of Staff. Hereafter they will function on a tremendous mass of detail that has taken the attention of the Secretary of War or Chief of Staff heretofore. Of course this innovation will give the ranking officials of the department an opportunity to devote themselves to matters of policy hereafter.

The obvious need of such a reform has been suggested to Mr. Baker repeatedly since we entered the war, but he opposed it for reasons best known to himself until public opinion crystallized in the Senate investigation and forced some kind of action. However, considering the fact that President Wilson, within a month, assured us that all was well at the War Department, we suppose we should be highly thankful even for this concession in the line of efficiency.

We heartily congratulate Mr. Baker up to this point of

the reorganization, but regret that his ability to grasp the obvious did not lead him to carry the reform to its logical conclusion.

In his announcement explaining the change Mr. Baker mentions repeatedly the part that Mr. Edward Stettinius will have in the reorganized part of the system. We quote from Mr. Baker's statement:

"It is within his province to keep track of the capacity and production of contractors. Mr. Stettinius will also watch closely the transportation and shipping situation in order that the production and deliveries of war materials may properly proceed. In other words, Mr. Stettinius, a business man and purchasing agent of vast experience, may figuratively be called 'the surveying eye for the Director of Purchases and Supplies.'"

We find that Mr. Stettinius will "keep track" that he will "watch closely" and that he will be the "surveying eye." The fact of the matter is that Mr. Stettinius, under the plan of reorganization, will have about as much power as the \$60 a month messenger who guards his door. He cannot issue an order. He cannot spend a dollar. He cannot force action on any matter—large or small. His sole function is to "keep track," "watch closely" and be the "surveying eye."

If any of the five generals, who of course have no actual business experience, desire advice from Mr. Stettinius he may give it at their request. If they like it they may take it. If they do not like it they may leave it. In other words Mr. Baker has placed Mr. Stettinius where he can initiate nothing, drive nothing and accomplish nothing unless by the very force of his personality he can induce any of his associates to act upon his advice.

The facts concerning Mr. Stettinius and the so-called reorganization of the War Department are so absurd that we can hardly expect them to be credited by persons who are unfamiliar with the details of the management of the war. We present them for what they are worth. We have sought in vain for the reasons which prompted Mr. Baker to pick Mr. Stettinius for a post for which he was eminently qualified and then to snatch all power from him so that he cannot give the cumbersome war machine the much-needed driving force.

The entire farce reminds us of the fact that Mr. Stettinius's name was first mentioned in the public prints in relation to a War Department post a few days after Senator Chamberlain and his determined followers suggested him as the type of man who would be a capable Director of Munitions.

We are forced to the conclusion that Mr. Baker hopes in some strange way to satisfy the demand for a Director of Munitions by capitalizing the name of Mr. Edward Stettinius in relation to the reorganization of the General Staff, but we think Mr. Baker will succeed in this no better than he succeeded in hushing up the Senate investigation by mouthing flippant generalities.

This is supposed to have been National Labor Loyalty Week, and it is pleasant to acknowledge the patriotic demonstrations which many have made in the name of "organized labor." But it is to say the least regrettable that some large organizations should have selected this as the time in which to go on strike against some of the most urgent work of the Government; and we must regard it as suspicious that this should have happened in places most susceptible of all to pro-German influences. There is also a gross incongruity in having the week ended with a huge pow-wow of Pacifists, Bolsheviks and other rag-tag and bob-tail propagandists of near-treason, all in the immeasurably abused name of "the common people." When will workingmen realize the fact that this is supremely their war, waged for the sake of democracy, and that it is to their highest, deepest and most abiding interest to stand resolutely with the Government, at whatever cost, until the Blond Beast is vanquished and the world is made safe for democracy? Our own Bolsheviks, who are in fact Bocheviki, may

blab and blubber till the cows come home about their "fellow workingmen" in Germany and Austria; who seem, by the way, about as ready as the Kaiser Kultur himself to commit all the crimes of the Potsdam calendar; but what we should like to know is, What of the workingmen of Belgium who have been either murdered or driven into slavery? Are there no thoughts for them?

A paradox which is perhaps worth looking into is involved in the shipyards labor situation. On the one hand, some thousands of men are striking, or are threatening to strike, while on the other hand other thousands are flocking to seek work at the yards. In so far as the question of wages is concerned, the demand of the strikers for higher pay seems to be somewhat discredited by the readiness and eagerness of still greater numbers of men to work for what they are now getting. The only other demand of the strikers, recognition of their Unions, is equally unconvincing. At a time when the integrity of this nation and the salvation of freedom, democracy and civilization throughout the world depend upon our building ships as rapidly as possible, we can have no tolerance for technical bickerings and pettifoggery over open shop or closed shop. The Government wants every competent workman that it can get, and all it can properly ask is that he be loyal and do good work. It would be poor patriotism for anybody to interpose the shibboleth of unionism or non-unionism to prevent even one single man from doing his bit. The nation's extremity must not be made the trade unionists' opportunity.

Highly significant is the action of Secretary McAdoo in ordering an inland waterways investigation, with a view of increasing facilities for that method of transportation. Hitherto many railroad men have been inclined to oppose canal and river development, as a futile attempt to compete with railroads. Mr. McAdoo, however, in his capacity as Director General of Railroads, realizes what other countries long ago learned and practised, that it is not competition but cooperation that properly exists between the two systems. It was one of the urgent necessities of the Spanish War that waked this country up to the urgent need of a Panama Canal. It will be one of history's interesting repetitions if the tremendous transportation problems of the present war shall cause us to realize the value of internal waterways and shall cause us to improve and utilize to the full the marvelous advantages in that direction with which nature has bountifully endowed us.

In various public utterances the President has made it most convincingly clear that, by his own acts, the German Kaiser has made it impossible for this country to deal with him, but necessary that we deal with somebody more truly representing the German people. In that he is quite right, though we must confess to a growing fear that a considerable number of the German people are no better than their Hohenzollern Overlord. But wouldn't it be a thousand and one pities to have the President expose himself to the retort from William the Damned that he—the President—had by his own acts made it impossible for anyone to deal with this nation, but only with him personally?

Without irreverence it must be said that there seems a certain irony in the advent of Lent this year. What with heatless and lightless Mondays, meatless Tuesdays, wheatless Wednesdays, and porkless Thursdays and Saturdays, with war bread, with sugar doled out by the pound, and with all the other deprivations of war-time, it seems as though there can scarcely be much left of which we can deny ourselves for forty days. We should endeavor to bear up with Christian fortitude, however, if we were deprived of Garfield Mondays for the next six weeks, and even if we were asked to forego the luxury of the War Department's weekly fable about the supposed progress of the war.

Facing the Facts

WE may as well recognize frankly what we are "up against," and—largely—why. We are not calamity howlers. Neither are we the guardian angel of a fools' paradise. We have absolute confidence that we are going to win this war. It is a necessity of civilization and of the Kingdom of God. But we do not imagine that the winning of it is going to be a holiday picnic with an accompaniment of beer and skittles. We are not blind, and we do not intend that, if we can help it, this nation shall be blind, to the magnitude of the task in hand and particularly to the tremendous increase of difficulties and cost that has just been imposed upon us by the treacherous and malignant devilry of the Bolsheviki.

Russia has made peace with Germany. That is the essential fact. "Comrade Trotzky's enterprise," as it was called by the German conspirators who financed it through a Stockholm bank, has succeeded in its villainous aim. It does not matter that no formal treaty of peace has been signed by the Petrograd camarilla. One has been made by the Ukrainian leaders, and the fact of peace prevails all along the line. Neither does it matter that Russia is rent asunder and that Petrograd and the Ukraine are hostile to each other. Both fragments have made peace with the Huns.

Let us recognize without any camouflage or cucumber sunbeams just what that means.

It means the immediate withdrawal of the remaining Russian forces from the battle-front, so that they can be used to fight their own countrymen and to ravish and massacre the Finns instead of defending their land against the Huns. That means in turn that all the German and Austrian troops who have not already been thus transferred will be rushed across from the East to the West front. It also means that the hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war in Russia will be released, to rejoin the Kaiser's armies. In brief, it means that approximately a million seasoned and expert fighting men will be added to the forces of the Huns on the Belgian, French and Italian frontiers. Do you get that?

It means something more and worse than that, namely, the prompt relief of Germany's privations, and the supplying her with ample stores of food, oil, cotton, metals, and what not. Bear in mind that Russia produces as much wheat as the United States does, and vast quantities of corn, oats, rye and barley; three times as many potatoes as we do; more sugar than the United States or Cuba; 75,000,000 pounds of copper yearly, vast quantities of platinum and other useful metals, and more petroleum than any other country but the United States. All these resources, by the grace of the Bolsheviki, are to be placed at the service of Germany.

That, finally, means that distress in Germany will be relieved, efficiency will be increased, popular dissatisfaction and revolt will be allayed, and the people will be reunited, heartened and inspired in support of the government and in the prosecution of the war. In brief, this Bolshevik betrayal of Democracy means that the military autocracy of the Huns is enormously strengthened in men and in supplies of all kinds, and unified and encouraged in spirit.

Those are the conditions which we must now meet; and for which we can in part thank—or damn—the Bolsheviki, whose infernal example a lot of feather-headed fools and venal German spies in this country are at this very moment urging Americans to follow. But only in part. The bitterest reflection of all is that we ourselves are largely responsible for these things. Had we done our duty a year—three years—ago, we would not now be confronted with this costly task. Had we at the very outbreak of this war prepared for the entry into it which men of vision saw to be inevitable, so that by the middle of last summer we could have put half a million fully trained and equipped men on the fighting line, this treacherous Russian debacle would never have occurred, but under a lawful and civilized gov-

ernment a free Russian republic would to-day be loyally standing with us in making the world safe for democracy.

There is no use in crying over spilt milk. We were criminally negligent and dilatory, and now we must pay the penalty. We must pay it, and we must and will win the war, at no matter how great a cost. Thanks be to the God of Nations that at the very moment when the damnable tale of Bolshevik treason was being published to the world, Woodrow Wilson had the sense of timeliness and the grit to go before Congress with a flat rejection of the Huns' insolent demands and a reiteration of the American determination to fight the war through until peace with victory on our own righteous terms is attained.

We shall the more surely and speedily reach that attainment if we open our eyes, realize what we are "up against" in all its Hunnish and Bolshevik vileness, and then GO TO IT!

Will There Be a "Spring Drive"?

EXPECTATIONS of a great "spring drive" by the Huns increase and multiply and replenish the news. They are disclosed in Germany itself, with an arrogant and confident assumption that the movement will be successful and conclusive. (The expectation of William the Damned that he would eat his Christmas dinner of 1914 in a conquered Paris is followed by Hindenberg's boast of being in Paris on All Fools' Day, 1918; though we ourselves can scarcely hope that the French will take him prisoner in time for that!) They are heard of in England and France; with a wistful glance backward toward America, and then a hardening of the faces which are turned resolutely toward the foe. They are reflected in the humorous essays which are hebdomadally put forth by our own War Office to enhance the merriment of nations. And now Lord Reading, arriving here as Special Ambassador from Great Britain, gives token that he, too, cherishes them.

Obviously, the time will be opportune; even urgent. It will be a case of "now or never" with the Huns. Early in the coming spring will be too soon for any considerable American force to be on the battle line. Also, it will be with Russia at the very nadir of chaotic impotence, before any new and authentic government can put the affairs of that empire in order again. Germany herself could hope to grow no stronger through further postponement, while her foes almost certainly would do so. The coming spring, therefore, as early as the weather permits, will be the logical time to strike for a decision.

Obviously, too, our Allies will have to sustain the shock almost alone. There is no prospect of our having any considerable forces upon the battle line in time to meet it; though of course every man that we can possibly muster in fit condition should be and will be there. Happily our Allies have still available a man power not inferior in numbers to that of the Huns, despite the reinforcements which the latter, thanks to the treachery of the Bolsheviki, have been permitted to transfer from the Eastern to the Western front. The latest estimates are that the Huns have three millions massed within striking distance of the French and Belgian lines. There is good reason for believing that the Allies have at least as many.

Where the blow will fall is matter for speculation, with some pretty strong indications. It is not likely to be in Italy. One great blow was delivered there last fall, with much military success, but with utter failure so far as was concerned the purpose for which it was made. Its purpose was to frighten and demoralize Italy, to drive her into making a separate peace, and thus to eliminate her from the war. The actual result was, on the contrary, to unify Italy and to confirm her resolution to remain in the war to the end. There will be no further attempt in that direction.

It is to be doubted whether there will be a drive into France at any point on the eastern part of the line. Such a movement, if successful in greatly extending the invasion,

would be of little value. It would enable the Huns to ravish and despoil a little more territory, and that is all. It could not make a decision of the war, and it could not have political influence favorable to the Huns. A drive at this time to be worth while must have some prospect of important political effect, and that could be the case in one of only two places. One is Paris. The capture of that city by the Huns, besides affording them unlimited loot, would have a political effect second to only what it would have had had it been effected in 1914. The other is Calais, the possession of which would enormously increase the menace to England. Toward one of these places we may expect to see the "spring drive" of the Huns directed.

Americans will not be there in sufficient numbers to be of decisive influence. The presence of only a few may, however, have a considerable moral effect in heartening our Allies. It will also to that degree save us from having launched at us by our victorious Allies the historic reproach of Crillon: "We have fought a great fight, my Crillon; and you were not here!"

The Vileness of Nearingism

SCOTT NEARING is not a big man; he is a very small man. But, partly through the force of circumstances, partly through the persistent exercise of unbounded effrontery, his name has become conspicuously identified with a big thing. A big thing, but a vile one—the dissemination of monstrous falsehood, calculated to blacken the character of every man who upholds the fundamentals of the existing economic order. The kind of falsehood for which Nearing stands is the most effective means the American Bolsheviki have of injecting the virus of hate and anarchism—not to speak of sedition or treason in time of war—into the hearts of the ignorant, the shiftless, and the evil-disposed, especially of those immigrants of recent years who came here filled with vague revolutionary notions, and who have not in any way inherited or acquired the American tradition of sane democracy and orderly progress.

Nearing's latest performance has been the circulation of thousands of copies of a pamphlet charging that the entry of the United States into the war last April was brought about by the capitalistic interests of the country for money-making purposes. Here is his account of what happened:

The business interests had played for a great stake. They had played against the wellbeing of the American democracy. The prize they sought was a billion dollars a year in profits. Wrapped in the folds of the flag and uttering resounding declarations of patriotism, on April 6 the business interests won a victory of terrible import to the American democracy.

Turning their backs upon principle, throwing morals and ideals to the winds, they tumbled over one another in a wild scramble to be the first to join the chorus of plutocratic patriotism.

That this wild and monstrous charge is utterly without basis in fact does not begin to do justice to its quality. It is so manifestly contrary to the truth that it can be accounted for only on one of two suppositions. Either the man who makes it is a deliberate and systematic liar, or his mind has become so corrupted by the habit of promoting an insane and degenerate propaganda that he is incapable of seeing the truth that is obvious to all men whose minds are normal. We are quite certain that Nearing is not an intentional liar; the trouble with him is a certain degeneracy of mind which infers a moral defect less gross but not less contemptible than that of the deliberate liar.

To see that this is so, one has but to consider the patent facts of the case—facts which the common soap-box orator may perhaps be excused for ignoring, but to which a man who has been a University professor of economics and social science cannot be blind unless there is something fatally wrong about his moral make-up.

From the very beginning of the European war there was a widespread and intense sentiment in this country in favor of our bearing our share in saving the world from the

Prussian terror. When, in May, 1915, that terror became specifically embodied in the Lusitania massacre, a deadly outrage upon our own national rights as well as upon civilization and humanity at large, there arose an almost unanimous cry for action which would range us alongside the European nations which were fighting to defend us as well as themselves from the German menace. With patience which many regarded as ill-placed, but of which none denied the amazing persistency, President Wilson, while plainly threatening war, managed to get from the German Government such concessions or professions as staved it off for nearly two long years. Finally, the last shred of those concessions was defiantly withdrawn; and then we went to war.

During all that time, American business was, in a hundred different directions, piling up enormous profits, and still was not being subjected to the restraints, the disturbances, or the tax burdens, which belong to a state of war; for we were at peace. Yet, as Nearing must know as well as anybody, the same newspapers, the same individuals, the same organizations which urged the President to assert American rights in those crucial months of February and March, 1917, had for two years been urging him to assert them. Every consideration of mere property interest pointed to the preservation of American neutrality as infinitely the best policy for the great business interests. They knew that war would mean taxes of unparalleled severity levied almost entirely upon wealth—income taxes, excess-profits taxes, like those levied in England; they knew that these taxes would continue for years after the war; they knew that the precedent set by them would persist long after the war had become a mere memory. They knew that nothing could give so great a stimulus to socialist agitation, nothing could so accentuate labor unrest, as our participation in this colossal war. In the face of these things, "a billion dollars a year in profits" during the war was a mere bagatelle. Yet from the very start, and certainly from the day of the Lusitania, the newspapers and the individuals and the organizations that Nearing represents as the sordid slaves of capitalist magnates were urging the country to do its part in defending human rights and the ideals of free government, let the sacrifice be what it might. That this sacrifice included the blood of their own sons—the sons of the millionaire and the journalist and the lawyer and the doctor and the statesman—we do not insist upon; the demonstration is sufficient if we confine ourselves to the low ground above which the debased imagination of a Nearing seems incapable of rising.

To expend indignation upon a falsehood which is not only contemptible but transparent may seem a waste of energy; but unfortunately there is a trouble about Nearingism that extends far beyond the strata in which it primarily operates. Among the educated and well-meaning, there is a lamentable absence of genuine sense for the realities of such a matter. Many people who have sense enough not to accept Nearingisms at their face value are quite complacent about their circulation, with probably a hazy notion that while they are not true they may be taken at a good discount, say 50 or 75 per cent. This is a foolish and flabby state of mind; and it is a dangerous one. There are of course a certain number of selfish and cold-blooded capitalists wholly devoid of patriotism and moral sense, just as there are in any section of society a certain number of murderers or forgers; but the things that Nearing says is not 50 per cent. true, or 25 per cent. true, but utterly and infamously false. It is the opposite of the truth. But there are people who seem incapable of recognizing the essential falsehood of *anything*. They do not accept the outgivings of socialists or anarchists, or disloyalists, but they help socialism and anarchism and disloyalty by their everlasting tolerance for "both sides" of every question and every assertion. They plume themselves, doubtless, on their impartiality; but what really distinguishes them is the feebleness of their power of judgment.

Shipbuilding by Publicity

HOW utterly America has failed in her grandiose shipbuilding program, as well as in her handling of the existing tonnage situation, is a difficult fact to elucidate to a non-maritime public. Literally, public opinion does not sense what is going on, because it possesses no standard of measurement. Fifty years ago in America the Shipping Board and all its works would have been blown out of existence at the start by an outraged public opinion that knew ships and the sea. To-day the same wicked mismanagement, curiously enough, elicits something like a contrary reaction. The wide difference between ignorance and knowledge was never more clearly disclosed.

For the Shipping Board to-day, unconsciously, perhaps, has succeeded in making its promises and statements to the country extravagant enough to appeal to one of America's most fundamental characteristics, that boasting spirit that likes to believe in its own ability to accomplish anything under the sun. "Build ships?—of course we can build ships!" is America's reaction. "We can build anything. What do these old shipping pirates mean by growling at every new plan? Why don't they turn to and help? There must be a nigger in the woodpile somewhere. They probably see a lot of easy dollars getting away from them."

This has been America's reaction to the criticism of the only men who knew what they were talking about, and the Shipping Board apparently has been successful up to date in convincing the country and the Administration that it deserved the enormous confidence which had been imposed in it. To one with any knowledge of the true situation which was developing, the game played by Mr. Hurley and his associates during the past six months has been a staggering commentary upon the power of publicity and upon American governmental institutions. It has been a somewhat disquieting commentary, also, upon the intelligence of American public opinion.

One would suppose, for instance, that when Mr. Hurley month after month gave to the press his tales of America's shipbuilding program for 1918, and when in all these tales he frankly based his estimates upon contracts let, and nothing more, the country would have begun to smell a rat. One would suppose that the far-famed business sense of the country would know that a ship is not built when the contract is let, that there is many a slip between contract and launching. One would even suppose that the Administration might have had this thought.

Why did the country not demand a report on actual ship construction, which would have been more to the point? Or if public opinion could not become vocal upon such an issue, why did not the Administration demand such a report? It might have saved them a good deal of disastrous criticism to-day.

But no, the country apparently believed in the infallibility of the man-in-office, and the Administration has all along adopted the policy of never doubting a chosen man. Facts are not so important as faith to the semi-religious method by which our war preparations have so far been conducted. The Administration sent Mr. Bainbridge Colby to Europe, and Mr. Colby promised Europe that "the German submarine campaign had already been defeated by America's vast shipbuilding program." And America's vast shipbuilding program was at that date based wholly on contracts let; and now it becomes evident even to the blind that that program cannot be delivered. Shipbuilders and shipping men have known since last summer that it could not be delivered.

The whole absurd and tragic game has been a typical example of American bluff and blow—a conspiracy of bunk in which the American people seem to have cheerfully joined. To be sure, we are a non-shipping nation to-day, but nevertheless our native critical faculties, our horse-sense, our knowledge of men and affairs and of how the world is run, have been reduced to zero on the shipbuilding

issue, if they have not indeed dropped to minus quantities.

And now the excuses will begin—for the talkers are still on the job. It is such a vast enterprise which America has undertaken. How can the country expect a new organization to whip itself into shape so quickly? Is there not always some loss of efficiency under government control? And so forth.

To one who has watched the game closely, who has seen failures and mistakes without number, who has seen facts unheeded and general policies neglected, who could point out step by step the errors which have brought on the present disastrous results—and this would be true of any man with two grains of shipping sense—the question inevitably arises, Why, why? Why is it necessary for the government almost always to pick the wrong man? For this is the heart of the problem. Every problem is nothing but a problem in personnel.

And the answer comes with equal inevitability—"The political method." Men are picked for office, not on the score of their fitness, but on the score of their recommendations and influences. And this, too, is why they seldom fall from office, no matter how egregious their failure. Fitness has little to do with the matter, either before or afterwards. We would not for a moment accuse the Administration of giving Mr. Hurley the Chairmanship of the Shipping Board through political influence, but we are fairly certain that the political method, as opposed to the practical method, was used in his selection. Indeed, we may well doubt if the Administration had any conception of the special requirements of the office in question, or of Mr. Hurley's special fitness for the office. His name was passed up, he was known as a forceful man, and that was all. One thing, however, is certain: he has remained in office long after he has demonstrated his entire unfitness for the work in hand.

There needed to be a Shipping Board to centralize ship building and ship operating in the hands of a federal agency, and to control rates and prices, and to enter into arrangements with similar agencies in the Allied countries. American shipping men were the first to recognize this necessity. But it was just as necessary that this agency should be one with a practical knowledge of shipping matters. There can be no argument whatever for a non-shipping Shipping Board except the argument of prejudice. Unfortunately, however, this argument has weighed heavily with the Administration and with the country, with the result that little of practical value has been accomplished and much of disastrous possibilities has happened.

The conspicuous failure of the non-shipping Shipping Board has been on the score of general policies. For instance, the Board has for the last six months definitely starved the existing shipyard facilities of the country at the expense of new units which were its own children. It has fostered competition in the labor market, established immense new yards in the vicinity of old yards, diverted materials to the new yards, and at the same time failed to come to proper financial agreements with the old yards, thus making it difficult or even impossible for them to hurry up their work.

This policy was conceived in the idea that the thing to do was to create immediately on a grand scale the necessary shipbuilding facilities for fulfilling our former extravagant promises. It carried with it, also, many traces of the same prejudice with which the whole shipping situation has been handled; that is, the assumption that the old shipyards were profiteering and needed to suffer a drastic lesson.

Unfortunately, however, the main results of this policy have been as follows: first, less tonnage has been launched in America during the past six months than would have been launched if the Shipping Board had not been in existence; second, the new units born of the immaculate conception of the Shipping Board are not ready to build ships, will not be ready to build ships for a long time, and quite unaccountably have proved to be the prime profiteers of the

war. Hog Island can give cards and spades to the old shipping pirates on the score of profiteering.

In short, the primary object in our shipping enterprise, namely, the building of all the ships that can be launched as soon as possible, has been utterly defeated by academic plans which neglected their own basic factor. The basic factor in American shipbuilding naturally was labor, and the problem was to utilize existing labor and building units to the full while expending any surplus of energy on the creation of new units. Instead, the cart was put before the horse, new units were started on an enormous scale before sufficient labor was provided, the fundamental matter of housing facilities was entirely forgotten, and the whole shipbuilding situation of the country was definitely disrupted by specific errors in general policy.

Why was this necessary? It cannot be said that shipping men have waited till the trouble has come to make practical suggestions. Shipping men have foreseen the present situation for the past eight months, and have pointed out in no uncertain language what should be done. But strangely enough the ignorance of shipping matters has been so dense in Washington that suggestions of the most vital importance, suggestions touching the fortunes of the war, have simply failed to make an impression.

Under these circumstances the shipping man has gone away from Washington with a hopeless feeling in his heart. He has seen his ships taken over and used without efficiency or intelligence. He has seen the Shipping Board do all that it humanly could to bring confusion upon America. When he spoke out plainly, he has been met by accusations of lack of patriotism and mercenary motives. While the talkers have been talking, it has been a bitter experience for the men who knew.

And the talkers are still talking, as I have said. But they are not talking with the same gusto as of old—and privately they are wondering what has happened. There is no doubt in their minds, however, as to what to do next: every mistake must be justified, every hole must be wriggled out of. And it will not be a difficult job. Let the discerning man note with what ease our whole failure in shipbuilding is being shifted to the back of labor, by means of the same old servant of politics, publicity. The real failures have been failures of management, of course, but what does reality matter? The game goes to the talkers every time.

In the meanwhile ships are not being built. One wonders if the bluff may not be called, after all. This war is too serious a force to play with. It is liable to smoke out everything but intrinsic right performance before it is done.

"Follow the Bolsheviks"

A MERICANS are asked to take the Bolsheviks as their guides, philosophers and friends. That is the purport of a big convention which is being planned to meet in New York at about the time when these lines are published. This gathering is organized not by imported agents of the Petrograd Reds, but chiefly by native American citizens, some of them of considerable prominence and repute, who have apparently become so enamored of the Russian revolution that they wish to have a repetition of it here. Accordingly they announce in the call for this convention that—

"The time has come for the liberal and radical forces of the United States to follow the lead of similar movements in Russia, Great Britain and Austria."

Let us see what that means.

It means bad faith. The Bolshevik cabal succeeded to the authority of the former government and enjoys its power and emoluments, but has deliberately repudiated its international engagements. Instead of standing loyally with its allies it has deserted them and has given aid and comfort to their enemies.

It means hypocrisy. The Bolsheviks address questions to the German people and accept replies from the agents of imperial autocracy. They condemn secret diplomacy, and

negotiate with those who are practising it. They pretend to seek the establishment of universal democracy, and they betray democracy to its foes.

It means despotism and intolerance. The Bolsheviks profess to believe in the right of peoples to self-determination, and yet they arrogantly deny that right. They concede the title of Finland and the Ukraine to independence, yet they refuse to let those countries determine their own governments, because they regard the one as "capitalistic" and the other as "bourgeois."

It means treason. Official documents reveal the facts that a year ago, before the Russian revolution, representatives of the German Imperial Bank in Switzerland were directed, from Berlin, to honor demands for money made by Lenine and Trotzky; and last fall, just before the Bolsheviks overthrew the Kerensky government, German authorities directed a bank at Stockholm to open "an account for Comrade Trotzky's enterprise." In other words, the Bolshevik movement was financed by the very country against which Russia was at that time fighting.

And now the American people are asked to follow the example of the Bolsheviks, and to seek the establishment of such a state of affairs here as now prevails at Petrograd and elsewhere in Russia. And the reverend clergymen and the learned professors and the sapient editors and the benevolent publicists who are organizing this pan-demoniac conclave will be mightily aggrieved because the government at Washington does not incontinently abdicate in their favor.

Will the Badger Escape?

What has become of the la follette investigation? Many, many months ago the Senate ordered an investigation of the speech made by la follette at Minneapolis to the end that he might be expelled if his colleagues found him guilty of sedition. Leader writers and headline writers proclaimed in the blackest of type that the Congress was about to decide whether a spokesman of the Kaiser might use the American Senate as his forum.

Senator Pomerene—a faithful Democrat—was appointed chairman of the investigating committee with instructions to get the truth and report without delay so that the Senate might purge itself one way or the other.

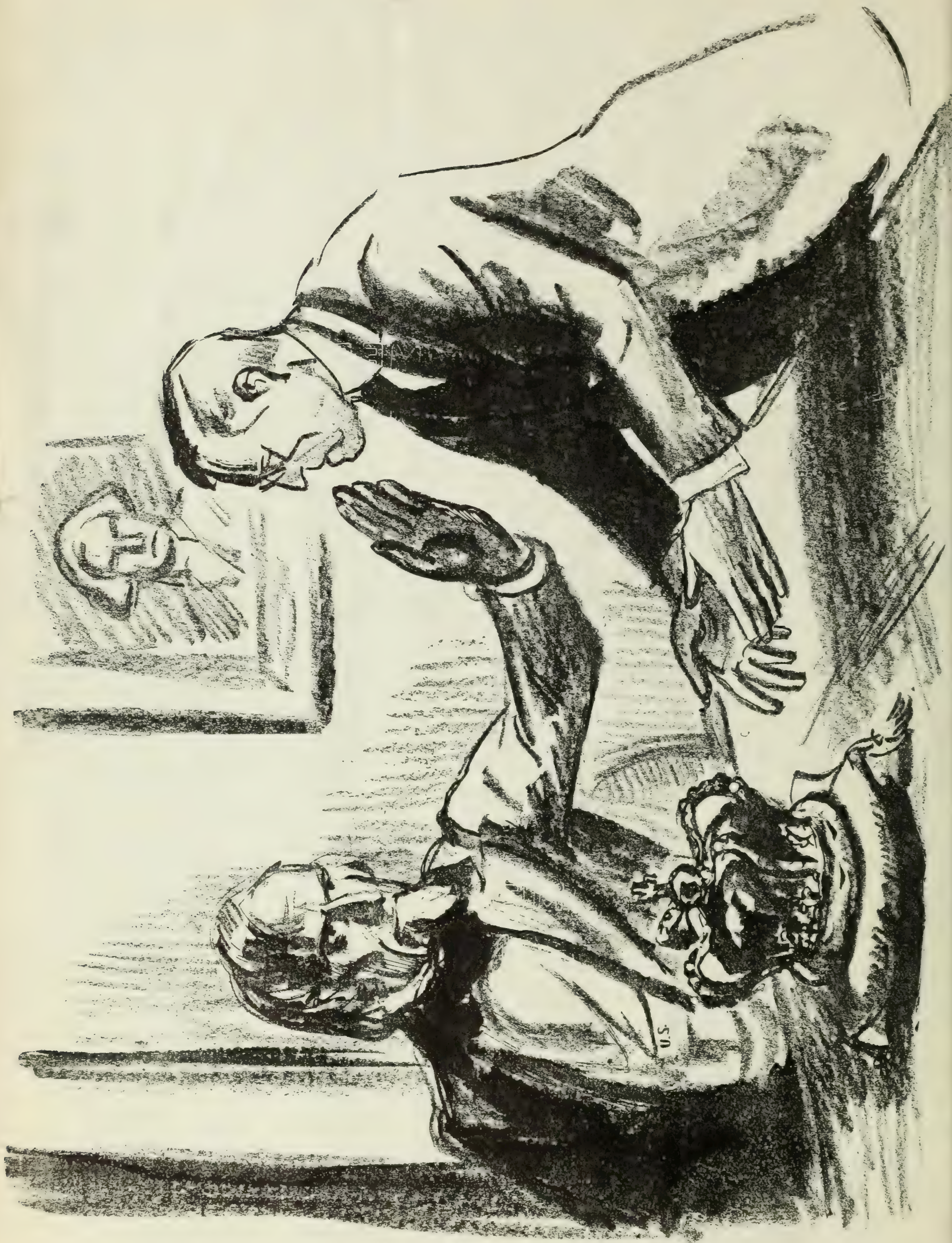
The Pomerene Committee, pursuant to instructions, met and discussed the case and promised quick action. It met again and again and again. If we are correctly informed the committee held nine meetings all told. The first few were discussed at length and the bets were about even money that la follette would go!

Then something happened! What it was we do not know, but we do know that the investigation which promised so much has produced nothing. The committee has never reported back to the Senate. When last heard from members of the committee appeared to believe that the entire case rested on one point, to wit: Did W. J. Bryan, when Secretary of State, tell President Wilson that the Lusitania carried guns and explosives hidden below decks in violation of law when she started on her fateful trip?

In the Minneapolis speech la follette charged that Bryan made such a statement to President Wilson. Of course we have official reports proving that the Lusitania carried nothing of the sort. The thugs on Bernstorff's payroll, who made affidavits to the contrary, have confessed their perjury. But that is not the point. The only point at issue is whether Mr. Bryan told the President that she did carry guns and explosives as la follette charged!

Some of la follette's acquaintances are authority for the statement that the Pomerene Committee does not dare call him, because he will swear that Bryan did tell the President that she carried guns and explosives and that Bryan will admit it under oath.

Of course it is preposterous to credit such a statement, and in order to confound la follette and his crowd Bryan should be called to testify before the committee.



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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Week

WASHINGTON, *February 22, 1918.*

IF any living human being can make head or tail out of the varying reports of what took place at the latest Supreme War Council at Versailles, we should like to piece together such remnants of bewildered understanding as we still possess and sit at his feet and listen.

"The general principle laid down," Mr. Lloyd George declared to the House of Commons, "was agreed to wholeheartedly by everybody."

Very good; anybody can grasp that; but what was the general principle? Anyhow, he continued:

"There was no conflict as regarded the policy, but only as to the method of giving effect to it."

Well, we know, but,—never mind, go on. And on he went:

There was agreement as to the policy; there was agreement that there must be central authority to exercise supreme direction of that policy; there was agreement that authority must be inter-allied authority, and there was complete agreement that that authority should have executive power. The only question that arose was as to how that central authority should be constituted. That was the only difference.

After having studied this forward and backward, uphill and down dale, between the lines and behind the barn, we are of the same opinion still; mud is appreciably clearer. But where did this translucent principle or policy or what-not come from? Ah, we have it.

"The Premier asserted that the conclusions reached at Versailles were the result of very powerful representations by the delegates of other Governments, notably the American Government.

"I hesitated for some time," said the Premier in referring to the American representations, 'whether I should not read in the House of Commons the very cogent docu-

ment submitted by the American delegation, which put the case for the present proposal. It is one of the ablest documents ever submitted to a military conference. The only reason why I do not read it to the House is that it is mixed up with the plan of operations.'

"The case is presented with irresistible power and logic," he added. 'What happened? We altered the proposal here and there. There was a good deal of discussion, which took some hours. There was not a single dissenting voice, so far as the plan was concerned.'

Precisely why this "very cogent" document, "one of the ablest ever submitted to a military conference" and "presented with irresistible force and logic," should have required altering "here and there" after "a good deal of discussion which took some hours," we do not venture to surmise.

We are mightily flattered, of course, to be told by the British Premier that we casually tossed so portentous a missive upon the council table, but the bewildering circumstance is that apparently we knew nothing about it, officially or otherwise. The chief conclusion of the council, stated with the utmost particularity by its Secretary, was this:

The Supreme War Council gave the most careful consideration to the recent utterances of the German Chancellor and the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, but was unable to find in them any real approximation to the moderate conditions laid down by all the Allied governments.

But the United States had nothing to do with that. It was not a military matter; it was purely and exclusively political; and we did not even have a political representative present. True, the Secretary of the Legation attended, but only to "report to the President" what happened and, as carefully announced by the State Department, under strict injunction not to open his mouth. Moreover, the President himself promptly went before Congress and repudiated the declaration absolutely, when he said that the self-same Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs seemed "to see the fundamentals of peace with clear eyes."

What the commonly loquacious "high officials" of Washington thought of the Premier's utterance has not yet been ascertained; they went and hid. But for the trained war correspondents there is no place of refuge from pestering queries from home offices. To our surprise, the thoughtful Mr. Oulahan of the *New York Times* ventured the following:

In the absence of any authoritative statement from the Government, no doubt is felt here that Mr. Lloyd George stated the facts when he said in the House of Commons today that General Bliss and Mr. Frazier had pleaded with irresistible power and logic for the plan of expansion of the Supreme War Council's power.

How he could make that out, in view of the limitation of General Bliss to consideration of military affairs and of Mr. Frazier's complete vocal paralysis the Lord only knows. Nevertheless, Mr. Oulahan continued, groping along as best he could, that it was "felt in Washington that the attitude of the United States, as explained by Lloyd George to the Commons today, will serve to clear up any feeling that may have been aroused in British Ministerial circles over an interpretation given to President Wilson's address of February 11 to the Congress,"—an interpretation, by the way, of which, as Mr. Oulahan truly remarks, "the pacifist element in the House of Commons took advantage."

Even Mr. Swope, the tentatively authorized spokesman of the Administration through the *World*, frankly conceded for the first time in his life that he—or rather Washington, meaning the same—was "mystified." In quarters "speaking with authority," he was informed "that Lloyd George's words did not mean—in fact, could not mean—that America had actually devised the details of the plans of operation. Nor could he mean that America had originated or was concerned in any of the political phases of the council nor yet that America aspired to be in control of the matters of strategy." And then he rambled along for a couple of columns with so many muddled explanations that he left the temporarily deranged Mr. Cobb nothing to do but to write the usual editorial on the Bolsheviks.

Where the Administration will finally land it is idle to guess at this early writing. Of course, if they can find any way to appropriate, by tacit assent or by wise looks, full credit for having formulated this greatest of documents "with irresistible power and logic," they will do it naturally and properly,—and it is only fair to add that if anybody can, they can. But it is no easy task; believe us, who keep a sharp watch on all such goings on.

When all is said and done, the most probable supposition is that the resourceful Mr. Lloyd George put forth an unsuspected barrage, to the utter discomfiture of his political enemies and not wholly perhaps to the displeasure of the President, with whom naturally he would curry favor at this particular juncture in his fascinating career.

Neither President Wilson nor any other President ever put forth a more satisfying message than that which was delivered this week to Mr. William L. Hutcheson, General President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Although technically addressed to an individual acting for a class, it was aimed at the whole country, and, if it failed at any point to reach home, the deflection was not attributable to any lack of directiveness or of definiteness.

After calling attention sharply to the "marked and painful contrast" of the conduct of the carpenters in going on strike, to that of other trades, which had agreed to abide by the decisions of the Wage Adjustment Board, the President said to them "very frankly" and very truthfully and very directly that "it is your duty to leave to the board the solution of your present difficulties with your employers and to advise the men whom you represent to return at once to work pending the decision." That was crack No. 1 between the eyes of General President Hutcheson, whose disingenuousness had been only too apparent from the beginning of the controversy. And the President did not stop there. Straightaway "over the top" of their "leader" he went to the men themselves and spoke these vigorous words:

No body of men have the moral right in the present circumstances of the nation to strike until every method of adjustment has been tried to the limit. If you do not act upon this principle you are undoubtedly giving aid and comfort to the enemy, whatever may be your own conscious purpose.

Then back to the bumptious Mr. Hutcheson himself, with sententious finality: "I do not see that anything will be gained by my seeing you personally until you have accepted and acted upon that principle,"—adding merely and courteously enough but with caustic significance at the close: "Will you cooperate or will you obstruct?" From this piercing question there was no escape. Mr. Hutcheson scurried for cover. Virtuously he protested, in reply, that he "had exhausted every effort to reach an adjustment with the Shipping"—not the Wage Adjustment—board; that he had "no power" to sign an agreement; and that, forsooth, with paradoxical inconsequence, he would have a personal interview with the President himself in the furtherance of his deep feeling that "that is the only way in which to solve the problem." But happily there was another way. The men could go back to work,—and they did go back to work, with full confidence apparently that any just demands would be considered fairly and squarely by the duly constituted authorities.

So far, excellent! But the President evidently had made up his mind to do a thorough job while he was about it, and he continued with rare succinctness:

It is the duty of the Government to see that the best possible conditions of labor are maintained, as it is also its duty to see to it that there is no lawless and conscienceless profiteering, and that duty the Government has accepted and will perform.

We may well believe that at this point his eyes were turned upon aptly named Hog Island. Realizing, as he did, that the one leg—and that a wooden one of greed—that the strikers had to stand upon was the comparative grasping, if not indeed the grafting, of the New York corporation which is conducting the greatest of shipbuilding operations at a maximum of cost and a minimum of skill, he struck straight at the heart of the whole shameful business and simultaneously directed the Department of Justice to proceed against the Hog itself.

Whether, in a practical sense, it was wise to inject another element into an investigation which the Senate Committee was conducting with exceptional keenness is perhaps a question, but as a method of demonstrating the Government's sincerity and determination it was incomparable; since Mr. G. Carroll Todd has been designated by the Attorney General to uncover the facts the public may rest assured that no wrongdoing will remain hidden and no lawless or conscienceless profiteering will escape its just dues.

What we cannot understand is why the men of high repute who constitute the Board of Directors of the American International Company manifest so little interest in the doings of their executives and agents which have not only already achieved most unevitable notoriety but seem likely to call for gravely primitive measures. Surely they cannot imagine for a moment that they will be held free from responsibility simply because the so-called work is being done nominally by a subordinate concern created for the purpose; neither the Senate nor the President nor the public is now in a mood to accept technical pleas of evasion. Three members of the board, moreover, if we are not misinformed, are sworn officials of the United States Government. Can it be possible that they wish to be herded into a pen with the brothers Kaplan and the brothers Baker? Hardly, we should think.

But it is the business of the Board itself to meet and to canvass the situation and then to act promptly and effectively after a fashion befitting patriotic sons of the great city which has responded so nobly to the call of the country that it has regained in no small degree its prestige of former years.

In sharp and highly gratifying contrast to the conduct of the Carpenters' Union and their misleader was the action of the executive council of the American Federation under the patriotic guidance of Samuel Gompers.

"This is labor's war," the council declared. "It must be won by labor, and every stage in the fighting and the final victory must be to count for humanity. That result only can justify the awful sacrifice. Workers are loyal. They want to do their share for the Republic and for winning the war." More heartening words we have not heard, fully warranting the *Sun's* fine appellation of "A Declaration of Loyalty." And if evidence of their sincerity were required, it appeared quickly in Mr. Gompers's cabled response to Mr. Arthur Henderson's invitation to send representatives to the "Interallied Labor Conference" in London. Regretting that "circumstances" prevented acceptance, Mr. Gompers continued:

Executive council in declaration unanimously declared "We cannot meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us." All should be advised that anyone presuming to represent labor of America in your conference is simply self-constituted and unrepresentative. We hope shortly to send delegation of representative workers American labor movement to England and to France. Please convey our fraternal greetings to the Interallied Labor Conference and assure them that we are pledged and will give our man-power and at least half we have in wealth-power in the struggle to secure for the world justice, freedom and democracy.

This is to the point pointed and should convey a lesson of value to the workingmen of Britain, whose fate also trembles in the balance. It is only just to add that, generally speaking, capital also is making good generously and tremendously; indeed, it is not too much to say that never before has there appeared in America so signal an instance of teamplay on the part of labor and capital. If now the politicians of England and our own precious demagogues in Congress could be dropped overboard, the prospect of ultimate triumph would lose much of its darker aspect.

The latest manifestation of willingness to subordinate the winning of the war to fads, fallacies and personal ambitions comes naturally and inevitably, we suppose, from the California Senator whose fame continues to rest upon his noxious betrayal of Mr. Hughes. It was too much to expect, of course, that Hiram Johnson would miss a chance to whack the railroads, but we have to confess to a faint hope that Mr. McAdoo's most earnest and really moving appeal for quick co-operation might not fall upon ears wholly deafened to warnings of imminent national peril. It appears, however, that it is as difficult for Hiram to see straight as to stay hitched. Fortunately, as we judge at this writing, he is not only beating the air in futile fashion but is overreaching to such a degree as to alienate the sympathies of other Senators whose inclinations tend in the same direction. What will or should happen to the railroads in the light of experience to be gained through full Governmental control nobody in his senses would now venture to predict, but the idea of hastily passing irretrievably upon so vital a question of Government ownership under the blanket of war measures instead of upon its merits is so utterly absurd that we cannot regard it as worthy of even passing consideration.

Secretary Baker is proceeding upon the theory that his patch work reorganization of the War Department will placate public opinion, being quite satisfied apparently that the President will be able to force through Congress the Overman bill—commonly called the usurpation bill—and that neither the war cabinet measure nor the bill creating a director of munitions will be passed.

Probably the best single example of the way Mr. Baker's reorganization is working is shown by his method of letting contracts. Just at present five different branches of the War Department are bidding against each other for leather. Of course they are driving the price skyward and the Government is buying at the top. This is merely

indicative of what is taking place in every field of supply. As we pointed out last week, Mr. Stettinius, the so-called surveyor of supplies, has no more power than an office boy. While he is allowed to advise each of the division heads, none of them is bound to accept his advice, and the old policy of each division fighting for all the supplies in sight irrespective of the general need is still in operation.

In the matter of personnel chaos continues to take the place of efficiency. Every branch of the department is top heavy with red tape weavers—worn-out old officers and inexperienced young ones. General Goethals has spent virtually all of his time since he took his present post trying to root out the organization that General Sharpe assembled before the Senate Investigation induced Secretary Baker to "kick him upstairs" into the privy council. He has removed virtually every officer whom General Sharpe had placed in a responsible post.

The case of Colonel Littell is typical. Since the United States entered the war Colonel Littell has been in charge of cantonment construction. It was a notorious fact that he was not the right man for this tremendous job, but Secretary Baker held to him, construction was delayed, prices soared and changes of all sorts were required before the buildings were finally fitted for the drafted men. And yet Mr. Baker heeded no protests until finally General Goethals announced that he wanted Colonel Littell's division removed from the quartermaster corps entirely. When it became a case of General Goethals or Colonel Littell getting out, Mr. Baker consented to the change. Now Colonel Littell is to be retired at his own request.

This case might be considered as an isolated instance, but the fact is that every division and bureau in the War Department is filled with similarly misplaced men. Mr. Baker has failed to get under the surface far enough to understand that every wheel in the machine is clogged in the same manner as the Quartermaster Corps was until General Goethals insisted upon a complete inside reorganization. Recently, Major General Squier asked a number of civilians to attempt to reorganize the Signal Corps on a business basis, and it is a matter of congratulation that they appear to be fairly confident that they may be able to establish a good working organization if given ample time and if Secretary Baker will allow them to weed out the incompetents.

Of course the reorganizations of the divisions will have no effect upon the larger questions involved in a centralization of power. While absolutely essential they are secondary, but they are indicative of the fact that since the beginning of the war Mr. Baker has been allowing grossly inefficient bureaus to grow up around him without realizing to the slightest degree the fact that he was surrounded by men who were totally unfitted for their posts.

A pity 'tis, 'tis true.

Some affect to have been shocked at the inhumanity of the crowds of Paris in shouting their approval of the conviction and sentencing of the infamous Bolo Pacha. What, then, are we to say of the crowds, including many naturalized and some native American citizens, which went into delirious raptures of exultation, and made the walls of beer gardens vibrate with their joyous shouts, at the news of the butchery of American women and children on the *Lusitania*? If it be in bad taste to applaud the execution of justice upon a traitor and murderer, it is at any rate far less reprehensible than to applaud the commission of murder. If there is to be a cessation of such demonstrations, "let Messieurs the assassins begin!" As for us, we must confess a certain righteous desire that not only one or two but a considerable number of his American fellow conspirators might speedily share Bolo's well deserved fate. The lives of American soldiers and sailors, as well as civilians, are far more precious in our eyes than those of German spies and assassins.

Brother Baker Re-appears

THE lost is found,—meaning, of course, War Brother H. D. Baker, whose failure to appear in Washington to protest against the infraternal cancellation of his secret contract with the War Department for the manufacture of airplane parts, by personal order of Pacifist Brother N. D. Baker, was causing no little anxiety. We are indebted to our reputable and trustworthy contemporary, the *Cleveland Leader*, for the following surprising information printed in large type at the head of the first column of its first page on February 3:

Harry D. Baker, brother of Secretary of War Baker, is still actively directing the management of the Engel Aircraft Company. And the company is still working on war contracts for the United States Government.

Attentive readers of this journal will recall that, on January 31, Secretary N. D. Baker issued a statement through the Committee on Public Information to the effect that, realizing "that the situation had inevitable embarrassments in it," he "thereupon called in General Squier and directed him in my name to cancel the contract." The Secretary added:

At my request, Mr. Eugene Meyer, Jr., then went to Cleveland and discussed the matter with the directors and my brother. My brother generously resigned from the company and arranged for the termination of his financial interest in it on the basis of the return to him of his actual cash outlay, with interest, but without profit; his only compensation being for time actually devoted to the affairs of the company on a reasonable salary basis. His interest in the common stock of the company is returned to the treasury of the company.

The company had not begun the delivery of its product. My brother's withdrawal, therefore, takes place before any financial transactions with the Government.

The date of the "cancellation" of the contract was January 21; and yet, according to the *Leader*, on February 3, nearly two weeks later, M. H. D., wholly ignoring his generous resignation, was "still on his job and his company was still working on war contracts for the United States Government."

"These facts," the *Leader* continued, "became known yesterday in flat contradiction to a signed statement issued by Secretary Baker in Washington last Thursday. The disclosures were made by Walter D. Sayle, chairman of the board of directors of the Engel Aircraft Company, last night. Sayle is also president of the Cleveland Punch & Shear Company—and in addition, chairman of the Cuyahoga County Fuel Administration Committee, the company of which he is president having been specifically exempted from idleness on heatless Mondays.

"Sayle's statements were made when the current issue of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY was brought to his attention. It contained a bitter arraignment by its editor, George Harvey, of the relations between the Engel Company and the war department as brought to light when the airplane contracts obtained by Harry D. Baker were under investigation last week by the Senate Military Committee, which has been investigating the activities of the War Department.

"Here are the statements made by Sayle in direct contradiction to those of Secretary Baker:

"That the Government did not withdraw the contract originally given the Engel Aircraft Company; that work is going on now and will continue until about April 1, when the present contract will terminate.

"That Harry D. Baker is still in Niles as executive head of the company's operations in the old plant of the Niles Car & Manufacturing Company and will remain there in that capacity indefinitely.

"That many deliveries of airplane spare parts already have been made, by express, directly to Government aviation fields."

Mr. Sayle had "not had time to acquaint himself with

all financial details," possibly because of his pull with the Fuel Administration which enabled him to keep his punch and shear concern going on heatless Mondays, but he pronounced untrue our assertion that the contracts in hand approximated \$1,000,000, saying that the present work was on "1,200 spare parts, aggregating \$85,000." Our own statement, we may remark in passing, was based upon the sworn testimony of Colonel E. A. Deeds of the United States Signal Corps, to wit:

Colonel Deeds: The Engel Aircraft Company has three contracts of small size.

Senator Frelinghuysen: How much are they?

Colonel Deeds: Do we want to give figures here? We would be very glad to show you.

The Chairman: In dollars, that is all.

Senator Frelinghuysen: In dollars, yes.

Colonel Deeds: I do not know whether you want this for the public. This is not an executive session.

Senator Frelinghuysen: I do not see any reason why it should not be made public.

The Chairman: The amount involved might be given.

Colonel Deeds: \$921,000.

It would appear that a quite considerable part of the glad news had been withheld from Chairman Sayle by President H. D., but the future in any case looked bright. "Certainly no later than April 10," Mr. Sayle added, "we will be in a position to sign 'cost-plus' contracts with the Government, taking on work on a basis of 15 per cent. profit." "He had no comment to make," continues the *Leader*, "concerning this statement by Harry D. Baker, under date of January 5, 1918, in a prospectus of the Engel Aircraft Company":

"Contracts have already been signed for approximately \$5,000,000 of the work on a cost plus basis, which guarantees us a profit of 15 per cent., the Government to finance the operation as to material, labor, etc."

Mr. Sayle also "denied the WAR WEEKLY's statement that Baker had received \$1,000,000 worth of preferred stock outright,"—a simple thing to do, inasmuch as the WAR WEEKLY never made such a statement. Our authority for saying that a million dollars of common stock was "issued outright" to Mr. H. D. was the report to Bradstreet's and Dun's mercantile agencies of Messrs. G. W. Hafner and George S. Patterson, secretary and treasurer respectively of the Engel company.

"I don't know how much Mr. Baker got," Mr. Sayle finally admitted. "A part of the common stock was set aside for the three original owners—Mr. Baker, Mr. Engel and George S. Patterson, secretary of the company. I think maybe it was a million dollars. The amount—a million or not—doesn't cut any ice."

In any case, the *Leader* continues:

Vigorous denial was made by Sayle that Harry D. Baker had recently sent out a stock-selling letter in which Secretary of War Baker's name was intimately mentioned in connection with contracts the Engel company has. He admitted a "letter containing untruths" had been sent out by "a stock salesman," and as soon as the matter was discovered steps were taken by those in charge of the stock-selling campaign to recall the letters.

Upon the main point there was no doubt whatever "Mr. Harry D. Baker has been in Niles four or five months," Sayle said, "and he will be at the plant as business executive, with Mr. Engel as production manager, for an indefinite time."

It would seem, therefore, that, unless Mr. Walter D. Sayle, chairman of the board of directors of the Engel company and a business man in good standing, deliberately "distorted the truth," as the saying is, we were altogether too credulous in accepting as facts Mr. N. D.'s positive statements that the contract had been cancelled and that Mr. H. D. had "generously resigned."

We can only hope that this information respecting the brothers Baker will not reach the brothers Kaplan. Poor Mr. S. and poor Mr. I.! By contrast with Mr. N. D. and Mr. H. D., they would perish of chagrin as nerveless pikers.

Snap Judgment Averted

THE issue of Government ownership of the railroads was thrust into somewhat unexpected prominence in the debate, both in Senate and House on Tuesday. Senator Hiram Johnson, in particular, being a national figure, undoubtedly obtained wide attention for it throughout the country. "I would now take the inevitable next step in Government control of our railroads," he said, "and do whatever might be essential to make that Government control permanent Government ownership, or at least leave the way open so that immediately upon the termination of the war we might follow to its logical conclusion what already we have partly done." Just what step the California Senator had in mind to take "now," just what he regards as "essential" to convert the present Government control into "permanent Government ownership," does not explicitly appear. But it is quite certain that he did not mean to advocate the passage at this time of a bill expressly enacting permanent Government ownership; and it is pretty safe to infer from the context that what he did desire was simply the retention of the original provision of the Administration railroad bill which put the railroads under Government control for the period of the war, and "until Congress shall thereafter order otherwise."

The committees of both Senate and House have decided against this indefinite prolongation of Government control, and it is now practically certain that a limit of eighteen months after the close of the war will be set in the bill, probably with discretion to the President to terminate the whole or any part of the control at an earlier date. Opposition to such limitation has been very strong and persistent; but the chief motive of this opposition has nowhere been frankly acknowledged. Senator Johnson's implied avowal of it comes nearer than anything else we have noted to such acknowledgment. The simple fact that, in the absence of a specified time limit, the return of the railroads to their present owners would require the passing of a new act of Congress—a thing which might be blocked not only at either end of the Capitol but also at the White House—seems to have been sedulously ignored by all these objectors. They all—from Secretary McAdoo to Senator Johnson, and from the everyday newspaper writer to the supermen who dispense wisdom in the *New Republic*—talk as though the naming of a time limit in the bill made impossible any change as to time, or any legislation putting Government regulation on a new and more effective basis before the railroads were returned to their owners. Yet this notion is obviously without the slightest foundation. There is nothing in the world to prevent Congress from at any time passing a twenty-word bill which would extend the time of Federal control as much as might seem desirable. Nor is there anything to prevent Congress from passing, at any time between to-day and the expiration of the limit, as radical legislation as it pleases for the better coördination and management of the railway system, or for Government ownership itself. Indeed the Senate committee in its report expressly connects this last point with its own proposal, for it says:

It may be that the nation will be unwilling to return to the conditions obtaining before the assumption of Federal control. Legislation may be demanded radically changing the relation of the Government to the railroads from that now existing in the Interstate Commerce Act as amended. Your committee has suggested a period of eighteen months, and they believe it will be found adequate for the purpose.

The only real difference between the bill with a time limit and the bill without one is that the former deals honestly with a great question and the latter does not. By putting in a time limit, we do not in the least declare against Government ownership; we simply leave the question open—just as open as it is to-day—to be dealt with deliberately at any future time when the nation may be disposed so to do. Without the time limit, permanent Government control—obviously a stepping-stone to Government ownership—would be automatically established, and could be got rid of only by the enactment of a new law. And this big move

in the game, this gaining of half the battle for Government ownership, would be put through under cover of immediate war necessity though without the slightest real relation to that necessity. Any one who realizes the stupendous importance of the question, from the political no less than from the economic standpoint, must see that such treatment of it would be nothing less than monstrous. That there has been enough stamina in Congress to stand out against the snap-judgment scheme is matter for national congratulation.

Passing the Buck to Labor

AT a luncheon in New York on February 2 Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board launched a campaign for "passing the buck" to labor on the score of America's failure to deliver her enormous ship-building programme for 1918. A few days previously Chairman Hurley had had the "buck" passed to him on the same score by Secretary Baker, when Mr. Baker testified before the Military Affairs Committee to the effect that America would be ready to send 1,500,000 men to France in 1918 and that these men with their equipment could be forwarded to the fighting line if the necessary shipping were provided.

We have not seen a news report of the speech which Mr. Hurley delivered in New York, but there were several editorial comments in the New York papers the following morning, from which we select the following as an illustration of the impression he made upon the minds of those present. It is from the *Tribune* of Sunday, February 3:

Chairman Hurley, of the Shipping Board, said in New York on Friday that his board had asked Lloyds for an independent survey of the existing ship-building plants and plans, so that the board might have an impartial estimate to compare with its own. Lloyds reported that if the existing plants could be run at capacity, an average of ten hours per day, they could produce something like 3,700,000 tons of steel shipping and about 800,000 tons of wooden shipping—about 4,500,000 tons in all. The plants are not running at anything like capacity. And Mr. Powell, in his testimony, made clear some of the reasons. One was that labor is so highly paid that it will work only three or four days in the week, and if the weather is unfavorable, the attendance will drop as low as 50 per cent.

We need, and we have staked the reputation of the United States on, a production of 6,000,000 tons. And Chairman Hurley declares that if the plants could be run at capacity, in three shifts of eight hours each, the 6,000,000 tons could be produced. The plants, the plans, the materials are ready. All that seems needed is to get the materials to the yards and find the men to put them together.

There were comments of a similar nature in other papers, all bearing a marked resemblance to each other, so it is fair to assume that Mr. Hurley did make the general statements quoted above. The *Times*, for instance, says "All that is lacking in the world seems men. We have the organization, we have the plants, we have the contracts." And so forth. Chairman Hurley evidently made these claims.

Here we had the beginning of a perfectly definite new policy on the part of the Shipping Board. It has been interesting to observe the working out of this policy in the press of the country. Apparently all that was necessary was for Chairman Hurley to give the tip, and the press was off. The campaign of ignorance and prejudice rolled on merrily; within a week the misrepresentations of one day were furnishing their own reactions in the newspapers of the next day, and the country had become excited over the shipyard labor situation. Within ten days the snowball had grown sufficiently for the New York *Times* to come out with a first page story on February 13 headed: "Labor Slackers Halt New Ships; Crisis Impending."

The reaction of all this upon labor was of course intense. Labor felt badly treated, and began to say so. This in turn brought on further reactions. The unrest among shipyard labor did indeed come to a mild crisis,

whipped up by the aforesaid misrepresentations. Then the carpenters, the bad boys of labor, actually struck, and the newspapers increased their headlines and spread the story over half of the first page.

It is quite hopeless to attempt to convince a newspaper reader that this campaign was almost wholly manufactured, and that he has derived from his morning paper an utterly exaggerated conception of the situation. But one simple fact deserves to be recorded and considered very candidly. At no time during those few days when the recent carpenters' strike in the shipyards was at its crisis were there more than 2,000 men on strike throughout the country.

When Mr. James French, principal surveyor for *Lloyd's Register* in America, told Mr. Hurley that the existing shipbuilding plants of the country might build 3,700,000 tons of steel ships in 1918, provided they were run to full capacity and efficiency, any practical shipping man knows what was in Mr. French's mind as the limiting factor. Mr. French was not thinking of the lack of labor or of the inefficiency of labor, he was thinking of the lack of practical knowledge and efficiency on the part of the Shipping Board. He was thinking of the general policies which the Shipping Board has followed during the last six or eight months, and which have already cut down to an alarming extent the output of the old shipbuilding plants that were in operation when the Board took hold of the job. In short, when Mr. French said that the existing plants of the country might build 3,700,000 tons of steel ships in 1918, he had it in mind that they might do this if the Shipping Board did not have charge of the job.

The fact is, of course, that America's existing shipbuilding capacity has been rendered largely ineffectual by the policies of the Shipping Board. The fact is we have even yet no shipbuilding organization worthy of the name. The fact is that if 1,000,000 shipyard workers were to hammer at Mr. Hurley's door tomorrow, he could not set 1,000 of them at work. The fact is that shipyards along the Atlantic coast have been turning men away from their gates every day for months, because they have nothing for new men to do, no materials for them to work on, and nowhere for them to live.

Among the more important of the policies of the Shipping Board which have disrupted the shipbuilding industry of the country the following stand out preëminently:

1. Starting enormous new plants in the vicinity of existing yards.
2. Centralizing these new units to a disastrous extent, instead of distributing them along the coast.
3. Fostering the new yards at the expense of the old yards by encouraging competition for labor and by withholding equal privilege to obtain materials, as well as by failing to clear up financial arrangements with the old yards which would permit them to settle down to a definite policy of expenditure.
4. Failing to provide housing facilities for labor either at the new yards or at the old.
5. Failing to have a properly correlated plan for ordering and following up materials.

Some of these policies have recently been modified, to be sure, but the damage is now done. The American shipbuilding industry is in a state of chaos as the result. At such a pass it certainly is unfair, if one would not choose a stronger word, for Mr. Hurley to present a clean slate of organization to the country and call for labor to come forward.

Labor unrest and labor inefficiency are to be admitted in the shipyards. But the point is that the Shipping Board itself has brought them on by its own general policies. The labor turnover in the shipbuilding industry is appalling, but there is no escaping the hard fact that the Shipping Board has unsettled its own labor.

In short, it is bad management which has been the chief cause of the drop in labor efficiency in the shipyards during the past few months. Bad management failed to

provide housing facilities for the vast projects which the Shipping Board had announced. Bad management failed to order materials efficiently or to see that orders would be delivered on time. Today, for instance, in the midst of our railroad crisis, millions of feet of timber for keels, which should have been laid in the yards of the Atlantic coast last August and September, are coming across the continent on special priority orders from Oregon. Bad management through many different channels, all having their source in the Shipping Board, failed to provide steady work for the men at the yards. Bad management deliberately unsettled labor by fostering new units in the face of a short labor supply, by encouraging the bidding for labor between yards, and by establishing the largest of the new units in an already congested industrial district.

Mr. Hurley, who thought that he could build a merchant marine by making out his programme, letting the contracts, laying the keels, and then turning the press agents loose, now thinks, apparently, that he can fulfil his promises to the country by "passing the buck" to labor and calling to the workman to come forward. He has not yet discovered that the work which he should have done in the beginning must now be undertaken in the face of added difficulties, if anything at all is to be accomplished; that shipyard labor must first of all be settled, instead of being further unsettled by an inrush of new men to swell the labor turnover; that housing facilities for labor must be provided even before plants and shipways are built and before keels are laid; that the whole vast project must be organized from the bottom, not from the top; and that in the meanwhile the existing shipyard facilities and management of the country must be given every assistance to turn out their full capacity of merchant tonnage in 1918.

The shipbuilding industry in America is practically at a standstill. There are few more shipways in existence today and ready to build ships than there were six months ago. Plans are still far at sea. Even yet there seems to be no disposition in the Shipping Board to concentrate every possible activity on the ships which are already on the ways, some of them nearing completion, and to rush them into the water as fast as they can be launched, regardless of contracts or money or pet projects for new yards.

The whole agitation for "passing the buck" to labor on the score of shipbuilding inefficiency is too well calculated to throw dust in the eyes of the public to be permitted to pass unnoticed. In October Chairman Hurley reorganized the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the Shipping Board so that all authority should rest in his hands. Why not let the responsibility, then, rest where it belongs?

A Question of Tone

AMONG the speeches made last Sunday night at the gathering of American Bolsheviki in New York, under the name of the National Radical Conference, there was one that deserves a special kind of attention. In the declarations of purpose, or desire, or sentiment that our dear old friends Hillquit, and Maurer, and Amos Pinchot and the rest gave utterance to, there was of course nothing new. But Dr. Judah L. Magnes, though an almost equally familiar figure, said something that was distinctly of an unexpected character. He predicted with absolute confidence "that the President of the United States in a very short time will issue an address to all belligerents" demanding "an immediate peace on the simple basis laid down by the Bolsheviki of Russia."

Now, there is probably not an intelligent human being in this country who believes that the Reverend Dr. Magnus has any private information whatever as to President Wilson's intention thus to surrender all the aims to which, time after time, during the past ten months, he has solemnly pledged the unyielding devotion of all the resources of this country. And public information to this effect certainly does not exist. On the contrary, the President's most recent acts, more significant than words, belie any such

imputation. The note of the hour, even more than the note of any preceding time in the struggle is that of an ever fuller and more effective concentration of energy upon the prosecution of the war. That note is sounded in the programme of reorganization of war activities, upon which President and Congress are getting together. It is sounded in the speeding-up of shipbuilding work, to which every effort of the President and his aids is being directed. It is echoed in the patriotic manifesto issued by the American Federation of Labor at the very moment when Magnes was talking, which declares that "the defeat of Prussian autocracy on the battlefield" is the only hope either of safety for the free peoples of the world or of liberty for the German people themselves. In a word, then, there is no tangible basis of any kind for Magnes' assertion.

Why, then, pay any attention to it? Why not dismiss it as mere vamping? Vamping it undoubtedly is; but there is just one thing that makes the vamping uncomfortable. Six months ago, three months ago, perhaps one month ago, it might have been dismissed with a laugh. To-day it is still utterly unworthy of serious consideration; but somehow or other one feels no inclination to laugh at it. And the reason is simple. In his latest exposition of war aims Mr. Wilson did, indeed, repeat that "we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle," and that "our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation;" but these reassertions of loyalty to the great cause were not of the essence of his message, as the like assertions had been in former declarations. The stress was all on the possibility of adjustments and compromises; the intense and pervading sense of what must be achieved before terms could be thought of, which gave fire and force to the great address of April 2, 1917, was conspicuous by its absence. Instantly there rose the query, "Is this a substitute for previous declarations? Has the President backed down?" Promptly came from Washington the necessary denial; but something remained of the doubt. And that something, until it is thoroughly removed, will give the Magnesians an opening, will encourage the Hill-quits to promote slacking and disloyalty, and will make all of us more or less uncomfortable over assertions that would otherwise be as the idle wind which we respect not.

Mr. Wilson himself has made much of the question of tone in enunciations of war purposes. It was the "very friendly tone" of Count Czernin's recent declaration that formed the basis of the President's hope, as expressed in his address to Congress last week, of progress toward a possible understanding with the Central Powers; and accordingly it is hardly possible that Mr. Wilson should be insensitive to the effect that his own tone, in any utterance upon the great issues of the war, is capable of producing. No amount of mere reiteration of a formula, no amount of mere denial that there has been any change, can suffice to counteract the impression produced by any lowering of the keynote. And this is all the more true, all the more serious, in view of the fact that the Kaiser's tone remains absolutely what it was. The ink was hardly dry on the President's address when Americans found themselves reading the German War Lord's defiant and confident announcement that no settlement could be thought of until the victory of German arms had been acknowledged. It was of this "natural foe to liberty" that the President, in his great war address, declared that we "shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power." How far we are from having attained this end it did not need the Kaiser's latest defiance to demonstrate. The pretensions and the power which we have pledged ourselves to check and nullify stand as formidable and as menacing as they stood on April 2 of last year. The splendid appeal to which the nation so loyally responded then is as essential to-day as it was eleven months ago. Whatever else the President may find it desirable or politic to say on the issues of the war, it is indispensable that he shall maintain in every utterance upon it the unmistakable note of that first utter-

ance—the note of the inflexible determination to break the power of the Prussian military autocracy.

Josephus Exempts

THE most disgusting thing that has befallen officials of the Government since we entered the war has been that of forcing would-be slackers to do their part. Of course it is unnecessary to recall the fact that 90 per cent of the men of draft age responded in the red-blooded manner that we expected. They were not only anxious but itching to get at the Hun. To comment upon their attitude would be superfluous. They have written their names upon the imperishable roll of honor. God bless them.

Here and there the yellow streak developed just as we knew it would. It was inevitable. In a country the size of ours, representing in some places a polyglot civilization, the coward and craven is sure to breed. When Provost Marshal General Crowder and Colonel Hugh Johnson completed the final revisions of the draft regulations they congratulated themselves upon having evolved a slacker-proof system of registration. They were satisfied that their regulations were absolutely just both as to those who should bear arms and those who should be exempted. The country applauded their efforts and rested content that the burden would be distributed equitably.

Of course we understand that a few hundreds or even thousands of cowards have left their homes, families and friends and have sought to avoid Government agents in the hope of dodging their duty. These are the outcasts who are being rounded up gradually by agents of the Department of Justice. When apprehended they are punished severely. Those who are caught and those who avoid detection will wear the badge of eternal shame. With them we are not greatly concerned. Eventually justice will overtake them.

There is one class, however, in whom we are interested. It is the group of those whom Josephus Daniels has relieved of all military liability by placing their names on the inactive list of the naval reserves. Their names are not published. The reasons which prompted the Secretary of the Navy to relieve them of duty have never been divulged. We believe that the public is entitled to them because, so far as we know, the reserve list of the navy is the one direct route which may possibly be used, in a legal manner at least, to gain exemption when the grounds for exemption might not appeal to a registration board.

We do not know how many young men of draft age have enlisted in the reserve corps of the navy in the hope of being relieved of duty and thereby avoiding national service while enjoying the comforts of home, but we do know that four young men from Raleigh, North Carolina, at the request of Mr. Daniels, were shifted from the active to the inactive list within the last few days. Mr. Daniels may have had the best reasons in the world for ordering these exemptions. We do not presume to judge. We believe, however, that it would be an excellent thing for him to publish in the *Official Bulletin* the names of those whom he exempts through secret orders, especially in cases like these, where the men are residents of his own home town.

There was a great field day for the Chivalry of Kultur at the week end; with these results:

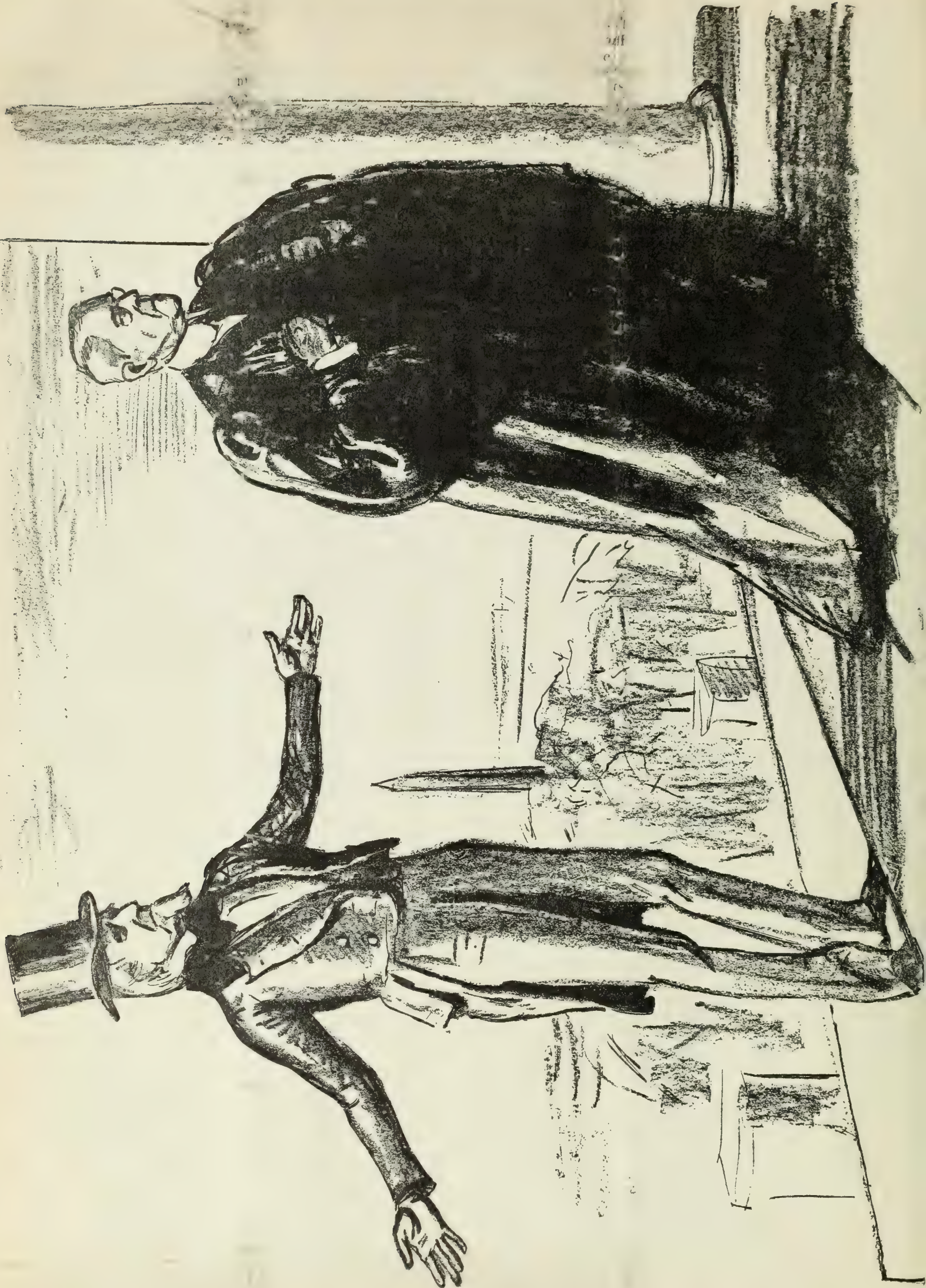
Dover bombarded by a U-boat; one child killed.

London bombarded by aeroplanes; one invalid officer, his wife, and one child, killed.

One American hospital bombarded.

"Forward with God!"

Lenine and Trotzky naively protest that they "could not anticipate such a step" as that which Germany has taken towards Russia. The Hon. D. F. McChump sapiently remarked that he "could not anticipate such a result" when he monkeyed with a buzz-saw.



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The Week

WASHINGTON, March 1, 1918.

AS we anticipated, the President's peace chicken came home to roost. Why, certainly, replied the German Chancellor with a grin, your four emasculated proposals are wholly acceptable to us; "essential justice" is what we crave above all else; assuredly the "peoples and provinces" now under our control should not be "bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty"; of course, "every territorial settlement must be made for the benefit of those concerned"; by all means, let "all well-defined national aspirations," none so well defined as ours, be "accorded the utmost satisfaction"; give us your hand, Mr. President, the hand which not so long ago you swore you would never extend to our militant autocracy; and fetch your friends, your wicked friends whose eyes are still blinded by their own obduracy to the effulgence of a peace without victory for themselves or for what they mistakenly regard as civilization; welcome, thrice welcome to our spider's web; come one, come all; but come separately.

With a cynicism which would have made even Bismarck blush Hertling proclaims his entire agreement with the President's latest preachment, and thus offers America the intolerable indignity of pretending that its fundamental peace terms are identical with those of Germany. He has lured us into playing Germany's own game. It was his specious suggestion that a democratic peace was possible that put that bee into the American bonnet. We need not stop to speculate whether his peace talk was intended partly for home consumption, or entirely for effect upon America. It had here in Washington the full effect which he intended. Having blown hot, we began to blow cold, or at least moderately cool, and so reduced ourselves to a lukewarm condition, which we hoped would be palatable to that German democracy which we persist in imagining to exist and to be ready to yell "Kamerad!" and tumble into our arms.

Is it not time to drop the folly of this game of "now

you see it and now you don't"? The appeal to German democracy has been made, and has been as futile as whistling against the wind. The attempt at wedge-driving has been made, and has failed. The only rational course now is to quit the idle chatter about peace, and to realize that we are in the war for a fight to a finish, and that the harder we fight, the sooner the finish will come. If there really is a German democracy, and it wants to revolt against Kaiserism, God speed it! We shall welcome it when it makes its existence known. When it speaks so that it can be heard above the din of battle, we shall listen; but we should be the crassest of fools if we let up for an instant.

The President understands this, of course; indeed, we are told, he was so thoroughly annoyed by this disingenuous response from the wrong Chancellor that he has decreed a peaceless week. "The attitude at the White House," solemnly declares the *Washington Post*, "is that the nation must concentrate its thoughts on prosecution of the war against the ruthless military power that has again broken its solemn pledges by ignoring the Russian armistice and using peace talk as a mere ruse to throw its enemies off their guard. . . . Those who, like the President and the entente leaders, see military victory as the only antidote for Prussian plans of world domination have been strikingly vindicated in their judgment by the developments of the past few days." To this we have only to say that again the President has "not receded" from the position which he took on January 8, if we assume that he was talking in his sleep on February 11. Let it go at that for the present.

Nobody but a German—or perhaps a lafollette or some other copperhead pacifist—could possibly have made the speech which Count von Hertling made on Monday. For Joseph Surface, Pecksniff and Uriah Heep are all dead. We are of course mindful of the dictum that a German never can be a gentleman; but we must confess a degree of curiosity at the apparent necessity which compels an Imperial Chancellor so monstrously and gratuitously to affront the world's sense of elementary decency. The clanking of the sword in the scabbard we could listen to with some degree of tolerance; or even the bullying blackmail which was recently addressed to the Bolsheviks at Brest Litovsk. But when the mouthpiece of William the Damned blubbers over "the blood of the fallen, the agonies of the mutilated, and the distress and sufferings of peoples," and laments that we, by refusing to seek peace on German terms, "insistently refuse to listen to the voice of reason and humanity," we must confess that our gorge rises with utter nausea. Yet that revolting stuff is all that he has to offer to the world, save a repetition of the

Socialism and Mental Laziness

THE rise of the Bolshevik power in Russia has given to Socialist agitation throughout the world an impetus beyond all calculation or expectation. The ignominious collapse of that power, and the tragic consequences which its brief command of the situation has brought upon Russia, herself and upon all the world, will undoubtedly check the influence its sudden emergence exercised; but the commotion then started will not soon subside. On all hands observers are eagerly watching its signs and portents. Fanatical enthusiasts see the new world of their unchastened dreams on the eve of actual realization; faint-hearted conservatives are wrapped in gloom at what they likewise regard as the handwriting on the wall; and judicial on-lookers endeavor to make a calm survey of the facts, and to estimate as correctly as possible the strength of the contending forces—those making for the socialist revolution on the one hand and for the preservation of the individualist régime on the other.

There is one factor in the case, however, which seems to attract nobody's attention, and which nevertheless is undoubtedly of first-rate importance. Indeed, so far as this country is concerned, it may well be contended that this overlooked element is not only of great moment, but is the controlling factor in the situation. The factor we refer to is simply mental laziness. This assertion may seem fantastic at first blush, but the more you think of it, the more you will see that it is based upon simple and sober fact. In other countries, the prospect of a socialistic overturn of the existing order of society may be sufficiently accounted for by long-standing and deep-seated discontent on the part of the masses on the one hand, and on the other by a gradually maturing conviction that such a change is necessary on the part of a large number of earnest and influential thinkers in the well-to-do classes. Something of all this there is among us also; but altogether too little to bring about any radical change in the fundamentals of the social order. If such a change is to come here, the deciding factor in its favor will be neither ardent advocacy nor revolutionary zeal, but good-natured acquiescence in what shall somehow have come to be regarded as the general drift of opinion. People who yesterday held up their hands in horror at the thought of socialism you shall find smilingly accepting it today with out turning a hair. It is not that they have been wrestling with the problem and become convinced of the error of their lifelong belief; it is not that they have gone through any serious experience in connection with it. What has brought about the change in them is simply the feeling that socialism is in the air—they take it because "everybody" takes it, just as they might adopt a new cut of their coats, or drop the waltz for the two-step. To be sure we have not yet reached that stage in the matter; but the signs of its possible approach are far too plain to be ignored.

It is against this fatal inertia, this lazy and good-natured acquiescence that the efforts of those who realize what is at stake must above all be directed. And what is at stake is not a matter of dividends, or taxes, or franchises. It is the very foundation of that wholesome and virile individualism upon which American life and American character, no less than American achievement, have been built. The Socialists, however much they may be divided into groups as to this or that feature of the programme are quite at one as to their central aim. They wish to have the welfare of individuals rest primarily upon arrangements established by the government, and only secondarily upon their own individual qualities; they wish to have every man made sure of a satisfactory place in life, subject only to his compliance with the rules fixed by governmental authority for his conduct. All our life, all the qualities which have been bred by the conditions of it, has been based upon a diametrically opposite view of a man's place among his fellows. Rich or poor, gifted or common-

place, a man's self-respect has been inseparably bound up with his ability to hold his own in the battle of life; and what is at stake is nothing less than the giving up of this, and of all that it carries with it in the shaping of human character and in giving zest and point to human life. Yet there are hundreds of thousands today, and there may be millions tomorrow, who turn toward Socialism as lightly as though it involved nothing more vital than a matter of this or that scale of wages, or a little shorter or longer working day.

It is possible that the appalling spectacle in Russia may produce a change in the general atmosphere which will cause people to take a less light-minded view of these things. It is even possible that war-time experience of the imperfections and drawbacks of government control will bring about a spontaneous reaction in favor of individualism. But for the present the current is running strongly the other way; and the worst of it is that it is not so much the strength of the current as the mere disposition to drift with the stream that constitutes danger. Young people in particular, are apt to imagine that the way things seem at the moment to be going is the way they are sure to go for good and all; and when this sort of thing gets sufficient headway, there are woefully few leaders of opinion or of policies who have the grit to stand manfully against it. If the verdict is to be for socialism, in this generation or the next, it will be because, when the real trial came the case was allowed to go by default. The time to build up a virile intellectual resistance is now; before very long, unless the tide should somehow happen to turn of itself, the chance for an effective defence will have slipped away.

An Alliance for Treason

THE revelations concerning the "National German-American Alliance" are more confirmatory than surprising. They are not surprising at all to those who have watched the history of that organization from the beginning. The very circumstances of its origin were many to damn it. It was just after the Spanish war, in which Germany had "gone the limit" in unfriendliness to the United States. Through poor Holleben she had tried to form a league of European powers against us at the very beginning. Through Prince Henry she sought to forestall us in the Philippines, and when she failed in that she sent Diederichs thither to give our foes all possible aid and to betray us if possible into their hands. Beaten again, she realized at the end of the war that commercial prudence required her to make a pretence of friendship, while her far-reaching political ambitions dictated further plans of carefully concealed hostility.

So William the Damned sent Henry over here, on a double errand. The ostensible purpose was to pay a compliment to the United States and to assure us of Germany's friendship. The Kaiser shrewdly reckoned upon our democratic love of princes, in which he was not altogether disappointed. We "fell for" Henry, and for a time thought Germany was just our very dearest friend in all the world.

But the real purpose was the establishment and promotion of German propaganda in America, largely through the organization of this precious "Alliance", to which Henry von Hohenzollern served as patron and sponsor. We would not imply that all its members were disloyal. But it would be folly to dispute that its fundamental intent, and the purpose of its founders and promoters, was inimical to America. It was not, like some organization of immigrants, intended to make its members better American citizens, but was deliberately and confessedly intended to prevent them from becoming "Americanized." It aimed to perpetuate their use of the German language, their persistence in German manners and customs, and their attachment and devotion to the land of their birth, or of their fathers' birth, in preference to the land of their residence. It inculcated the principles that they should remain Germans at heart, that their political and civic policies should

be shaped for the advantage of Germany, and that in case of any difference between America and Germany, they should give their sympathy and support to the Fatherland.

It was the development of that organization that led the Kaiser to boast that he ruled supreme in America, where three million German citizens voted according to his bidding, and that no American administration could remain in power against the will of the German voters, who, under his grace, controlled the destinies of this republic. It was that which inspired the notorious Foreign Secretary, Zimmermann, to insult the American Ambassador with the taunt that we should not dare to resent the Lusitania massacre because there were 500,000 German reservists in the United States.

Doubtless it has been a grievous disappointment to William the Damned that the entire membership of this Alliance has not risen against America, and that the great majority of its members repudiate the traitorous designs of its founders and remain loyal Americans. Yet there is enough venom in the thing to be a certain menace to the welfare of this country. Traitors who fail or partly fail are traitors still. From the beginning of the war almost every German conspiracy against our peace and welfare has been traceable to the Alliance or its leading spirits.

There is no good purpose that the thing serves, or now can serve. In aligning itself with German interests against American interests from the very beginning of the war it has showed itself to be German in spirit and American only in name. That it should longer be permitted to enjoy not merely tolerated existence but the sanction and charter of the national government would be an anomaly too gross for polite characterization. There should be no room in the United States for any German propagandist organization.

The Prohibition Craze

THE way in which the prohibition wave of 1917-18 has been overspreading the country would form a richly-rewarding subject of research for M. Lebon. The *psychologie de la foule*, to which he so acutely directed the attention of the world, is usually a matter of emotional excitement, more or less intense; but this present prohibition wave, though almost wholly free from emotional quality of any kind, presents none the less distinctly the marks of sheer crowd-contagion. Nay it presents them *more* distinctly, though less obviously; for when a man gets thoroughly worked up over a subject, his state of mind, though it may have had its origin in the psychology of the crowd, becomes ultimately really and truly his own state of mind and not a mere fragment of the crowd's mental condition. The distinguishing peculiarity of the present phase of the prohibition business is that hosts of men who have never before favored even ordinary prohibition have been so swept along with the wave that they approve a degree and kind of prohibition which even extreme prohibitionists would have shrunk from proposing a few years ago; and this not because they have suddenly been filled with reformatory zeal, but simply because they think that most people think it is the right thing to do.

Take the State of New York. The prohibition amendment will probably be defeated in the Legislature, but the votes in favor of it will evidently not fall far short of a majority. Do the members of the Legislature realize what they are doing when they vote for the amendment? Do the people of the city of New York realize what is in danger of being done to them? Hardly. By the ratification of this amendment the Legislature would be signing away forever the power of the people of this State, or of any part of this State, to determine for themselves whether anybody in New York shall be free to drink a glass of beer or wine; not only we of the present generation but our children and grandchildren after we are gone will be utterly powerless to restore that freedom unless we get the assent of two-thirds of both houses of Con-

gress and of the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States. A mere handful of people in distant and sparsely-settled States, where conditions as well as tastes and desires are wholly different from ours, will be able to block permanently any restoration of what has been, from time immemorial, an important part of the resources of social and individual life in great urban communities. Nobody denies that drink produces great evil; but it remains to be seen how great a loss to human life, especially in such a city as New York, will come from its abolition. Yet however keenly we may feel that loss, however fully we may become convinced that the radical measure of total prohibition was a deplorable mistake, we shall never be able to correct the error unless we can bring round to our state of mind people in far-away States whose experience gives them no knowledge of the matter, whose tastes and temperament are wholly different from ours, and among whom drinking has in the past exhibited all of its evil side and none of its good.

Of all this, the men, in the Legislature and out of it, who have so suddenly fallen in line with the prohibitionists, have little or no perception. They think of the matter in the most superficial, even casual, way. Without any foundation in genuine conviction and without any consciousness of the gravity of what they are doing, they give their approval to a measure extreme in itself, and still more extreme when its general implications are realized. For the blow to the liberty of the individual in the ordering of his own personal and social life would not be more marked than the blow to the whole idea of local self-government. To standardize the life of the nation in the matter of personal habits, to make all conform to one rule, regardless of the preferences of any State, to impose that rule in such a way that any amount of subsequent protest or change of mind would be unavailing on the part not only of one State but of anything less than three-fourths of the States—to do this is not merely to throw away the last vestige of State rights. It is much more than a question of juristic limitations that is involved; it is the whole spirit of our American system. If we are to be governed as one big undifferentiated mass in this matter, there is no subject under the sun upon which we can make a stand for the old idea of self-government.

Now the singular thing is that into all this millions of our people are ready to plunge without any case of necessity being made out for it. State after State has been adopting prohibition within its own borders, and there is not the slightest sign that the process is coming to an end. No one can doubt that if the States which have adopted it shall continue for a few years to be pleased with it, they will be imitated in rapid succession by the remaining States. The Webb-Kenyon law makes State enforcement of bone-dry prohibition perfectly practicable. The only substantial difference between what would be brought about by the proposed amendment and what would take place without it is that the amendment would rivet the thing down on every State, however much it might object either now or in the future, while without the amendment the States would remain free to enact such laws or regulations as might seem best. What we are asked to do is to destroy that freedom, to institute a cast-iron régime which has never been tried either in our own country or anywhere else in the world, and wantonly to break down our most cherished and wholesome ideals of self-government.

The Bolshevik Bunko Game

REPUDIATION, then, is the measure of Bolshevik morality. But it is not merely the common or garden variety of repudiation, such as Turkey and Bulgaria and Greece have practised. The Bolsheviks have developed a special type, of peculiar vileness and iniquity.

It is well, no doubt, that Holland has taken the initiative in formally protesting against Lenine and Trotzky's transformation of Russian bonds into mere "scraps of

paper." It is better that a neutral should do so than a belligerent, even than an ally or former ally, of the defaulting nation. Holland has, moreover, a very deep interest in the matter, her thrifty burghers having invested many millions in the securities which are now to be repudiated. That is a practical, pecuniary interest, in addition to the moral interest which every honest nation in the world must feel in the maintenance of international good faith.

But there is another nation whose interest from every point of view—pecuniary, moral, sentimental, political, and what not—so immeasurably surpasses that of all others as to be entitled to a monopoly of consideration. That nation is France, for many years the loyal and most serviceable ally of Russia. In her case repudiation of the Russian debt would be one of the cruellest crimes that treachery ever conceived or ingratitude committed.

Recall the circumstances: The French people had just begun to recover from the heart-wrenching strain of meeting the demands of Prussian blackmail in 1871. With their unrivalled industry and thrift they were beginning to renew their depleted savings. Then Russia appeared upon the scene, in need of money with which to build railroads and a fleet, and at a loss to find it in the markets of the world. The appeal was shrewdly made. France wanted a friend, almost as much as Russia wanted money. The Muscovite offered friendship, entente, alliance, a bulwark to protect France against another German attack which would "bleed her white," all in return for French subscriptions to her loans.

The response was ready and ungrudging. Trusting to the faith and friendship of Russia, France, and particularly northern France, drained herself of the people's savings once more, almost as utterly as she had done in 1871. Every peasant and every shopkeeper brought forth his little store of francs and bore it to the local bank, which invested it in Russian bonds. Untold millions, the savings of years of toil, jealously laid aside for the daughter's dowry or for the old folks' burial costs, were confidently and gratefully given to the "great northern friend of France." Given to their own domestic government, it would have been a marvellous outpouring. Given to an alien Power, it was unprecedented and unique in human history.

And now, the moment the so-called "democracy" gains power in Russia, the moment Russia enters upon an era which ought to make still stronger and closer the ties of confidence and affection between her and France, what happens? Russia's vast debt to France, incurred in friendship's name, is to be repudiated. It was not enough that Russia repudiated her agreement for concerted action in the war and deserted her ally; it was not enough that the Bolshevik truce was made for the purpose of releasing German troops from the East to be added to those which were battering France's wearied lines in the West. There remained a deeper depth of moral turpitude. The savings of the French people, the common people, even the poor people, must be stolen from them—for repudiation is theft. After all the sacrifices of treasure and of life-blood that France has made in this war, for Russia's sake as well as her own, Russia herself now turns upon her and robs her people of their savings, as cynically and as ruthlessly as the Huns themselves have sacked and looted the invaded provinces.

Between the two plunderers, the Bolsheviks and the Boche, the Boche seems actually the less vile. He, at least, is openly at war with France, while the Bolsheviks profess to be at peace with her and were recently on terms of friendship and alliance. There was some difference—was there not?—between Caiaphas and Judas?

Yes; it is well that Holland protests against Russian repudiation. It would be well for America and every other land to protest. Yet what is their interest compared with that of France? To America, Russian repudiation would mean a trifling loss; to Holland perhaps a heavy loss; to

France it would be a tragedy, beggaring those who have already been impoverished by the war, and dooming the next generation to suffer privations because of the perfidy of a pretended friend.

For the sake of international good faith, the world should protest against this act. For the sake of France, it would be well to have it made unmistakably and inexorably plain that honorable governments can have no dealings with the Judas of the nations—at least until after it has been hanged.

The Next Liberty Loan

FLOTATION of the forthcoming Liberty Loan is occasioning serious concern to the financial interests of the country. In the estimation of numerous bankers and economists the digression of Secretary McAdoo from the traditional practice of the Government, the exemption of its obligation from taxation, has proved a failure. Pointing to the depreciation of the Liberty 4s, now selling at \$94.80 to \$96.80 per \$100 face value, and to the fact that despite heroic efforts to enlist the savings of the people probably upward of three-fourths of the last loan had to be subscribed by the banks, the economists contend that only a return to what they regard as sound financial principles can make the next loan a success.

Fear that certain men of great wealth might utilize the Liberty Bonds to escape taxation and an apparent conviction that elimination of the tax-exemption would popularize the loan with the proletariat animated the administration in its demand that Congress omit the exemption provision, a demand in no wise shaken by the fact that many of the ablest economists in Congress, irrespective of party, warned the Secretary of the Treasury that he was courting failure by the innovation. With the powerful backing of President Wilson, Secretary McAdoo insisted not only that income from the Liberty 4s be made subject to the income tax, but that such income when accruing to an estate should be subject to such inheritance taxes as are now enacted or may hereafter be enacted. And as if still further to detract from the sense of security of the investor in Liberty Bonds, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has handed down an opinion that such income will also be subject to the inheritance taxes of the various states.

A single concrete example serves to show how far the McAdoo innovation works to the disadvantage of the investor in Liberty Bonds. Assume the case of a man now paying super-taxes, under the income tax law, on an income of \$460,000. He is solicited to invest \$1,000,000 of idle capital in additional Liberty 4s which, presumably, would add to his income \$40,000 a year. In fact, such investment so increases his super-tax as to leave him a net increase in income from his \$1,000,000 investment of only \$21,600, or 2-16/100 per cent, net.

Experience has shown, according to the financiers, that the people of moderate means, no matter how patriotic, cannot finance the government in war times and that the Liberty Bonds must be made more attractive in order to enlist the support of large investors. Nor do they believe the foreshadowed increase of the interest rate of 4½ per cent overcomes the difficulty.

Within the next thirty days earnest representations will be made to the administration by bankers and economists from all sections of the country in favor of a five year, four per cent, tax-free loan, subject to refunding at the pleasure of the government, upon equitable conditions. Such a loan, it is contended, alone will serve to meet the extraordinary needs of the government. Upon the conclusion of the war it can be refunded at such lower rate of interest as conditions may then make practicable. Into this loan all previous Liberty Loans would be convertible, necessarily; but only by such means can the outstanding 3½s and 4s be raised to par. And until the Government bonds sell at par, some bankers, according to representations already made to Mr. McAdoo, will not feel free to

invest the funds of their depositors in them. Many may feel warranted by patriotic motives in so investing the capital of their stockholders, but the investment of the funds of their depositors is a different proposition.

That only a 4 per cent, tax-free, five-year issue can make the next Liberty Loan a success and restore the bonds already issued to par is the firm conviction of many of the ablest bankers and financiers of the country.

The U-Boat and the Shipyards

THE President's control of foreign commerce will doubtless be acquiesced in very much as were the five days' embargo on industry and the "Garfield Mondays." In itself it is an undesirable and an unwelcome thing. But since it has unnecessarily been made necessary—if we may use the phrase—we shall endure it. We mean to win this war, and we shall bear whatever burden and make whatever sacrifice may be required to attain that end.

That some such step has become necessary is obvious from current statistics. We have heard a lot of talk about overcoming the U-boat peril by this, that and the other means. We hope it is true. We know that our men and our allies are doing skilful and daring work against those fabricated sharks, and are achieving some good results. Yet with the utmost of their efforts, the concrete, cubical, congealed fact is that the U-boats are destroying ships much faster than we and our allies are building them.

Here are the figures, approximately correct: The United States last year produced 901,223 tons of shipping. Great Britain is credited with 1,163,474 tons, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Returns from France, Italy, Japan and other countries are not yet complete, but there is no reason for thinking that the aggregate output of them all was any greater than ours. Our own officials reckon it to have been less. There was, then, a total production of less than three million tons of shipping. And the U-boats destroyed six million tons. Tirpitz is beating us, two to one.

Of course, our Shipping Board did not fairly get to work until late in the year, and there is good reason for expecting that its output this year will be much greater than it was last year. That goes without saying; otherwise, we might as well surrender to the Hun. But how much greater will it be? Some time ago, we remember, there were cocksure predictions that it would be not a grain less than eight million tons. Now the Shipping Board which promised 8,000,000 tons seems "quite sure" that at least three and a half millions will be completed. But we are unable to find any practical ship-builders who guarantee this much. Mr. Baker has been talking very loudly and confidently of sending from half a million to a million and a half men to France this year, a large part of them this spring. Of course he cannot use for that purpose ships which will not be finished until next fall or winter. If our present shipping minus the continual losses from U-boat ravages is to be sufficient to transport and to maintain such an army, it is probably necessary to resort to such extreme measures as the restriction of commerce which the President has just ordered. We have got to win the war, and to do so we have got to send troops abroad and maintain them there, and to do that we have got to have ships.

Yet, necessary though it is, it should not have been necessary. It would not have been necessary, if all the talk of a few months ago about "standardized" and "fabricated" ships and eight million tons had been "made good." Were those sanguine promises intelligent and sincere? If so, why are they not to be fulfilled? For if they are to be fulfilled, we can scarcely need this extraordinary new order. If the persistence of Denmanism was the cause of their failure, are we quite sure that all Denmanism has even now been wholly eliminated?

Official Fables

THE Committee on Public Information has instructed all camp and cantonment commanders to allow no photographs of American troops drilling with wooden guns to leave military reservations. The instructions state that "no good purpose" will be served by allowing the public to see such photographs. The same committee, acting through a corps of photographers and reporters is collecting and offering for publication every picture and news item that will help give the impression that our troops are fully equipped and prepared to man the trenches.

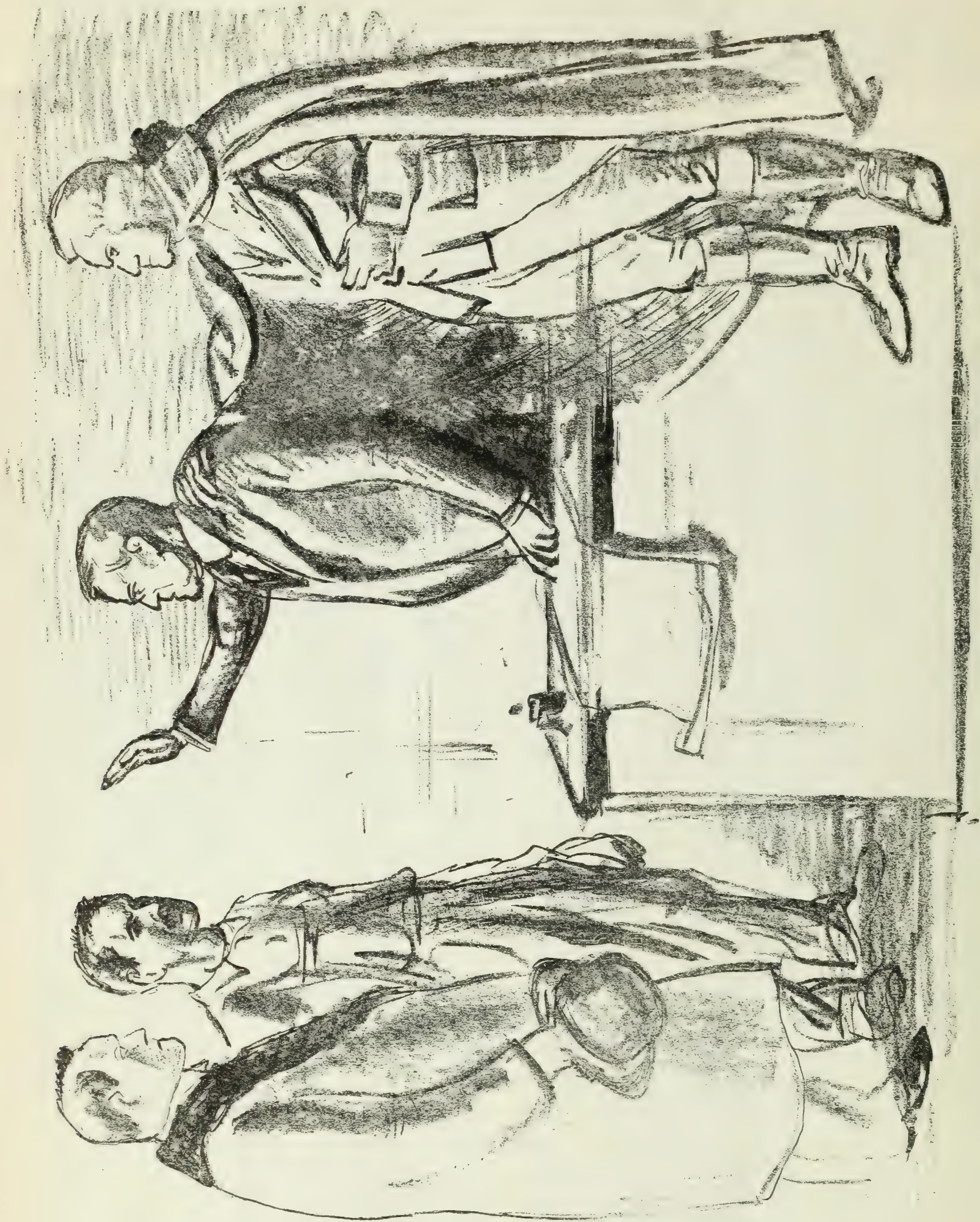
If these facts presented an isolated error in an ordinarily properly directed policy they would not be worth more than passing notice, because unhappily the whole world knows the facts concerning our ordnance shortage as forced from the Secretary of War by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. Unfortunately they are not exceptional instances but are typical of the policy which has been pursued since the misnamed committee was created. When the "elaborated" report of the Fourth of July "battle" between American transports and German "U-boats in force" was exposed last summer, the public was led to believe that thereafter only official reports containing the whole truth would be circulated with official sanction.

How long such a policy of truthfulness was pursued, if at all, we do not know, but we do know that the committee has persistently offered for publication the most ridiculously optimistic statements concerning every phase of the war. Every possible item of information that could be twisted into a glorification of the administrations of Secretaries Baker and Daniels has been sent broadcast. Newspapers and periodicals which dared tell the truth were branded as unpatriotic and base political motives were ascribed to them. Not until the Senate Committee ripped off the lid did the public have any conception of the true condition of affairs.

The committee has persistently given circulation to every disjointed statement, of any rattle-brained expatriated German or Austrian, which could be used as a basis for believing that the Central Powers were about to collapse. Suggestions of all sorts that the "liberal" elements in Germany were about to overthrow the Kaiser have been exploited regularly. Newspapers from California to Maine have printed columns of these "official" publications until a large part of our public has been led to believe that peace was imminent. Now comes the terrible truth as a result of the Russian debacle but the committee goes on its way indicating that we may yet make peace through the "liberal" elements—the old men and women and children of Germany.

Of course the net result of the whole miserable business has been to lull our people into a feeling of security and optimism which inclines them rather to accept the self satisfying promises of Baker and Daniels than to demand an accounting of achievements or failures! This policy has been followed in respect to every branch of the government and it has had its effect upon every section of the country. We have heard much chatter of Germany's propaganda in this country but we doubt if any agency of the Kaiser could have accomplished more in lulling the people of America into a feeling of false security than has been done by the Committee on Public Information.

If a handful of pacifists were financing such a committee their activities would be discounted, but as long as the publications which emanate from No. 8 Jackson Square carry the stamp of our government, they will be accepted as official and will be respected as trustworthy by many people. If there is any valid reason for allowing this institution to continue to act as the government spokesman, it ought to be compelled to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.



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The Week

WASHINGTON, March 8, 1918.

ALTHOUGH not particularly interested in partisan politics at this juncture in our national career, we did dedicate an idle moment the other evening to contemplation of what we have to pronounce regretfully the oddly undeveloped mentality of the new Chairman of the Republican National Committee—Mr. Will H. Hays, by name, of Indiana. We ought not to have done it and, speaking with accustomed candor, we never should have done it but for the absence of the expected mordant expression which seemed to have faded out of his countenance, as portrayed by the papers. But it was not so much how he looked as what he said that fascinated us. "The reunited Republican Party," Mr. Hays declared, with the firmness of a Secretary of War cancelling his brother's war contract, "faces the future with triumphant expectancy,"—a jolly good phrase, even though we say it who shouldn't, in direful recollection of a like emotion of our own on the eve of the day after the latest Presidential election. Hurriedly we pass on.

"The governing of this country," the new Chairman continued, "is the fruition of political activity,"—an observation no less trite than it has been proved by our present Chief Magistrate and his Secretary of the Treasury, etc., both of whom incidentally but none the less avowedly detest politicians and all their works, to be true. But let Mr. Hays proceed. "The vast importance of this governing measures the like importance of professions and performances of political parties,"—quite so, at least we so assume without prejudice. "For fifty years the Republican party has carried forward the flag,"—with two intermissions, as we recall, until 1912, when if we mistake not the entire burden of flag bearing was assumed by Utah and Vermont. But forget the past. Attaboy!

"The present day problems are ours. They are most serious in their complexities and far reaching in their consequence, and we view the alleged efforts of certain well-

meaning gentlemen to bring about the solution with no great degree of equanimity or satisfaction.

"Political parties are not instruments for individuals to use for their own personal aggrandizement. Political parties are the means by which thinking men promulgate and practice principles for the government of their own country, for the control of the influences surrounding the place they call home. Any man who thinks otherwise is not aware of the big privileges of his citizenship.

"Any man who expects or wants otherwise is not in tune with the forces that control his present, and the political party that will command the confidence that brings support is the party that understands this and remembers it."

What on earth is the man talking about? Of course, the present day problems are "ours." Whose could they be? Moses's? Or Enoch's? Or George the Third's? And what does Mr. Hays mean by "alleged" efforts of "well-meaning" gentlemen which upset his "equanimity"? Does he insinuate that the striving of the President, which has reduced the Republican party, along with his own, in Congress, to pulp is not real? It may be, of course, though we confess the conception is novel, that political parties exist to "control the influences surrounding the place men call home" and if so, naturally, one "who expects or wants otherwise is not in tune with the forces that control his present."

That settles our case. If the Republican or any other political party is going to control the place we called home before we came to Washington, we are not going back, even though we are not exactly "in tune" with the forces that officially dominate our present hereabouts. But never mind. Mr. Hays is from Indiana and he may have tried to emulate Mr. Beveridge's immortal thatched cottage with Mary and her apron on the stoop. If so, all is forgiven.

"The country," continued Mr. Hays, "needs today, as it never needed before, a united militant Republican party,"—from which we assume that the gentleman was born since the Civil War and has been too busy to bother with history. In any case, we would inform Mr. Hays that what the country really needs is not a "united militant political party" of any kind or description, but a straight-out, clear-minded, resolute body of patriots who will get together to win this war abroad by crushing disloyalty and smashing pacifism wherever found, in the houses of the craven or the seats of the mighty, at home.

"I believe," concluded Mr. Hays, with the familiarly unctuous grimace worthy of a Daniels or a Burleson, "that to win the war abroad there must be absolute unity at home. There must be that unity which shows to the world that in this country now there is but one purpose to which all

others are subordinated, and that is to win the war and to prepare in a sane manner for the country's future. I do not mean that searching, sympathetic suggestions and constructive criticisms are not desirable. They are. I think they are necessary."

Mr. Hays need not worry himself about any lack of "searching, sympathetic suggestions and constructive criticisms." All that is being attended to with a thoroughness that only fraternal Democrats, such as we might mention with less compunction than modesty, can apply.

As for Mr. Hays, with his insufferable claptrap about "absolute unity" as a blanket under which to gather votes while the very existence of his country is threatened more ominously than anybody west of the Alleghenies—or in Washington, for that matter—seems to realize, the sooner he goes home and takes his damned old party with him, the better it will be for all creation.

Japan and Siberia

The question of Japanese action in Siberia is no doubt a delicate one, calling for careful consideration and for resolute determination. But it is to be decided by the Allies alone, excluding Russia, and it is to be decided solely with a view to assure and to facilitate our winning of the war.

Russia, we say, is to be left out of consideration, because she has put herself out. There is no longer any authoritative and trustworthy government which could be consulted. There are some estimable Russian gentlemen, at Washington and elsewhere, who have been repudiated by the government of their own country and who therefore now represent themselves and nobody else. There are also some persons calling themselves the government of Russia, who have repudiated their obligations to the Allies and have betrayed the Allied cause, besides displaying an incompetence which would make reliance upon them a travesty of reason. In such circumstances nothing remains but for the Allies to do as they think best without regard for Russia.

Even in the midst of its unexampled debacle, no doubt, Russia is entitled to have its sovereignty respected, but only so far as such respect is compatible with the welfare of its neighbors. We are pretty keen for the rights of property and stick to the old principle that a man's house is his castle. But if a man's house gets afire and thus imperils the neighboring houses, we don't recognize his right to drive off as trespassers the neighbors who come upon his land to put the fire out.

If Russia were showing herself willing and able to maintain the security and order of her own domain, we should oppose any invasion. But she is not. Through what it is temperate to call gross ineptitude she has surrendered the richest portions of her European domain, with vast stores of the military supplies which we had sent her, to the foe, to the great detriment not merely of herself, which would be her own business, but also of the Allies, which is our business. What assurance has she to give us that she will not presently permit a similar Hunnish occupation of Siberia, surrendering to our enemies the immense supplies which we have sent to her at Vladivostok, and giving them an outlet and a base upon the Pacific Ocean, from which to ravage our commerce?

In such circumstances it would be puerile to argue that we must respect Russian sovereignty. We should not do so when it is a menace to us, any more, for example, than we respected Spanish sovereignty in Florida just a hundred years ago, when "Old Hickory" marched down to St. Mark's.

But, say some, if Japan goes into Siberia, she will never withdraw from it. We do not share that fear. We have no recollection of Japan's having scorned a treaty as a "scrap of paper." The Japanese are not Germans. They are civilized. When they joined the rest of us in interven-

ing in China they did not commit outrage and loot as did the Germans under direct command of their Kaiser, but they behaved as honorably as our own troops. If they enter Siberia to guard Vladivostok and the Pacific terminal of the railroad, they will do their work efficiently and will not abuse their position.

Yet even if we had not that confidence, even if we thought that there were danger that, when an inch was given to them, the Japanese would seize an ell, we should still say that the question of their entry was to be determined by the exigencies of the war. It would be immeasurably better to turn Siberia over to the Japanese than to the Huns. It would be better to let Japan occupy the country, with danger that she would never get out, than to let the Bolsheviki surrender it to Germany, as they have surrendered southern and western Russia in Europe.

We do not believe that there is any danger of Japanese breach of faith, or permanent seizure of Siberia. We do believe that without some better protection than the Bolsheviki seem willing or able to give there is great danger of German exploits in Siberia, and we know that their occupation of that country and their control of Vladivostok would be an unspeakable calamity to America and to the civilized world.

Our Duty in Russia

We shall not abandon Russia. It is quite true that she deserves that we should. Never has an attempted revolution merited less respect or sympathy than hers. Never was one attempted with more dishonor and dishonesty, or with more of the arrogance of ignorance and impotence. Senator McCumber did not exaggerate when he said the other day that the world's history contained nothing to equal the damnable treachery of the Bolsheviki to the faithful and bleeding Allies. The spectacle of Lenine and Trotzky accepting German gold to betray Russia, then turning against Germany, then assassinating democracy in Russia by destroying the Constituent Assembly of the Russian people, then issuing an imperative ultimatum to the rest of the world to join them in their dishonor, then abjectly surrendering everything to Germany, then whining and blubbering that when the proletariat of the world will come to their rescue and aid they will begin fighting again—such a spectacle is calculated to make us avert our eyes and hold our noses as we go by on the other side.

Nevertheless, we shall not abandon Russia. We owe her something. The representative of her former government at Washington is reported as saying that the debacle would not have occurred if we and the other Allies had given more efficient cooperation. We plead guilty. France and Great Britain, already overtaxed in defending America, did all that could have been expected of them, and more. But what did we do, either diplomatically or militarily, to encourage and to support the forces of loyalty, efficiency and order in Russia? We have said that we shall not abandon her. As a matter of fact we long ago came most discreditably close to abandoning her. It was too much to expect that she would have the patience, the faith and the long-suffering endurance that France and Great Britain had in our months of dallying and delay. For our failure to support her then, we must atone by not abandoning her now.

We shall not abandon Russia. We owe it not only to her and to ourselves, but to humanity, to democracy, to the world, to rebuke and to undo the monstrous crimes that are there being committed. It would be intolerable to concede that a brute beast of a power, with force and treachery and utter savagery, can be permitted at will to remake the map of the world. It would be suicidal to permit the Hunnish Empire thus to double its size and population and therefore its strength for further attempts at conquest of the world. Justice and prudence both forbid that Prussia should be permitted to make another Posen or Alsace-

Lorraine of the best part of European Russia. Even our President, in his latest ultra-moderate statement of peace terms, declared that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty, as if they were mere chattels or pawns in a game. If they are not to be bartered, they certainly are not to be stolen.

We shall not abandon Russia. We shall not, it is true, neglect or hamper the more immediately vital operations elsewhere for the sake of essaying the temporarily impossible. We shall go on and win the war without her, in spite of her defection and the comfort and aid which it has given to the enemy. It will cost us much more, in blood and treasure, because of her treason, but we shall do it. Then in the end will come the settlement. There can be no acquiescence in, no recognition of, the "treaties" which violence and fraud extort from impotence and from unauthorized usurpers. Russia, or the unspeakable cabal that has betrayed her, has abandoned us in the war. But we shall not abandon her in either war or peace-making. There were a few righteous men in Sodom, and there are not only a few but many righteous men in Russia. When they assert themselves, and slough off the ulcer of Bolshevism, they will find America at their side, a loyal aid in the establishment of Free Russia.

It goes without saying that all of the multifarious documents that issue from the War Department cannot be passed upon, much less edited, by a man of sense, but it really does seem as if somebody might have caught the phrase in the manual of instructions sent to medical advisory boards reading, "The foreign born, and especially Jews, are more apt to maligner than the native born." Obviously such a generalization cannot be sustained by data gathered in a few months; it is consequently pure assumption and, as such, egregiously out of place in an official document. There may be some truth in it; quite likely there is; indeed, it would be most surprising if "foreign born" were as eagerly patriotic as natives. Even so, there is no occasion to flaunt the natural disinclination of a few in the faces of the many. We do not wonder that the President was "much distressed" by the appearance of the discriminatory sentence and that he indignantly ordered its prompt excision. It was most courteous of him, moreover, though hardly necessary, to make the request of the Acting Secretary of War, whose name unhappily has escaped us for a moment, "with all the greater confidence because I am sure you will sympathize with my point of view in the matter." It happens, too, that the reflection was doubly unwarranted and offensive as to the Jews because the record shows—we have it somewhere—that they have responded magnificently,—far better, for example, we regret deeply to say, than the boys of Vermont, which we have long regarded as the crack State in the Union. Of course, we have to laugh a little when Billy Sunday, with unconscious humor, exuberantly acclaims Washington as the "New Jerusalem," but it is only the unwitting appositeness of the remark that induces the smile, which in itself is a compliment to unconquerable perseverance such as Father Abraham himself, the Julius Rosenwald of his day and generation, preached years and years ago to the glory of God and practiced to the distinct advantage of himself and his tribe.

To the Republicans of Wisconsin: Get together! Unite on your strongest and best candidate for Senator, against the candidate of the lafollette, the Hun and the devil! There is need of it. Loyal men, not lafollettes, are needed at Washington, under the big dome as well as in the White House. Live men are needed, not antiquated specimens of Old Red Sandstone quarried from Camden County, New Jersey. Wisconsin is a large and populous State, and must contain men with red blood in their veins, gray matter in their skulls, love of country in their hearts, and the fear of God in their souls. Such a man, supported by such men, should be sent down to Washington, to show the Boches

upon what a broken reed they leant in trusting to the lafollette to swing the Northwest into the Bolshevik lines. There may be several candidates fit to fill the place: It would be discourteous to Wisconsin to think that there were not. But in a crisis like the present there should be prompt selection of the one best man, and unanimous support of him. Personal ambition has no place beside the welfare of the Republic, and three-cornered fights in politics are apt to be as unfragrant as the "eternal triangle" in domesticity. A lafollette man is in the field. It is now up to the loyal men of the party to put up one real man against him, who will put an end to the badger game, forever and ever, Amen!

We don't want to be unchivalrous, but we must cordially approve the bill giving the the President power to deal with women enemy aliens just as he does with men. In fact, we think that it should make it not merely permissive but mandatory for him to do so. There is no sex in patriotism or in treason, in friendship or in enmity. If any distinction exists, it is quite likely to be according to Kipling's dictum: "The female of the species is more deadly than the male." Let Gretchen share the lot of Fritz.

At the dictation of William the Damned the Bolsheviks surrender a large and populous slice of Russian Armenia to the successors of Abdul the Damned, in order that the work of torture, butchery and extermination may be continued in the name of "Allah mit Uns!" Also, a Hunnish horde is to be sent into Finland, to teach the most honest people in the world how to steal, and to create by means of rape a blood relationship between Prussia and Finland which shall eventually form title for annexation. And all this, of course, in the sacrosanct cause of "self-determination of peoples." Are not the Armenians passionately crying out for Turkish rule; and have not the Finns literally demanded the admission of the Blond Beast to their homes?

It is so seldom nowadays that a ray of light shoots through the gloom that we hasten to reprint the following from an ancient and honorable paper printed in New York:

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Evening Post*:

SIR: In your editorial of the 26th, "Hertling and Vilson" is a striking example of the new order of things we are hearing from Germany and I offer my humble encouragement to your inspiring editorial to take conditions as they are, rather than as they should be.

Indeed we are confronted in this tragic days not only to stand by, but to uphold and support our great leader, President Vilson, for a new diplomacy and better conditions for the masses of the people of all nations.

New York, February 28.

HYMAN SALTZMAN.

We did not happen to read the editorial mentioned, but we can readily understand why Mr. Hyman Saltzman should have regared as "inspiring" an article designed by Mr. Oswald Garrison Willard "to take conditions as they are, rather than as they should be."

Cardinal Gibbons went to Philadelphia and was met by reporters at the station.

"What message have you for Philadelphia?" he was asked.

"My message to the people of this good city is one of cheer. We will eventually have peace with victory. Things look pretty black at present, I admit. But the Lord is with us."

The grand old man! And praised be the Lord!

While Senator Chamberlain, chastened to some extent by experience, has been compelled to admit that in his anxiety to establish a War Cabinet he was reckless, untruthful and unpatriotic, etc.—*New York World*.

Amazing! When did Mr. Chamberlain make these admissions? Will Mr. Cobb kindly give us the quotations exact?

Rifles Galore—And the Best

WHEN our best beloved Colonel—for whose quick recovery and good right ear Allah be praised—scolded the Ordnance Department because a certain number of recruits were training with broomsticks, he spoke in haste and, we doubt not, will make right at leisure. And when he comes to do so, with characteristic frankness and generosity, he will be privileged to acclaim the most remarkable achievement in small-arms design and manufacture the world has ever known. The *Army and Navy Journal* summarizes the results in these words:

During the week ending February 2, 1918, the daily production of rifles was as follows:

U. S. rifle, caliber .30, model of 1917, so-called "modified Enfield"	7,805
U. S. rifle, model of 1903, so-called "Springfield"	1,442

9,247

Total production for that week of such rifles was 50,872, or nearly enough for three army divisions.

In addition, during that week, there were procured daily, either by manufacture or acceptance of rifles already made, 3,868 Russian rifles, making a total daily production of 13,115. The weekly procurement for models of 1903 and 1917 and for Russian rifles was 72,152, which Ordnance Department officials believe was a greater number of rifles than any nation ever produced in equal time. Our weekly production of rifles, ten months after war was declared, was four times as great as the weekly production of rifles in Great Britain after ten months of war (itself an excellent achievement), and twice as large as the production in Great Britain after two and a half years of war.

Daily rifle production by the Ordnance Department for the week ending February 9, 1918, was:

Model of 1917	7,491
Model of 1903	1,086
Russian rifles	4,435

13,012

Production for that week was 46,792 of the models of 1917 and 1903 and 24,400 of Russian rifles, or a total of 71,192.

Since April 6, 1917, the Ordnance Department has manufactured and procured more than 700,000 of the service rifles, model of 1903 and model of 1917. This is 100,000 more rifles than were available at the time of our declaration of war. We have to-day a total of 1,300,000 service rifles. We have in addition 160,000 Kraggs, 100,000 Russian rifles and some 20,000 Ross rifles, or a total of about 280,000 training rifles.

During January the production of ball cartridges, caliber .30, model of 1906, and of eight millimeter cartridges averaged 7,300,000 a day.

Production has been administered by the Small Arms Division of the Ordnance Department, Col. John T. Thompson, U.S.A., retired, chief. Those associated with him were: Major L. P. Johnson, assistant to the chief; Major J. T. Kenyon, Chief Inspector of Small Arms; Lieut. Col. J. E. Munroe, Chief Inspector of Small Arms Ammunition; Lieut. Col. Charles Elliott Warren, Procurements Section; Major E. A. Shepard, Finance Section; Major Hayden Eames, Production Section; Major M. G. Baker, Purchase Section, and Major L. O. Wright, Engineering Section.

Complaint was made before the Senate Military Affairs Committee that a greater number of British Enfield rifles, then being manufactured in this country, could have been produced during the Summer months. General Crozier and Colonel Thompson frankly admitted this, but insisted that the type was unsatisfactory even to the British and that re-chambering for the superior rimless cartridge and the making of parts to be interchangeable were absolutely essential if American soldiers were to be supplied with the most efficient weapons. The only question had been whether the changes could be made in time, and, having satisfied themselves upon this point, they adopted the course which they knew to be right, without heed to the criticism to which they were bound to be subjected temporarily. That the results fully warrant this judgment, based upon Colonel Thompson's intimate knowledge of the capacity of the two great plants at Eddystone and Bridgeport which had been constructed under his personal supervision, is now apparent.

The potential effects are far-reaching. Not only is the American soldier armed with a weapon, superior in range, adaptability and immunity from "jamming," but capable of from 30 to 50 per cent greater quickness in action. That is to say, two men can fire approximately as many bullets

in a given space of time as three men using inferior rifles. This means that equal execution can be done by two-thirds the number of soldiers, requiring only two-thirds as much supplies and, in consequence, only two-thirds as much shipping capacity. When one calculates what this advantage will involve when our soldiers shall be numbered by the million, its magnitude may be comprehended.

Probably the greatest service yet rendered to Mr. Hoover, Mr. Hurley and Mr. McAdoo in their respective spheres is that of General Crozier and Colonel Thompson, pluckily backed up by Secretary Baker; but even more signal and gratifying is the advantage accorded the lads behind the guns. We have not the slightest doubt that our Colonel will rejoice with us in applauding a performance which not only invites but demands hearty commendation.

The "Idealists" and Faith

THERE is a world of illumination in one remark made by Dr. Robert E. Speer in the course of his reply to the indignant censure provoked by his address to a mass-meeting of students at the Columbia University gymnasium. The meeting was held in pursuance of a nation-wide scheme instituted by the Young Men's Christian Association, and was the first of the series in New York. The announced object of the movement is to enlist the students of our universities and colleges in an intensive study of "the issues and spiritual lessons of the war." What kind of effect Dr. Speer's address had upon his audience may be judged from a few expressions made up of by those who felt moved to protest against it. Professor H. B. Mitchell, of Columbia, says that while the address was marked by much eloquence and power, "it was insidiously corrupting, both to the will and the intelligence, because it breathed throughout the spirit of pacifism and minimized the infamies that Germany has perpetrated," the speaker having "one by one matched the accusations against Germany with accusations against our country or its allies." Another Columbia professor was so disturbed over the mischief such addresses might do that he felt constrained to send this telegram to the man who was to be the speaker at a subsequent meeting: "Dr. Speer devoted half of address before a great Columbia audience to muck-raking America. Grievously unfortunate impression. Hope you will counter strongly." A college president who was present speaks of the "withering and blighting effect of such a speech upon the patriotism of students." And other testimony equally striking might be quoted from the stream of letters sent to the *New York Times* on the subject.

Dr. Speer was amazed at all this, for it was not at all his intention to do anything calculated to weaken the determination of the country to carry the war to a victorious conclusion. Into the details of his defence however, this is no occasion to interfere; the core of the trouble with him is sufficiently discovered in a single sentence in his statement to the *Times*:

Whoever . . . requires of the man who would be loyal that he must deny facts or tolerate in America what he is warring against elsewhere comes perilously near to the "insidious disloyalty" of which one of your correspondents speaks.

It is not pleasant to use language of disrespect in reference to a man of unquestionable high qualities and undisputed good intentions; but it is impossible to put this sort of thing in its place without calling it by its right name. It is not merely harmful, or "insidiously disloyal," or otherwise objectionable as to its practical effects in the ways that have been so well pointed out by Dr. Speer's critics. To put it where it belongs, we must plainly recognize that it is muddle-headed. Nobody is asking Dr. Speer to "deny" anything; nobody asks him to say that our courts of justice are famous for their swift and sure efficiency, that our politicians are animated solely by desire for the public good,

that American employers are constantly mindful of the best interests of their employees, that negroes are never lynched in the South or West, that there is no room for improvement in our laws or in their administration. Still less is anyone demanding that he should defend the African slavery that we had south of Mason and Dixon's line in the nineteenth century or north of it in the eighteenth; or the way we have treated the American Indians, first and last. When there is occasion to talk about these things of the past, let him never "deny" them, but tell the truth about them to his heart's content; as for the faults of the present, he and all the rest of us will have to "tolerate" them until we have mustered up enough wisdom and strength and political skill to get rid of them through the instrumentality of the ballot. What sense is there in shouting about them in an address to young men on the issues of the war? The one issue of the war is whether the world shall preserve such liberty as has been painfully won by ages of striving and sacrifice; whether the ideals of America and England and France—not realized ideals, we all know, but genuine ideals for all that—shall survive or perish; whether these nations shall retain their place in the world or be overshadowed by the colossal and brutal might of an enlarged and strengthened Germany; whether the most shameless and monstrous war the world has ever known shall end in the triumph of the bad faith and the brutal inhumanity which have been responsible for it.

The man that does not find in this issue enough to engage his heart and mind, the man whose conscience is uneasy unless he qualifies his appeal for devotion to the great cause by a lot of *caveats* as to the need of reform in our health conditions, or our social habits, or our labor laws, may be perfectly loyal and patriotic, but there is something wrong about his intellect. He thinks, no doubt, that he is telling more of the truth than those who stick to the point; in reality he is telling less of the truth. If you attempt to say everything, you to all intents and purposes say nothing. This war is not being waged to bring about an eight-hour law, or prohibition, or the single tax, or the minimum wage, or the initiative and referendum. It may be that any or all of these things, or a dozen others, will come about as a result of the vast upheaval; it may be that none of them will. But to create the impression that unless we now, in the midst of the mortal need besetting us and all the world, make up our minds upon these problems and pledge ourselves to their immediate solution we are failing in the duty of the hour is not merely mischievous—it is stupid, it is puerile. Abraham Lincoln was a man not wholly devoid of moral sentiment. The evil of slavery was not altogether a matter of indifference to him. And yet this is what he said in his famous letter to Horace Greeley of August 22, 1862:

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some slaves and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

I shall do less whenever I shall believe that what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I shall believe that doing more will help the cause.

How are we to account for the contrast between this clean-cut, sharply defined view of duty and that other view, covering everything under the sun, with which our pacifists, and semi-pacifists, and unco guid reformers are so obsessed? Is it that Lincoln was not as good a man as they? Is it that he had less "vision"? Is it that he was less concerned for humanity? None of these things, surely. He had as much goodness, as much vision, as much humanity as the best of these disseminators of thin-blooded morality. But he had something which they evidently have not—a clear and rugged sense of duty, informed by a firm and virile intellect. He knew that there is a time for all things, and he acted upon the knowledge. The supreme duty of saving the Union sufficed Abraham Lincoln, though the supreme duty of saving the world seems too small to suffice Dr. Speer and his kind. And what peril there is in this attitude

the very blind should be able to see at the present moment. For the mental defect involved in it, though infinitely less in degree, is in kind precisely the same as that of the Russian Bolsheviki. They, too, felt that they could not "tolerate" anything less than their ideal of perfection; and they have shown their faith by their works.

Shipping on Land

FROM the day that Mr. Edwin N. Hurley was appointed chairman of the Shipping Board we have had no end of promises that a great fleet of American ships would slide down the ways this year. Virtually all of our military plans were subject to the fulfillment of Mr. Hurley's program. Through the constant reiteration of promises he became the pace-maker of our war machine.

Mr. Hurley's announcements were so staggering that the U-boat menace was almost wiped out of the public mind while many good people feared we would have neither the troops nor the supplies to fill the great fleet that would be riding at anchor off our ports this spring.

Before he had been in office many weeks we were told that something like 10,000,000 tons of shipping had been contracted for, and the press agents who are constantly beside him used this statement to convince the public that we might expect that amount of tonnage in 1918. Then the figure for 1918 was cut to 8,000,000 and finally to 6,000,000, or thereabouts.

The public accepted the reduced estimate in good grace because the opinion was general that if he turned out 6,000,000 tons Mr. Hurley would deserve a place among America's immortals. Meanwhile virtually every experienced shipbuilder in America went to Washington and warned Mr. Hurley or his inexperienced associates that they were indulging in absurdly optimistic promises which would not be accomplished. They spent days and weeks urging Mr. Hurley—or those of his associates who would listen—to change the shipping policy before America's existing facilities were wrecked. They pointed out that the Hurley policies were injuring the existing plants by disorganizing the labor market, disturbing the normal production of material without enlarging it, and hopelessly congesting the transportation facilities which should be kept open if the ships then under construction were to be finished this spring.

The warnings went unheeded and Mr. Hurley's press agents filled the papers with promises and more promises. Those who had spent their lives at shipbuilding were cast aside as "profiteers" or "old fogies" who knew nothing of modern methods. Of the 1,000 or more ships which the public was led to believe would be available for the transportation of troops and supplies this year, if not this spring, 200 were to be turned out at Hog Island.

We pass over without comment, for the present at least, the numerous charges which have been brought against the men in charge at Hog Island to present the testimony given to the Senate Committee on Commerce by Mr. Harris D. H. Connick, vice-president of the American International Corporation, which is responsible for Hog Island:

Senator Nelson: When will we get the first ships? How soon will we get any on the water, so we can use them?

Mr. Connick: You are going to get 25 A ships the first of October, or, say, the first of November.

Senator Nelson: Those are the first we will get?

Mr. Connick: Those are the first you will get.

Senator Nelson: And that will not be until next October?

Mr. Connick: That will be next October. You get your 25 B ships in the middle of December. It will be over seven months then before we can get any ships out of those ways. We have to build the yard and then build the ships.

Senator Nelson: It will be over seven months before we can get any of those ships?

Mr. Connick: Yes, sir; I would say up to that date.

Senator Nelson: And then we may get as many as 25?

Mr. Connick: You will get 50.

Senator Nelson: Within seven months?

Mr. Connick: I will count them up. [After making calculation.] It is going to be about eight months before you get your first 25 ships, and it is going to be about nine and one-half months

before you get your next 25 ships. We can not get them by October. In eight months you are going to get about 27 or 28 ships, and then you are going to get the 50 ships in the next six weeks.

The Chairman: And after that?

Mr. Connick: And after that they come very fast. You are going to have 50 ships—that is, if the material and the labor functions as it has done before—by the first of April; you will have your 50 small ships and your 70 big ships by the middle of July—that is, if we get the material and everything comes along the way it is supposed to come. We see no reason now why it should not do so.

Senator Nelson: The main thing I am interested in—what are we going to get soon—this year?

Mr. Connick: All you can expect are those 50 ships this year.

Senator Nelson: And we will not get any until next winter?

Mr. Connick: That is right; you will not get any until next winter; no, sir; not one.

Senator Harding: We are not getting many this year at all except commandeered ships that have been completed?

Mr. Connick: I do not know what the Shipping Board is doing at other yards.

Senator Nelson: Not over 10 outside of the commandeered ships.

Senator Harding: That is what I say—all of our ships put into service will be the requisitioned ships.

Senator Nelson: Requisitioned ships, English and Norwegian ships, which are built here in the yards, the biggest share being English ships.

Mr. Connick's statement came at the end of a day devoted to the defense, if not the glorification, of all that has been done and all that may be done at Hog Island; therefore we accepted it as the most optimistic statement that could be made by a friend of the project. We looked in vain in the daily press for any reference to Mr. Connick's statement which would inform the country that Hog Island will contribute nothing to our merchant fleet this summer or fall.

If we accept Hog Island as being typical of the other promises made by Mr. Hurley's press agents, it means simply this and nothing more: That the Shipping Board during the present spring and summer will contribute nothing to our tonnage unless we accept the hope expressed by Senator Nelson that 10 new ships may be completed—ten instead of hundreds the public was led to expect.

How long the completion of the commandeered ships has been delayed as a result of the Shipping Board policies we do not know, but a majority of the shipbuilders insist that they would now be in the overseas transport service if it had not been for misguided interference from Washington.

While the American people have accepted the nonsensical promises made at Washington, it is interesting to note that the British Admiralty is in possession of something akin to the truth. In discussing the submarine menace before the House of Commons on March 5, Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the Admiralty, said, among other things:

"Despite glowing reports in the American press, there is no doubt that a considerable time must elapse before the desired output is obtained."

There is some consolation, at least, in the fact that our allies have been warned in time to discount the promises made by Mr. Hurley.

Hurry Up Daylight Saving!

THE unconscionable time the House of Representatives has been taking to make up its mind on the Daylight Saving bill is one of the minor mysteries of the war. Nobody hears of any argument against it. It is not being opposed by any organized force, for no class and no interest will be hurt by its passage. The ingenious suggestion has been made that the trouble in the case is that no special interest or special class is either helped or hurt by it, and that it lacks *vis viva* through the very absence of interested opposition as well as of interested support. However this may be, the hesitation of the House on this simple measure, its failure to adopt a scheme already in successful use by the great nations of Europe, and recommended both as a war measure and as a help to the ease and healthfulness of life, is in striking contrast with its easy-going adoption of measures infinitely more doubtful in themselves and infinitely more serious in their future consequences.

To secure the benefits of the daylight-saving law during the coming spring and summer seasons the House must act promptly. It would be a shame to repeat, through wilful neglect, the failure that was more or less excusable last year on the score of the comparative novelty of the idea. Surely in the course of a twelvemonth the House has had time to obtain all the knowledge that can possibly be required on the subject. Of course against sheer perversity or stupidity no amount of time can be of any avail; a century would not suffice to illuminate the mind of a man capable of offering an amendment—as one Congressman did—providing that the clock be set forward one hour all the year round! If this was meant as a joke it was a very poor one; if it was offered in earnest, its proposer's case is hopeless. But his case must be exceptional; most Congressmen have surely by this time grasped the simple purpose of the bill.

We are all in the habit of going to work, and to our meals, at stated hours, the same throughout the year. Schedules of all sorts—banking hours, court sessions, railway time-tables, etc., and, above all, the times of opening and closing factories and shops—conform to these habits. But the hours that are best in winter are not those that are best in summer for these purposes; and yet it is impracticable for any individual to change them, because if he did his arrangements would clash with those to which he must conform. In the summer time we lie abed an hour or two later in the morning, and stay out of bed an hour or two later in the evenings, than the conditions of daylight and darkness would dictate, for no other reason than that we go by the same clock figures in the summer that we go by in the winter. Very well, says the proposed law; keep on going by those figures, for anything else would be disturbing and difficult; but we will make the figures mean something a little different from what they do now. During the summer half of the year seven o'clock shall mean what six o'clock means now, and thus you will gain an hour of fine daylight in the morning, add an hour of daylight to your time for exercise or recreation in the afternoon, and cut off an hour of darkness in the late evening. You will save millions of dollars now absolutely needlessly expended in fighting darkness, and you will add to your health and vigor by utilizing the daylight you now waste in sleeping at the wrong end of the night.

It would be a shame and a scandal wantonly to forego this benefit at a time when we are straining every nerve to make our resources carry as far as possible. Here is an economy and a benefit which can be got without the expenditure of a cent of money or the sacrifice of anything by anybody. And there is one final consideration which ought to remove the last trace of hesitation on the part of Congress. This measure is unique not only in that its benefits will be obtained without injury or loss to anybody, but also in the extraordinary circumstances that if upon experience it were to be found unsatisfactory the return to the old plan could be accomplished in a moment, likewise without any loss or disturbance. If we don't like the daylight saving in 1918, all we shall have to do so is to repeal the act in 1919. We shall not even have to set the clocks back. They will already be back in the winter and they will simply stay put, as they have done in the past. Is it not silly to balk at a measure so useful, so simple, and so absolutely free from drawbacks?

The Shame of Walter Edge

SO it is Senator "Davy" Baird; by the grace of Walter Edge, self-designated heir to the selfsame toga; and to the disgust of every right-thinking man in the State of New Jersey.

These were the circumstances: A vacancy occurred in a Senatorship, at a supreme crisis in the nation's life, when there was need of the wisest, strongest, most alert and most experienced statesmanship at Washington. There was an opportunity, and God knows there was need, for the governor to fill the place with a man who would be a

positive force for national efficiency. Instead, he appointed a senile parochial boss, who as Chosen Freeholder had superintended the construction of two culverts in Pensauken Township, who as Sheriff had presided over the welfare of the Camden County jail, who as State Assessor had continued and cherished the worst abuses of an outworn system, and who as one of its Board of Guardians had so Bourbonized the Republican party as to provoke a political revolution in the State to turn it out of power.

Such is the New Jersey governor's contribution to the welfare of the nation. It had looked to him for bread, and he gave it a stone.

Inexcusably unworthy as the appointment is, however, it is itself not as bad as the purpose for which it was made. For it was made undisguisedly as a leading move in the discreditable game by means of which Walter Edge expects to get himself elected to the Senate for the full term. The Governor could not appoint himself, else he probably would have done so; or if not, because such an appointment would hold good only until the next election. So the next best thing was to appoint a perfectly subservient dummy to the place, who would stand without being tied, and who would not work up any movement for his own election, but would, in the most approved Camden County machine style, provide the votes necessary to assure the election of the man who had appointed him.

"I'll give you the appointment, Davy," said the Governor in effect, "if you'll give me the votes."

"These be your gods, O Israel!"

Note, also, the flagrant indecency of the gubernatorial candidacy for the Senatorship. It is not merely that the Governor purposes to forsake the duties which the people of the State chose him to fulfil and which he has sworn to execute. It is, more than that, the moral violation of a constitutional principle. The constitution forbids a governor to be elected by the Legislature to a Senatorship "during the term for which he shall have been elected governor." But the Legislature no longer elects Senators; the people themselves do that; and the State constitution does not forbid a governor thus to be elected Senator by the people. Therefore it is argued in the Camden and Atlantic School of Political Ethics, there is nothing to prevent the Governor from running for Senator while he is still Governor. He can use the whole influence of the gubernatorial office to aid his campaign; and if he gets beaten after all, he can still hold on to the Governorship.

Yet every rational man knows that the spirit of the constitution forbids the election of the Governor as Senator by the people, just as surely as its letter forbids such election by the Legislature, and that the sole reason why the letter does not also forbid it is because the national provision for popular election of Senators was made long after the New Jersey constitution was framed and the latter has not been amended so as to meet the new conditions. Practically every reason for forbidding such election by the Legislature is equally applicable to election by the people.

No man in his senses would think of putting up "Davy" Baird as a candidate for popular election as Senator—which alone is a perfectly conclusive reason why the Governor should not have appointed him; for in such a case the Governor is supposed not to make a personal appointment but to act in behalf of the people and to make a choice which they themselves might well make. Yet it might be well for the State to elect him rather than Edge for the full term. Even senile incapacity in office is preferable to shameful betrayal of the faith of an honorable commonwealth.

Let the Women Do the Work!

IS it possible that Albert S. Burleson, Postmaster General as well as Political General of the Wilson administration, was in a serious frame of mind when he announced the forthcoming establishment of a mail-air service between

New York and Washington? We cannot divorce ourselves from the feeling that the political progenitor of Colonel House was merely indulging in a little camouflage, hoping thereby to distract public attention from the lamentable break-down of the department over which he presides.

As a Postmaster General we find it extremely difficult to take Mr. Burleson seriously. Since he insists upon spending most of his time and thought on politics we would be perfectly willing to pass him along without comment if he would only be considerate enough to remove some of the political hacks who are now directing the department and put in their chairs a few efficient executives who might do the work which he is supposed to do. But he even refuses us this degree of possible efficiency.

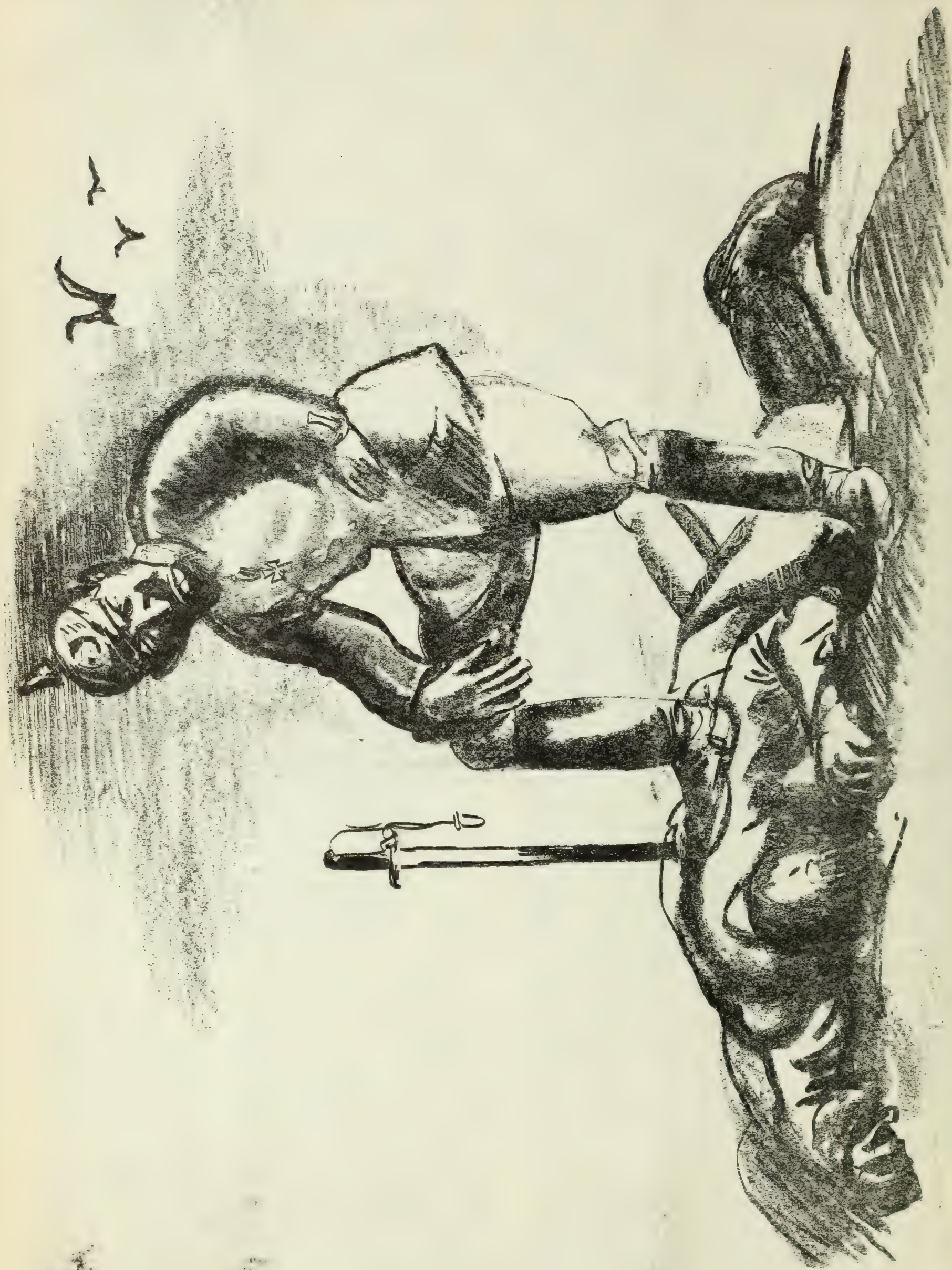
Take as an example of his absurd policy, or lack of policy, the widely heralded announcement of an air route between Washington and New York and consider the effect it will have on the department's business. As we understand it, not more than 500 pounds of mail can possibly be carried a day by the aeroplanes which Mr. Burleson proposes to take from the scant supply of the War Department. Meanwhile thousands of pounds of mail will lie on the platforms at Washington, New York and every other city in the country awaiting shipment, days behind the schedule maintained by his predecessors. Of course, we will hear a great amount of chatter about the progressive administration which established the air service, and thereby some folks may hope to distract attention from the real business of the department which has gone to pot. We have no doubt that Mr. Burleson's use of the aeroplanes will occupy pages in the next Democratic campaign book to the exclusion of the really important fact that he has almost wrecked the department by attempting to get the credit for cutting expenses, but far be it from us to ascribe such motive as the basis for the innovation.

Since we entered the war Mr. Burleson or his assistants have blamed transportation congestion for delay in handling the mails. Just let us take our own experience with THE WAR WEEKLY. Following law and custom, the WEEKLY was entered at the New York post office as second-class mail matter. After very little experience we found that it took an average of four and one-half days to reach the homes of our Washington subscribers. We were informed that the delay was caused by the unprecedented railroad congestion. Thereupon we decided upon an experiment to test this statement. We deposited a number of the WEEKLIES in the Washington post office on Thursday night at 11:45 and they were delivered in Washington, within two miles of the post office, in the late afternoon mails on Monday. Some of them did not reach the subscribers until Tuesday morning. This indicates, we believe, that the Post Office Department is totally responsible for the delays.

If Mr. Burleson really desires to improve the mail service we believe that he can readily make a move in that direction by dispossessing inefficient postmasters and employing enough men and women to keep the mails moving.

Granting only for the sake of argument that he may have a basis for passing the buck to Mr. McAdoo on the score of railroad congestion, there is a ready solution of this difficulty. Let Mr. Burleson employ enough automobiles to dispose of local surpluses of second-class mail on short runs. Take the situation at New York and Washington. How simple it would be to deliver by motor all second-class mail addressed to any point within a radius of 50 miles, thereby leaving the mail cars free for first-class matter and long hauls on all second-class matter.

If Mr. Burleson feels that he could not get competent men to handle the motors we assure him that he would find no difficulty in getting plenty of women who would be delighted to use their cars on short hauls of, say, 20 to 50 miles. Inasmuch as women have the vote in so many States just now, we see at least a faint possibility that such a plan might appeal to Mr. Burleson, and therefore we present it to him for his very thoughtful consideration.



THE KAISER'S TERMS OF PEACE

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Week

WASHINGTON, March 15, 1918.

BARRING the Declaration of War itself, none of the many measures enacted into law by the Congress during the past year gets so closely home to the vital business interests of the country as that which has passed the Senate and is now under consideration in the House, creating a War Finance Corporation. The powers now being exercised by Mr. McAdoo, Mr. Hoover and Mr. Garfield are tremendous, as we have seen, but all combined hardly exceed those which are to be vested in this new compact Board which, moreover, unlike the others, is to receive its authority directly from the Congress instead of through the President.

The purpose of the Act is to provide a method of extending governmental aid to private concerns whose ordinary credit channels have been or will be diverted to meet the requirements of the Nation. There is provided, first, a capital of \$500,000,000, to be furnished by the Treasury, and there is added the right to issue and sell four billions of government bonds, the entire proceeds to be loaned to industrial firms and corporations or to be loaned to some and withheld from others, in the discretion of the Capital Issues Committee.

"The five gentlemen composing this committee," in the plain, blunt words of Senator Hollis, "take over the \$500,000,000, they sell the \$4,000,000,000 of bonds, they handle the money as they please, merely making a report to Congress once a quarter. They handle this money exactly as they please. They loan it at such rates as they please. They issue bonds at such rates as they please. They give no bond whatever for the performance of their duty. They need not even be citizens of the United States. There is no restriction on the amount of loan that can be made to any one person or corporation whatever. They can loan all the capital of the bank and all its resources to one corporation or to one person if they see fit. The bonds are sold to the public. They are claimed to be as good as United States bonds, and the assets to secure the bonds

are in the absolute possession and control of unbonded officials. There is no prohibition upon receiving commissions or fees as the result of any loans that they may make."

That is to say, in a sentence, they can, through the exercise of their unrestricted and unregulated discriminatory powers, make or break pretty nearly any firm or corporation doing business, even in part, upon credit.

Of the pressing need of legislation to safeguard industrial continuance and development there seems to be no doubt; "it is absolutely necessary," said Senator Smoot, "we have got to do it whether we like to do it or not;" and the Senate finally endorsed his judgment by a vote of 74 to 3.

The real point at issue was and still is, upon whom shall these extraordinary powers be conferred? The Bill as originally drawn authorized the Federal Reserve Board to appoint from its own membership the Capital Issues Committee, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and this provision would have been retained undoubtedly but for a single circumstance which strikes us as both significant and disagreeable.

The circumstance was Mr. Paul M. Warburg, Vice Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, who was slated for the virtually controlling position of Chairman. To this tacit understanding, Senator Owen objected upon the ground that "the Senate ought to have a voice in saying who this committee shall be," and, acting accordingly, he proposed an amendment providing for the appointment of the members "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," and the amendment was adopted. What the House will do about it remains to be seen. But there is no secrecy respecting the real cause of the Senate's action. "The opposition to Mr. Warburg," as the New York Times correctly reported on the following morning, "although not expressed on the floor of the Senate, was commonly known in the lobby as being based upon the New York banker's kinship. Mr. Warburg has a brother a German, who, it was stated, is affiliated with the German Imperial Bank at Berlin, and another in Switzerland, supposed to be working in the German Secret Service."

In point of fact, Mr. Warburg himself is a German by birth, having first seen the light in Hamburg some fifty years ago. Whether he has since become naturalized as an American citizen we cannot say, but if so, the event must have been quite recent, unless we are mistaken in our recollection that very few years have elapsed since he came here from Germany to take up his residence. Oddly enough, his authorized biography does not specify the time of his arrival, although it notes with particularity his marriage to Miss Nina J. Loeb "of New York,"—a daughter, we assume, of one of the original members of the great banking house of which Mr. Jacob H. Schiff is now the

head. Obviously, however, if Mr. Warburg has become naturalized, even recently, Senator Hollis's observation to the effect that a member of the Capital Issues Committee "need not even be a citizen of the United States" conveys no technical meaning. As to Mr. Warburg's brothers, i. e., whether in fact one is in the German Imperial Bank and the other in the German Secret Service, we have no information other than that afforded by the sixty-years-old New York Times. Perhaps it doesn't matter.

What does strike us as of very considerable importance is the position of Mr. Warburg himself, to say nothing of that of the President and of the country. It is analogous in a broad sense to that of Prince Louis Alexander of Battenberg in England at the outbreak of the war. Nobody living was then or is now more highly regarded in his adopted country than this distinguished officer. He was born in Austria, of royal descent, in 1854; at the age of fourteen he was naturalized a British subject, entered the British navy as a cadet, and through sheer force of merit worked his way up through the various grades until in 1912 he became First Sea Lord and was holding this high position when war was declared two years later. Meanwhile he had married a granddaughter of Queen Victoria, had won great popularity among all classes, and was wholly free from the slightest shadow of suspicion of his loyalty. Nevertheless, there developed in the public mind a sense of impropriety which Prince Louis himself could not fail to recognize and, like the patriotic officer and gentleman that he is, he quietly put aside the ambition of a lifetime and resigned.

His act was wholly voluntary; neither House of Parliament nor any public body had intimated that he should retire. So much cannot now be said of Mr. Warburg, since the action of the Senate can only be regarded as evidence of dissatisfaction, if not of positive distrust. The fact that the Senate had once confirmed his appointment to the Federal Reserve Board has no bearing upon the situation because this nation was then at peace with Mr. Warburg's former country,—from which, it should perhaps be noted, under existing German laws, allegiance cannot be fore-sworn except with official sanction, which in all probability Mr. Warburg has not obtained.

Whether the House will restore the original provision or follow the Senate in, inferentially, though none the less explicitly, disapproving of the project to put Mr. Warburg in a position of power second only to that of the President himself, remains, as we have said, to be seen. If, as seems probable, and as we think unquestionably it ought to do, it accepts the Owen amendment, the President may, if he deems wise and proper, submit Mr. Warburg's name to the Senate for confirmation,—and the issue would be raised squarely. In case such a situation does arise, we may as well serve notice now that we shall have something to say. We hope the necessity may not ensue.

Meanwhile, in view of the action of the Senate alone, without regard to what the House may do, and in the light of the notable precedent which we have cited, to say nothing of the sternness with which lines of certain as against assumed fidelity to America, and America only, are bound to be drawn as passions continue to mount with casualties, we should suppose that the German-born Vice Governor of the Federal Board, enmeshed in family ties which hold him close in affection, if not association, with one brother in the Imperial German Bank and another in the German secret service, would find his present position most embarrassing.

Mr. Warburg clearly owes it to himself, to his immediate chief, to the President who appointed him and to the incomparably patient American people to resign.

A "new peace movement" in Germany is forecast; which means presumably another device of Hunnish camouflage, intended to deceive optimists and to give pacifists here a pretext for renewing their pernicious piffle. We should, of course, be promptly responsive to every hint or suggestion of peace which is put forth in Germany, but

our responsiveness should take the form of increased speed, zeal and inexorable aggression in prosecution of the war.

The most distinguished living Pacifist War Secretary having arrived "somewhere in France," one of the mad wags of the Associated Press reminds us of "the known desire of President Wilson to see an energetic campaign waged by the Allies"; the suggestion being that Mr. Baker will "speed up" the French and British to greater activity and aggressiveness—exhort them to quit loafing in the trenches as they have been doing for the last three years and emulate the passionate zeal and efficient energy with which we have flung ourselves headlong into the fray. The exquisite humor of the suggestion is heightened by an array of news items in the self-same paper which contains, to wit: Demand Grows for More Haste with Guns, Ships and Airplanes: Admiral Bowles Declares Atlantic Coal Yards Are Lagging; America's Big Guns Delayed by Errors; France in Need of Farm Tools Delayed Here; Fourteen Thousand Tons Held Up at This Port; Unsatisfactory Ship Plan Is Likely to be Rejected; etc. Would it be a fine joke on us if the Pacifist Secretary could speed those lazy Frenchmen and Britishers up to go ahead and win the war before we get a chance to capture Berlin!

Hats off to ex-Governor Francis E. McGovern, of Wisconsin! He has been one of the leading candidates for the Republican nomination for United States Senator from that State, and would doubtless poll a large vote in next week's primaries if he remained in the race. But Victor Berger, the Socialist candidate, has just been indicted and thereby practically removed from the contest, and all his supporters will presumably go over to the lafollette candidate. Mr. McGovern thus perceives it to be a time, as THE WEEKLY said last week, for all loyal Republicans to get together and support their one strongest candidate; and therefore he withdraws from the contest in favor of Irvin L. Lenroot, whom he regards as a stronger candidate than himself. He does not want, he says, his party to be "disgraced and discredited for years to come" by the success of lafollette's man, and he fears that such a result may be possible unless the choice of Republicans is "narrowed down to one candidate on each side of the great, vital and transcendent issue of loyal and patriotic Americanism. Wherefore he places his services at Mr. Lenroot's disposal. Hats off, we say, to Mr. McGovern! And after he has successfully aided in making Mr. Lenroot's calling an election sure, may the gods preserve him to be in turn the Republican candidate to succeed lafollette; for which place we here and now nominate him.

Thoroughly admirable is the President's message to the Russian people; making it clear and officially emphatic that, as we said in these pages last week, we shall not abandon Russia. It is well to let Russia be assured of that fact on every suitable occasion and with all possible directness and force. But it is equally desirable to let it be understood by ourselves as well as by Russia and everybody else, that we are not merely repeating Mrs. Micawber's historic vow that she would "never desert Mr. Micawber." We do not propose to wed ourselves to any follies which Russian Bolsheviki may adopt, and seek rehabilitation of that country by further wrecking and degrading it. With the treachery of Brest Litovsk we can have no communion. With a Russia resolutely fighting for her own integrity and freedom against the Hunnish invader and ravisher, we shall have all the sympathy in the world, and we shall rejoice to give her all possible aid and to fight by her side until victory is won. But with a Russia basely yielding to the ravisher and betraying herself, and then crying out to other nations to do likewise, as the Bolsheviki have done, we could have no fellowship. We shall gladly and unselfishly lend our strength to save Russia; but we must ourselves have something to say about the way in which the saving is to be done.

Two More Martyr Nations

WITH Belgium and Serbia we must now bracket Rumania and the remnant of Armenia. The two cases differ widely from each other in circumstances and antecedents. They are alike in reflecting indelible damnation upon Bolshevik treachery, and in constituting two of the saddest national tragedies in human history.

Armenia first. For many years it has been the martyr nation of the world. In the present war it has suffered more than any other save only Belgium, and indeed in the torture, outrage and destruction of human life it has suffered more than even Belgium. The wholesale butchery of its inhabitants, regardless of age or sex, committed by the Turks under German direction, is without parallel or precedent in the history of mankind. Even Timour's ghastly tower contained only eighty thousand human skulls—not a tithe of the number of innocent victims hideously done to death in the name of Kultur and Allah. The massacres of Abdul Hamid's time staggered humanity, but they were small compared with these. For Timour Leng and Abdul Hamid, fiendish as they were, had not William the Damned to be their ally and to teach them the whole depth of devilish iniquity.

But while thus hundreds of thousands—more than half the entire Armenian race—were thus savagely slaughtered, at German incitement and under the direct supervision of the Kaiser's officers, a considerable remnant survived and seemed to be safe. They were in those northern parts of the ancient kingdom which were under Russian sovereignty. Many had long dwelt there, and many others had fled thither for refuge from the fury of the Turk, the Kurd and the Hun. There it was hoped that this remnant of the oldest Christian nation in the world might be preserved, to form a nucleus for the restoration of the entire Armenian kingdom when the war was done.

That hope was vain. At the demand of William the Damned the Judas Iscariots of Bolshevism have now betrayed these remaining Armenians into the hand of the destroyer. The sceptred scoundrel who blasphemously pretends to reign and rule by the direct authority of Almighty God orders this non-combatant Christian people to be delivered to the tender mercies of his Moslem ally; in order that Turkish ruffians under the command of German officers may ravish, torture and exterminate them even unto the uttermost.

That is what German Kultur and Bolshevik peace mean in Armenia.

The case of Rumania, we have said, is different. That country has hitherto for many years been peaceful and prosperous. Russia has been under peculiar obligations to it, since it was the Rumanian army that rescued the Russians from defeat if not annihilation in the Turkish war of 1877, and at the crucial moment transformed disaster into victory. It was at Russia's express and most earnest urging that Rumania entered the present war. Rumania's whole campaign was conducted as an aid to Russia. And of course it was perfectly obvious that Rumania's fate in the war depended entirely upon Russia, since the latter was the only one of the Allies with whom Rumania came into geographical contact. For Russia to withdraw from the war meant that Rumania would be isolated from every friend and delivered helpless into the hands of her foes.

With the same chivalrous generosity that she had shown in 1877 Rumania entered the war as Russia's ally and aid. She fought gallantly, and for a time was of immense service to the Russian campaign; nor was it her fault that in the end she failed and suffered overwhelming reverses. That fate did not befall her until the Russian campaign fell into ruin. But now the Bolsheviks abandon her. They ignore her services to Russia and repudiate the Russian pledge to stand with her to the end. Betrayed and isolated, there is nothing for her to do but to yield to the insolent foe. That means that she is despoiled of a large part of her territory, that she is shut in from the sea and denied intercourse with

the rest of the world save across the territory and through the grace of the conquering powers, and that she is placed under both the political and economic suzerainty of Germany.

The history of the world contains no other such record as that of Germany's crime against Armenia—no other record of such a cold, calculating, deliberate attempt at the extermination of a whole people. Neither does it contain a parallel to Russia's turpitude in thus betraying, the one to death, the other to degradation, two nations which trusted her and which had the strongest of claims upon her grateful consideration. For the disaster which they have brought upon themselves the Bolsheviks have only themselves to blame, and an un pitying world might say that it serves them right. Their deepest damnation is that they have involved these others in their own ruin.

Since the Hunnish rape of Belgium there has been nothing in all the war so revolting to the moral sense of the world as the betrayal of Armenia and Rumania. It is a crime which stands apart and singular in the annals of human depravity. It brackets Lenine and Trotzky with Judas Iscariot and William the Damned.

Hog Island Psychology

HOG ISLAND psychology is nothing but banker psychology, the psychology of special privilege. It is the psychology of the financial middleman, who thinks that he is ordained to stand between capital and production, who sincerely thinks that the world cannot be run in any other way. It is the psychology of the war profiteer who isn't consciously profiteering, who isn't grafting a cent, but who cannot conceive of anything being made or built unless the deal passes through his hands for certain initial pushes or finishing touches, or whatever he chooses to supply for the fee which he takes.

Hog Island psychology is the psychology of arbitrary capital. "Give me the job," it says. "I can do it, and you can't. You know you can't. I'll handle it, and it will be all right. Just give me the money, and let me go ahead."

Hog Island psychology is the psychology of "the public be damned." If ever there was a case on record of the autocratic spirit of high finance, that case is the case of Hog Island.

Listen to Mr. Dwight P. Robinson, president of the American International Shipbuilding Corporation, which is building the shipyard at Hog Island and which will later build the ships there as "agent" for the Government, the Government putting up every cent of the capital for both enterprises. Mr. Robinson is testifying before the Senate Commerce Committee, which is still investigating the affairs of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

SENATOR JOHNSON: When was the first time that anything was said about the compensation that was to be paid to the "agent," as we call it, under any contract which you might have with the Government?

MR. ROBINSON: I cannot say, but it was comparatively early in the negotiations.

SENATOR JOHNSON: What was the amount of compensation that it was then stated you were going to get?

MR. ROBINSON: I think they were talking about it on some percentage basis.

SENATOR JOHNSON: Well, do you know the percentage that was stated?

MR. ROBINSON: There were various and sundry amounts.

SENATOR JOHNSON: When it was first stated to you, what was the percentage that was named?

MR. ROBINSON: I think they were talking about doing the work on a ten per cent basis.

SENATOR JOHNSON: Do you know whether, as a mat-

ter of fact, your proposition was made originally on a ten per cent basis?

MR. ROBINSON: I do not believe I could answer that offhand.

SENATOR JOHNSON: When working it out, did you state the compensation that you desired?

MR. ROBINSON: Well, different amounts—the thing that I was looking at more than compensation was the form of contract.

SENATOR JOHNSON: Is it not a fact that you started with ten per cent?

MR. ROBINSON: I think that was the original proposition.

SENATOR JOHNSON: Then did you not come down?

MR. ROBINSON: Yes, but as I told you before, personally I never thought they would get ten per cent, or were justified in getting ten per cent; there was not any expectation of getting ten per cent; but it was just to start the negotiations.

SENATOR JOHNSON: Did you tell Mr. Baldwin that you did not think you were justified in asking ten per cent?

MR. ROBINSON: I think perhaps I did.

SENATOR JOHNSON: What did he say?

MR. ROBINSON: I do not remember.

SENATOR JOHNSON: Well, there must have been some discussion. You said, in substance, "Mr. Baldwin, you are not entitled at this time to ten per cent." Now, what did Mr. Baldwin say about that?

MR. ROBINSON: I do not think I put it in just that way.

SENATOR JOHNSON: Well, put it in any way you like.

MR. ROBINSON: I have not a distinct recollection of all the stages of the negotiations. That was a good while ago.

The reader will at once appreciate the difficulty of examining this witness. At the same time, his candor was amazing; when pushed to the wall, he invariably fell back on the divine rights of the financial method, and made no bones of it. He went on to tell how they had come down from ten per cent to five per cent, and then to four per cent.

SENATOR JOHNSON: During the time that you were negotiating and coming from ten per cent to five per cent, there were constant conferences between you and your associates, were there not?

MR. ROBINSON: Yes.

SENATOR JOHNSON: All right. You said to them repeatedly during that time, did you not, that you did not think they were entitled to so high a percentage?

MR. ROBINSON: I do not know that I said that repeatedly. We were trading the thing out. . . .

And a little later, discouraged by such heavy cross-questioning, Mr. Robinson temporarily gave up the ship and became more candid still.

SENATOR JOHNSON: What, if anything, did the American International representatives, Mr. Baldwin, or any of the others, say concerning the compensation when you were saying to them that you thought they were not entitled to ten per cent?

MR. ROBINSON: Well, I think they really thought much the same way about it that I did.

SENATOR JOHNSON: And yet they asked the ten per cent, did they?

MR. ROBINSON: They started out that way.

SENATOR VARDAMAN: That was when their patriotism was at its highest point, was it not?

A little later comes this illuminating sidelight on big business:

SENATOR JOHNSON: You asked for a ten per cent contract until you were told that you could not get it, did you not?

MR. ROBINSON: I would not say that we ever started out with any other idea than that with which people usually start out to make a contract. I frequently start out to get ten per cent on a contract, but I do not end up that way.

All this hard talk of dollars and cents, of getting as much as you could out of the Government, had been prefaced by a neat little speech by Mr. Baldwin commending the patriotic intentions of his company, and had been interspersed by curious hints in the testimony which disclosed that Mr. Robinson himself was under the delusion that he was serving his country from patriotic motives. He was quite sincere in this delusion. He carried it away with him.

Mr. Robinson and the crowd for which he speaks *do* want to build ships. They *do* want to win the war. But they cannot conceive of ships being built or the war being won unless some one makes a lot of money out of it. They think that is the only way to do it. In the last analysis, their patriotism comes down to profits—and they really believe it. They believe it the other way around—that profits is patriotism. They love their country because their country makes them rich. They cannot understand the game of life any other way. They cannot speak in any other terms. They cannot act along any other line.

The idea has never entered the heads of such men that the ships which Hog Island is going to build might be built more quickly and better without the offices of a financial middleman. To really serve their country—that is, to work for the public welfare—is to these men nothing but unpractical idealism. It just isn't done.

But why shouldn't the Government hire a first calibre shipbuilder, of which there are many in the country, and let him supply the "know how" at Hog Island and run the job? Why must there be a group of financial middlemen standing there between the source of the funds and the finished work, through whose hands all the money has to pass, and who take a fee for furnishing the "know how"?

The interesting point is that these men are not efficient at all. American big business isn't ever efficient in the final sense. It is only efficient in temporarily making money for its stockholders, but that doesn't prove anything. It is not efficient in serving the community, or in conserving its future opportunities. Daily and over and over again it kills the goose that lays the golden egg. Big business is only a gigantic American bluff—and now we are coming to the show-down.

Here we have it at Hog Island. Stone & Webster, the leading financial-engineering-contracting firm in the country, made out plans last summer for a new shipyard which was to employ 30,000 men. Did they plan to house this labor? No, apparently they never thought of that. They were planning a shipyard. They were thinking only of materials. Is this efficiency? You cannot build ships without labor; labor is the primary factor. *Only today*, after a disastrous winter, have they begun to get busy with housing propositions at Hog Island.

But this failure to provide housing facilities at Hog Island has had a far-reaching and disastrous effect as well upon the whole shipbuilding community of the eastern coast. It has disrupted the labor market. It has been a prime factor in creating the present unpleasant feeling of the country towards shipyard labor. The faults in the labor situation have nearly all been faults of management.

Where in the name of Heaven did Stone & Webster think they were going to put their 30,000 men? In making out their vast shipyard plans, how was it possible that this thought did not at some time occur to someone connected with one of the largest and most experienced engineering firms in the country? They have been hiring and paying off men by the thousand ever since the Hog Island

project started. Men couldn't stay there—the conditions were too bad. The labor turnover has been as high as 100 per cent per month. Is this efficiency?

Isn't it possible that an engineer of vision, working in the interests of the Government, without any stockholders bothering him for dividends, might have had this project more soundly in hand today than the financial middlemen have? To deny it is to deny the capability and integrity of the hosts of unknown Americans who will eventually have to come forward before the war can be really won.

Some Real "Scraps of Paper"

IT IS high time for the United States to declare to the world in unmistakable terms that the so-called "treaties" which Germany is extorting from the fragments of Russia and from Rumania can never be recognized as valid by this country and its Allies—or "Associates" as the pussy-footed prefer to call them—but that in the final settlement at the end of the war they will be treated as *ab initio* null and void.

The United States should make this declaration, as the spokesman of all the powers which are warring against the Blond Beast, because it can do so with better grace and certainly no less authority than any of the others. This country alone is entirely disinterested in the matter of territorial reapportionment and readjustment. It has suffered no seizure of territory. It is not now seriously threatened with spoliation. It assuredly has no thoughts of self-aggrandizement.

The grounds for such a declaration are twofold. One is that of Germany's own proposals and professions. That country, or its government, has repeatedly pretended to affirm the principle of "peace without annexations". In so doing it of course lied, with malicious intent to deceive, as is manifested in its present dictation, as necessary conditions of peace, of numerous extensive annexations sufficient nearly to double its area and population. But in dealing with a liar it is sometimes sound policy to take him at his word. Germany has declared for "no annexations;" wherefore according to Germany herself any annexations which are made should be esteemed invalid.

The other ground is that of our own very specific declaration. In his very definite programme, "the only possible programme," as he himself called it, of January 8, President Wilson laid down as an indispensable condition of peace "the evacuation of all Russian territory." To acquiesce in or in any way to recognize as legitimate not evacuation but annexation would be the grossest conceivable self-stultification. In the same wise utterance the President declared that "Rumania should be evacuated; occupied territories restored." It is therefore impossible for us to assent to the spoliation of Rumania and the portioning out of vast tracts of her territory among the Central powers. Again: "An independent Polish state should be erected, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations." But Germany now purposes to retain for herself, and to let Austria retain for herself, vast "territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations," and to annex as her own the remaining Polish lands. To such an arrangement it is manifestly impossible for America to agree.

In brief, to acquiesce in these "treaties" which Germany is dictating at the point of the sword would be to confess either that the President did not mean what he said in that message of January 8, or that having said it he—or this country—was afraid or unable to back it up. We do not think that the President is willing to admit that he was either "talking for Buncombe" or was "bluffing". We are quite sure that the American nation is not willing to make any such disgraceful admission.

The alternative is to serve notice upon the world that these "treaties" are in fact what Germany called one of the most valid and most sacred treaties ever made—mere scraps of paper. Such an utterance should be made by our

Government, and it should be made at once. Already the insolent bastard treaties, fruits of blackmail, have been denounced by eminent unofficial authorities in France, and by assemblages of citizens in our own country. It would not comport with the dignity of the United States and with the international leadership which Mr. Wilson has assumed, for us to wait, however watchfully, for everybody else to get on record and then to come timorously creeping in with our endorsement at the very tail end of the procession. The authoritative voice of America should be heard at once, in tones heard round the world. No "separate peace" will be recognized, and no treaties concerned with such peace-making will be held valid. In such a declaration truth, justice, good faith and national honor would be vindicated. In the failure to make it they would be betrayed.

"German-Americanism" Disclosed

NOT one cent for America, but millions for the Hun!" Such is the National German-American Alliance's adaptation of Pinckley's immortal epigram. We speak by the card. Such is the official confession of the treasurer of that organization, who certainly of all men ought to know the facts. Testifying before a Senate committee last Saturday, he admitted that down to the entry of the United States into the war the Alliance collected or contributed \$886,670, most if not all of which was turned over to Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington.

What did Bernstorff do with it?

Documentary evidence, produced by the treasurer of the Alliance, shows that at least \$313,000 of it was passed on to Dr. Bernhard Dernburg and Meyer Gerhardt. Have Americans forgotten who those men were? Dernburg was the head devil of the German propaganda in this country, for fomenting strikes and sedition and for committing sabotage, arson and murder. Gerhardt was Zimmermann's right-hand man in trying to get Mexico and Japan to attack this country and seize California, Arizona and New Mexico.

And the German-American Alliance, by its own confession, gave hundreds of thousands of dollars to promote those damnable schemes. Truly, a most loyal and patriotic organization!

But after we had shipped Bernstorff, following Dernburg, back to Germany, as unfit longer to be upon American soil, and after we had taken up the Huns' gage of battle and recognized the existence of the war which Germany had in fact been waging against us since August, 1914, what then?

Why, the treasurer of the German-American Alliance advised the members of that organization that they should raise no more money for Germany, but should make their contributions to the American Red Cross. And since that time, now approximately a year ago, how much has that organization, which had so freely contributed to Germany's funds, given to American Red Cross?

NOT ONE CENT!

Let us recapitulate the facts:

From the German-American Alliance—

To Bernstorff, for purely German uses, \$800,000, more or less.

To Dernburg and Gerhardt, for raising hell against the United States, \$313,000.

To American Red Cross, for America, nothing.

As what Stevenson called "a footnote to history," quite pertinent to this record of the German-American Alliance, let us recall the case of the Arabic. The Arabic, we may explain to our forgetful fellow citizens, was a passenger steamer which a German U-boat destroyed without warning, thus causing heavy loss of life, including two American citizens. The case was so flagrant that the President and Secretary of State resolutely insisted upon disavowal and indemnity, and the German government, unable to justify the outrage, signified its acquiescence to their demand.

But this precious German-American Alliance, more Kul-

tured than the Kaiser, in session at Elizabeth, N. J., declared:

"That we declare the sinking of the *Arabic* was justified and deserved, that we endorse Germany's submarine policy and extend to her marine commanders the unstinted praise to which they are entitled."

"Unstinted praise" for the murder of American citizens! Yet what utterance could have been more appropriate, to be made by those who at that very time were contributing freely for the wrecking and burning of American factories and murder of American workmen?

Not one cent for America, but millions for the Hun; and "unstinted praise" for Huns who murdered American citizens. Such has been and is the German-American Alliance. Yet there are those, good, easy men, who doubt whether we should go so far as to rebuke it by withdrawing its national charter.

Our compliments to the English vocabulary, and our regrets at finding it quite inadequate to the occasion!

The Case of Mr. Eisenman

DESPITE the difficulty of mastering the kaleidoscopic ins and outs of the scores of committees which are charged with the pleasure of winning the war, we have become satisfied at last that Mr. Charles Eisenman of Cleveland is still Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. It would not be polite to say that we suspected as much when Secretary Baker said he wasn't; so we refrain from remarking the obvious. In point of fact, the Secretary himself seemed less cocksure than usual when he wrote to Senator McKellar:

This, I think, answers all the questions you asked, except as to Mr. Eisenman, who has left Washington and is not now, as I understand it, occupying any relationship either to the Council of National Defense or to the Quartermaster General's Department.

Nevertheless the Senator and the reporters inferred from the fact—this really was a fact—that Mr. Eisenman had gone South for a brief and greatly needed holiday, and from the Secretary's expressed "understanding," that the Vice-Chairman had definitely retired from the public service. But Mr. Julius Rosenwald, the Chairman, held other views, and, being a man of purposeful action, he put on his hat and called upon the Secretary and notified him suavely but firmly that he was mistaken and would better make an announcement to that effect forthwith. Whereupon Mr. Baker summoned the war correspondents and took it all back in a higgledypiggedly statement that nobody could make head nor tail of and sailed for parts known but not reported. And Mr. Eisenman is back on his job.

Meanwhile we ourselves, in our accustomed role of the innocent bystander, received from Mr. Eisenman a communication which would have received attention ere this but for certain irksome circumstances closely related to a threat of some sort of legal proceedings against this unpretentious and unoffending journal by a person who, it now appears, never represented Mr. Eisenman at all. So we now feel free to proceed without employing Mr. Samuel Untermyer to keep us out of gaol. Mr. Eisenman wrote as follows:

My attention has just been called to an article appearing in the issue of January 5th of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY, and one needs but to read a few lines thereof to be certain of the venom which inspired it and of the ridicule which the writer wishes to pour upon decent and self-respecting men.

It is impossible to answer malice by a reply in kind, and I am surprised, indeed, that a paper of the standing of the *North American Review* should countenance the publication of such an article in its columns. On the assumption that you wish to be fair and are desirous of knowing the truth in all your transactions, I find pleasure in presenting the facts without any insinuating embellishments.

First: Your statement with reference to the failure of the Government to purchase the wool offered by the Boston Wool Dealers as of April 2nd, thereby causing a loss to the Government

of \$150,000,000, is erroneous for several reasons. In the first instance the Government virtually purchased these wools at the then existing market values through the woolen manufacturers, who in turn sold to the Government their fabrics based upon the then existing prices of wool.

Second: Even though the Government had availed itself of this offer of 60,000,000 lbs. of wool, it must be remembered that not to exceed 45,000,000 lbs. would have been usable for Government fabrics, and the total selling value of these 45,000,000 lbs. would not have exceeded \$45,000,000.

Third: A statement that the Army is being supplied with uniforms containing shoddy is incorrect. Not a yard of goods has thus far been purchased in the uniform cloth containing anything but strictly virgin wool.

Fourth: An examination of our contracts with the Base Sorting Plant would indicate to your satisfaction that no one but the Government has profited one penny. For the first four months of the operation of this plant, there has accrued to the benefit of the Government approximately one million dollars which, under other circumstances, would have gone to private contractors. The Plant contemplates a further saving of many million dollars to the Government.

Fifth: It was plainly brought out by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs that the use of reworked wool was advocated by Colonel John P. Wood, at that time President of the National Association of Woolen Manufacturers, who testified that Mr. Eisenman was opposed to its use for Army overcoatings and blankets. Colonel Wood and his Committee assumed the full responsibility of the introduction of this class of textile fiber into the types of cloth indicated, and the change advocated and subsequently made in the overcoating fabric eliminated the use of 25 per cent of cotton, substituting 85 per cent of reworked wool or shoddy. The same change also applies to Army blankets.

Sixth: That I am a friend of Secretary of War Baker is correct and calls for neither explanation nor apology. The mystery which surrounds me can readily be lifted by a wire to any bank, newspaper, the Chamber of Commerce, Civic League, or citizen of Cleveland.

Seventh: The mystery with regard to this office can be lifted by a personal visit on your part or that of your representative. I personally believe that such inspection of our records and an understanding of our work will be illuminating to you and to the country.

After due consideration, we have concluded to pass the exordium; our "venom" as applied to "decent and self-respecting men" is too notorious, we fear, to render possible a convincing retort. Granting, however, the puzzling impossibility of answering "malice by a reply in kind," we have to confess a sense of gratification at Mr. Eisenman's "surprise" that a paper of such repute should print such a piece; at his "assumption" that we "wish to be fair," etc.; and most of all, perhaps, at his "pleasure" in communicating with us. But all this, we suspect, is indicative of hardly more than a pardonable assertiveness of nature groping somewhat blindly for coherent expression. Be that as it may and wholly free from resentful emotion, we reply *seriatim*:

First: Without knowing precisely what a "virtual," as contrasted, for example, with a virtuous, purchase is, we are glad to hear from Mr. Eisenman, whose verity we would not dream of questioning, that the transaction was O. K.

Second: As Mr. Bryan invariably replies when crowded into a corner, we do not feel called upon to discuss hypothetical problems.

Third: It all depends upon what you call a uniform. Technically, we suppose Mr. Eisenman may be, indeed he doubtless is, correct; but there was shoddy in the overcoats, which in days of yore we regarded as much a part of uniforms as the pants; but times have changed.

Fourth: We readily accept the judgment of General Goethals that the Base Sorting contracts were all right, although personally we think they were rotten and are prepared to argue the case on its merits if an academic discussion should seem to be worth while. In any event, we admire and applaud Mr. Eisenman for standing manfully to his guns for what he believed to be right, instead of quitting, or rather pretending to quit without quitting, as Mr. N. D. Baker did with respect to Mr. H. D.

Fifth: Colonel John P. Wood may have been responsi-

ble and may have been right. We think as little of him as apparently Mr. Eisenman thought of his judgment.

Sixth: If Mr. Eisenman still continues to regard the Secretary of War as highly as he did before the nifty little gent tried to throw him down, his forgiving spirit is worthy of the highest commendation.

Seventh: We accept with pleasure.

Dollar-a-Year Patriots

RECENT disclosures at Chicago showing that some of the gentlemen who are posing as dollar-a-year patriots at Washington are carried on the packers' payrolls at fat salaries indicate that this peculiar by-product of the war has about outworn its usefulness and, to use a gentle term, has developed into a sinister influence. We have no specific information indicating the precise nature of the services rendered to the packers by these patriots, but we believe it fair to assume that they are earning every dollar of their salaries while acting in supposedly confidential capacities for the Government.

We can think of no place where a pork packer's agent would find a more fertile field than in the office of the Food Administrator. Of course there is no good reason why a pork packer should not be a patriot, but when we find a gentleman getting \$10,000 or thereabouts a year from the packers and \$1 from the Government we may be excused if we suggest that his patriotism is likely to be tested a bit too severely.

Unhappily the pork packers are not alone in this business of mixing patriotism and profits. We very much fear that when the whole truth is known the paid agents of many great business houses will be found serving their masters while posing as dollar-a-year patriots. The system as we now find it appears to be but the logical result of the necessary steps which were taken to meet the exigencies of the first few months of the war. At that time many branches of the Government were short-handed, and when the services of a group of independently wealthy men were offered at nominal salaries they were accepted gladly. There were no available funds with which to pay them fair salaries and it was a case of taking them at a dollar a year or of crippling the departments. Unfortunately the system became general. Those who were honestly anxious to serve their countries without pay were followed by others who found an opportunity to serve themselves or their masters at the country's expense. We realize thoroughly that many of these men are conscientiously doing their bit at great personal loss, and for them we have nothing but the highest respect, but the system is bad and Congress should root it out without delay.

A simple amendment attached to the so-called usurpation bill, providing that no person employed by the Government shall receive a salary or expenses from a firm or corporation, will settle the entire business. In times of peace the Cabinet officer who allowed an assistant to accept a salary from a corporation doing business before his department would be driven from public office over-night.

Stop See-Sawing and Saw Wood

FOR the love of Mike—seeing that we are nearing St. Patrick's Day!—let us quit the damnable iteration of this hebdomadal see-saw over the increase and decrease of the U-boat ravages.

Some time ago we were interested and amused in reading the (unpublished) letters of that fervent old Virginian patriot, General Weedon, to Thomas Jefferson, telling of the ups and downs of Washington's army in the Revolution. Whenever the American troops won an advantage he was ready and profuse with acknowledgments of "the favor of Heaven" and "the blessings of Divine Providence." But the moment something went wrong he was plaintive and pettish in his complaints against "fickle fortune" and her capricious desertion of the patriot cause.

So every other week our speculative pundits are rejoicing in the decreasing number of sinkings by the U-boats and are quite cocksure that the menace is being overcome.

And again every other week there are laments and ominous forebodings over the increased number of sinkings, and fears that Tirpitz's terribleness may, after all, win the war for the Huns.

And they draw "curves" and diagrams to represent graphically the fluctuations in the statistics of destruction, diagrams which with their alternating ups and downs look like the exaggerated profiles of mountain ranges that we used to have in school geographies.

It is time to quit such folly. At no time have destructions by U-boats been so few as to be negligible or to justify exultation over the prospect of their speedy and complete disappearance. At no time have they been so numerous as to warrant despair of the ultimate victories of the Allied cause.

It is altogether unprofitable to spend time and breath over the little, petty, twiddling fluctuations of the U-boat record. It doesn't matter—to the general cause, of course, we mean—three hoots in hell whether it was eleven or twelve vessels of more than 1,500 tons that the infernal pirates destroyed last week. And it won't matter whether it is twelve or eleven that they destroy next week.

What does matter is that we shall recognize that they are doing a lot of damage and that we shall buckle down to real work at shipbuilding, not merely to replace the ships which they destroy but to provide transportation for our army and for its supplies and the supplies of our Allies, so as to promote the work of killing Huns and smashing the Hunnish empire.

Stop see-sawing over curves and increases and decreases and all the rest of that piffing patter, and saw wood! Or, rather, build ships. We should need them if there were an entire abolition of U-boat activity. Instead of curves of destruction in our diagrams, let us have some curves of construction, and let them all be curves in one direction—going up, up, up! We are not one-half as much concerned about the U-boats in British seas as we are about the new boats in American shipyards.

There ought to be no hesitation in enacting and then in promptly and inexorably enforcing a law for the sale, to loyal Americans, of all German or Austro-Hungarian property in this country. There has long been entirely too much property thus held, even in time of peace and of friendly relations with those countries. Some States of the Union, and the Federal Government itself in the District and in territories, forbid the holding of real estate by aliens, even though they are residents of the States or territories in question; and that we regard as on the whole a pretty sound law. But that in time of war enemy aliens, subjects of the powers with which we are at war, and not resident here, should continue to own extensive properties of great value and strategical importance, would be an anomaly too amazing and too stultifying for polite characterization. We need not go back to the strenuous policy of the Revolution, when we held that enemies' property found in this country after the beginning of war was ipso facto forfeited and confiscated to the State, nor even to that of the War of 1812, when we held that such property could be confiscated under special legislative authorization. The proposal is not for confiscation, but for sale, the proceeds to be paid to the former owners provided we have no claims against them or their country to which these proceeds may be regarded as a set-off. The often-quoted treaty of 1799 with Prussia does not prohibit such action, and if it did the prohibition would not be valid for the reason that it applied only to the peaceful relations of the countries, and such provisions of treaties are automatically abrogated by war and acts thereafter are to be governed by the common principles of international law, under which there can be no question of our right to sell the property of enemy aliens.



THE CHRISTIANS OF ARMENIA

The Latest Gift of the Kaiser of Kultur to the Unspeakable Turk

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Week

WASHINGTON, March 22, 1918.

WHEN as long ago as February 9, we recorded our intuition that, if a member of the Cabinet should really be sent abroad to browse around in the footsteps of Robinson Crusoe House, the brother of Mr. Henry D. Baker would be the one chosen upon the ground of surpassing unfitness, we had no idea that the inevitable was so close at hand. And yet we find no cause for complaint. As our Allies the British are wont to remark, we might as well have it over. What he went for is yet to be revealed. That is to say, as usual, the revelations are confusing. The *Official Bulletin* announced immediately upon his arrival that "the Secretary's visit is military and not diplomatic; it is essentially for the purposes of inspection and personal conference with military officials."

That seemed clear enough. Military officials ought to be inspected and even perhaps conferred with from time to time, as a matter of course. We would not be too inquisitive, moreover, respecting the non-essential purposes of the Secretary's visit; for all that we know, he had been abroad before; many people from Cleveland have been, Mr. Herrick tells us; so mere sight-seeing could hardly have been a main object; and he gets plenty of excellent music, we understand, at home. Anyhow, he went straight through to Paris and at the Gare de — was greeted by our Ambassador from Mt. Gilead, O., and, horrifying to relate, was nearly stepped upon by Counselor Paul D. Cravath, who is over there advising Mr. Crosby to the full capacity of his 300 lbs. avoirdupois.

Others present, according to the *New York Times*, were "the French journalists, who were greatly struck by the Secretary's youthful"—meaning nifty—"appearance," and one of whom referred to him as "a lawyer who speaks Greek, Latin, German and French,"—with respect to which as bearing upon French, the correspondent adds somewhat cryptically, "it may be said on the best authority that the Intransigent statement is an exaggeration." He was "protected from the danger of a possible indiscretion by the

vigilant eyes and ears of two censors," but, "like Colonel House, posed readily for a flashlight photograph." There having been no heralding of the event, the crowd was small and the few who were there complained bitterly, for some inexplicable reason, that they couldn't see him.

The journey from the Gare de — to the Hotel de — was uneventful, but hardly had the curfew begun to ring that night when the popping anti-aircraft guns signalled danger from above. The Secretary continued to converse coolly with General Bliss, but the management quite properly insisted upon conveying him to a place of safety along with his entire entourage, comprising, according to the *Official Bulletin*, Major General Black, Lieutenant Colonel Brett and Private Secretary Hayes. They brought up in a wine cellar filled with interesting-looking kegs, and then a most extraordinary thing happened. There appeared a stranger in their midst—and who do you think it was? None other, believe us, than Brother H. D., who had slipped away from Niles, O., without even telling the boys at the store that he was going abroad with Newt, and at that moment was hunting around for a straw.

What happened thereafter in the cellar apparently was not regarded by the Associated Press as of sufficient importance to warrant cabling at length. We were informed that the Secretary "continued his conference" with General Bliss and subsequently remarked simply that it was his "first experience of the actualities of war;" that was all; not a word about H. D. In truth, we doubt if we should ever have known that the distinguished airplane manufacturer had gone at all but for a casual reference to his presence at a banquet, in a cablegram to the *Tribune* which caught our eye by chance. The *Official Bulletin* did not include him in its list, the War Department was mum as an oyster, and there was none of the rumors such as are accustomed to float about Washington.

Why an event so portentous in possible potentialities should have been thus shrouded in mystery is most puzzling. We do not even know how he went, whether gaily through the air bestride one of his own spare parts or concealed in the hold,—probably, however, the latter for safety's sake if it be indeed a fact, as rumored, that the ship bearing the Secretary was convoyed by a flotilla of German submarines. In any case, his absence will not impede the amazing progress now being or about to be noted in airplane production because of the forethought of somebody in officially "reinstating" the contract which was cancelled, theoretically at least, by Mr. N. D. in January.

But all this sheds no light upon the real cause of the Secretary's trip abroad. He himself depicted it as "a pilgrimage to the shrine of heroism," somewhat to the confusion of the officers who spoke of it as merely a visit to the front, and announced his purpose to "take the army apart

as a boy dissects a watch," while everybody was hoping and praying that it might be put together; when lo and behold, who should appear upon the scene but Mr. Swope, the missing link between the White House and the *World*, with an entirely new version!

It seems that the Secretary, although effectually barred from the War Council, is to be conversed with by political leaders, acting under instructions from home to be "more receptive than expressive" and to "observe more than talk;" that is, as we used to say, he is to be "seen but not heard,"—a quite trying performance, we should imagine, from both points of view. However, Mr. Swope continues, "Mr. Baker is well fitted for such a task. His mental processes are curiously similar to those of the President, between whom and himself a warm sympathy and understanding exists. In fact many who know both men believe that the President, although he is careful to play no favorites, feels closer to his Secretary of War than he does to any other member of his Cabinet. Knowing what the President wants to know, being familiar with those questions which the President regards as the most vital, Mr. Baker will be able to steep himself in information that will be of most value to his chief. The President is constantly seeking after information, but he likes to be sure that the source is reliable. When that is certain he squeezes the mind of his informant dry, and puts the knowledge to the use he thinks proper."

This doubtless is what the Secretary meant when, likening himself in effect to a sponge, he told the reporters he was "still absorbing," after having been "amazed" at but, of course, "satisfied," with the work done, although "frankly," as we think we have intimated from time to time, he had "not realized the immensity of the enterprise."

So far, with respect to the Secretary's enlightening tour abroad, excellent! "We trust," remarks the *Evening Sun* of New York in its keen but kindly way, "that Mr. Baker may consider his office in France a tremendous burden, a tremendous worry, a tremendous responsibility, a tremendous opportunity," thus emphasizing in a heartening fashion a contrast with his jaunty attitude before Congress. Turning for trustworthy information respecting actualities to the distinguished editorial representative of the *New York Times* in Paris, we learn that "reports from his inspection tour indicate that Mr. Baker is strengthening the favorable convictions regarding his management of the War Department—convictions that were, perhaps, already sufficiently strong,"—truly a conclusion so subtly sarcastic that we cannot wonder that it passed the most vigilant army censor. But Mr. Grasty does not stop there.

"If," he continues with more becoming candor, "Mr. Baker could stay in Europe long enough to make a serious study of conditions and then be appointed to represent America in allied counsel and action, he might render most valuable service. In political strategy the Allies meet Germany at the greatest disadvantage. The strongest member of the allied team is 3,000 miles away. It is like a baseball nine trying to win a game with the pitcher's box back at second base. President Wilson has all sorts of curves and drops, but he cannot deliver them at such a distance from the plate. Many fear that America is lacking full appreciation of the gravity of the present European situation when the organization of the Supreme War Council at Versailles is left incomplete from month to month and thereby deprived of its ultimate power and authority except in purely military questions."

This is dubious enough in all conscience but, so far from rejoicing at the confirmation by a competent observer on the spot of our own expressed feelings with respect to lack of representation at the Supreme Council, we regret it exceedingly as surely unfair to our own people and conceivably fatal to the cause. What does irritate us beyond measure is the inability of men of the standing of Mr. Grasty to place before our country all the facts in consequence of what he flatly declares "Mr. Baker's rule" to be: "No unfriendly comment is allowed."

Can you beat it?

The gaily social and fastidiously artistic circles of the National Capital have been enriched this week by the gracious presence of the Younger Isidor Louis Bernard Edmund Van Dommeler, otherwise known as the husband of Miss Geraldine Farrar and as Lou Tellegen of the movies. Although here ostensibly to portray congenially before the ravished eyes of gum-chewing typists "a young artist, going the pace, until his regeneration is brought about by the love of an American girl," it is but natural to assume that his visit has to do, through conference or otherwise, with the League which he is building up, with the approval of the President, to "drown the mouthings of the selfish politicians." When the Younger promulgated his idea some two months ago, the papers said that his organization had been "started in the theatrical profession," but that "it would be soon pushed energetically elsewhere." With this purpose in view he addressed a communication to the President, in which he said:

It is high time, in my humble opinion, that the free and silent democracy of this country speak out in no uncertain voice and drown the mouthings of the selfish politicians, and counteract the accumulating and determined effort to postpone the progress of the war until the next Presidential election, so that a certain "man on horseback" may again vault into the saddle. A certain revenge among those who wanted war, against you, who did not want war, is rampant. They are using the same contemptible methods of criticism and unpublished slander they used in the last Presidential election against you.

Passing as immaterial the difficulty of devising a plan to drown the mouthings of those addicted to unpublished slander and assuming that the would-be vaulter into the saddle is none other than Colonel Roosevelt, we have to confess complete bewilderment in trying to imagine why those who wanted war should cherish resentment against one who, contrary to his own wishes, accommodated them; nor can we easily understand why the "outs" rather than the "ins" should perceive political advantage in prolonging the war; but the indictment was comprehensive at the least, and so apparently was the President's understanding; anyhow, he wrote in reply:

MY DEAR MR. TELLEGEN: Your letter of January 24 is deeply appreciated. It is splendid to have such support, and such intelligent support. You have described and analyzed the forces against me very accurately indeed, and you may be sure that all such generous efforts as your own to back me up in the present great crisis of the world are accepted on my part with genuine gratitude. Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

It must have been the spirit, rather than the diction or logic, of Mr. Tellegen's outburst that evoked the President's fervent commendation of the "intelligent support" and "very accurate analysis" thus expressed in no uncertain voice. Otherwise it is inconceivable that he would have applauded with such "genuine gratitude" so gratuitous a slap at a former President by an impudent foreigner, while almost simultaneously he was beseeching from the wife of that former President the privilege of hoping earnestly for his predecessor's recovery from a dangerous operation. It is due to Mr. Tellegen, however, to record that he was so touched by Mr. Wilson's appreciative response that he became naturalized as an American citizen forty-six days later—thus by a happy circumstance allowing just enough time comfortably and certainly to avoid the draft.

Mr. Roosevelt speaks occasionally with pride of his Dutch ancestors, but what the Van Dommeliers think of their Isidor we have no means of ascertaining. May we not ask the State Department to make a few judicious inquiries pending a further interchange of communications in the interest of the Tellegen "Stand-by-Wilson League," as we understand from the newspapers it is to be called?

The controversy over the Dutch ships will presumably be settled by our commandeering them, before these lines reach their readers; and it is well that it should be so. It is a matter of necessity that we shall have them. That necessity is to be regretted, but it cannot be ignored. The procedure may from one point of view seem to impose a hardship upon Holland, which also is to be regretted; though

the hardship will be more theoretical than practical. We shall of course see to it that Holland is equitably reimbursed, and that she does not suffer from the temporary loss of control of her own ships; and those are considerations which to the thrifty Dutch will probably count almost as much as mere matters of national pride. The chief reflection of an unpleasant character falls upon ourselves, through the confession that such a step is necessary, for that means, of course, that our own shipping is inadequate to our needs and that all our fine talk about wholesale ship-building has failed to make it adequate. It is because we have not enough ships of our own, and have not after a year of war been able to provide them, that we are driven to the unwelcome resort of seizing Holland's. What the unlamented Mr. Denman thinks about it, we do not know, nor greatly care. More to the point is Senator Jones's declaration that if they knew the truth about the shipping situation the American people would be appalled. That is a strong statement, and we suppose that some twiddling mannikins regard it as a shocking thing to say. But the administration itself gives it the strongest possible color of confirmation by this very policy of taking over the Dutch ships.

Washington, March 18.—After a call at the White House today, Senator Lewis of Illinois, the Democratic whip of the Senate, indicated his belief that President Wilson would make known to the country soon the attitude of the Government toward the Russian situation.

He said it was safe to say the President would fulfill his promise that there would be no secret diplomacy.

We would be the last to hold the President responsible for the utterances of a goadstick, to say nothing of a whip; but cannot some way be devised to prevent the printing of flubdub like this? What basis can Senator Lewis possibly have for his saying safely that there will be "no secret diplomacy," except the President's own intimation that he may be expected to "fulfill" his own "promise"? As to making known "the attitude of the Government"—meaning, of course, the Executive—has not that been done already, somewhat to the distress of our Allies? And how long since did "hazy" become synonymous with "pitiless" with respect to vaunted "publicity"? O dear, O dear!

Why waste time over Germany's pledges? . . . Peace treaties such as these we do not and cannot acknowledge." It is the Supreme War Council of the Allies which speaks. The first sentence relates to German overtures for peace on the basis of negotiation and promises. The second refers to the bastard infamies which have been imposed upon various fragments of Russia, and upon Rumania and Finland by the Blond Blackmailer of Berlin. They are righteous words and brave, expressing the conviction and resolution of right thinking men throughout the civilized world. Transformed into the speech of the street, they mean that Germany is a liar and that we will trust to nothing that she says, but will fight the war out until we have defeated her and can dictate the terms of peace; and that we shall pay no regard whatever to the annexations, treaties, alliances and what not which Germany pretends to have made, but shall settle the issues of Europe after the war as though such things had never existed. For this there is the best authority in the world. No court accepts the testimony of a proved and confessed perjurer; and none esteems as valid promises made or contracts signed under duress.

It was of course inevitable that the Allies should make these declarations. It was impossible that they should do otherwise. It is equally imperative that the American Government shall adopt them for itself, unhesitatingly and unreservedly. But we cannot help wishing that without waiting for the Supreme War Council thus to act, our President had taken the initiative and had spoken out alone to that identical effect. It would have been one of America's worthiest utterances in the whole war.

We Must Not Forsake Russia

"WE shall not abandon Russia." That purpose of the American Government and nation, expressed in these columns a fortnight ago, is now to be repeated, with no loss of emphasis, in spite of what has happened meantime.

What has happened is, the Bolsheviki Soviets' answer to the President's message.

Intentionally or unintentionally—more probably, in childish ignorance and in the intoxication of perverted idealism—Russia has replied to our friendliest proffer of sympathy and aid with gross affront and with complete rejection.

The President expressed America's sympathy with Russia in her present troubles at the hand of an alien foe, and our loyal purpose, when opportunity offered, to aid her to regain her freedom from that foe's oppression and spoliation. In reply, Russia surrenders herself still more fully to that foe, and makes herself at least a passive ally of that foe against America.

The President, in expressing that sympathy and pledging that aid, spoke specifically for "the people of the United States," one and indivisible. Russia in reply addresses herself first and chiefly to "the laboring and exploited classes in the United States," and tells them of her "firm conviction that the happy time is near" when they "will throw off the capitalistic yoke and establish a Socialist state of society."

In brief, the Russian response to America's offer of sympathy and aid is practically to say that she wants neither.

We shall not take her at her word. We shall not hold her responsible for the insane ravings of her Soviets; which indicate that the wartime prohibition of vodka is ineffective. We do not suppose that even the Bolsheviki meant to be offensive. How unutterably foolish and futile is the appeal to the workingmen of America, as of the other Allied powers, to follow the Bolshevik example and start raising hell at home instead of fighting the Huns, may be seen in the attitude of those workingmen themselves. The American Federation of Labor, through its most authoritative leaders, has again and again affirmed and confirmed its loyalty to the Government of the American people and its purpose to aid wholeheartedly in prosecuting the war against the Huns to a victorious finish. Its reply to this Russian appeal to it to Bolshevikize itself, is an indignant refusal—a refusal to join any international peace conference or to talk peace when "there is no peace possible," and when "to talk peace is to play the German game." The Central Federated Union, too, by an overwhelming vote, took the same ground; refusing to participate in or to favor any international labor conference to discuss terms of peace—the sort of thing the Bolsheviki have been urging.

So we repeat that we shall not abandon Russia. She is doing her best—or worst—to provoke us to do so and to prevent us from aiding her. But after all it is not Russia herself that is doing so. It is the minority clique of mixed corruptionists and visionaries, which for the time holds sway. But that clique is not the Russian people. There were not ten righteous men in Sodom, but there were seven thousand in Israel that did not bow knee to Baal; and we have faith to believe that there are many millions in Russia who will not pervert themselves with Bolshevism and will not bow the knee to Kultur.

It is to them that we must address ourselves, as well as to the misguided Bolsheviki whenever they regain their sanity and become amenable to reason. We shall keep our pledge to Russia, though she has broken her pledge to us. We shall give her our sympathy, though she scorns it. We shall help her in spite of herself to become what her best sons desire her to be. The land that rejected the Tartar yoke must not be subject to the Hun.

The Two Voices

THE statement issued on March 18 by the Supreme War Council of the Allies is a protest against Germany's crime in Russia. President Wilson's telegram sent a few days before to the Congress of the Soviets was a protest against the same crime. Between the intention of the European Entente Powers and the intention of President Wilson, so far as action is concerned, there is probably little or no difference. But the two utterances are pitched in wholly different, indeed in contrasting, keys. The phenomenon is not a new one. The contrast has been conspicuous in many a preceding case of parallelism in practical intent, but striking dissimilarity in tone of expression, between what President Wilson has said and what has been said contemporaneously by Lloyd George or by the spokesman of France. The comparison is not without importance, certainly not without interest.

Take this last instance. The Allies' War Council begins with the note of denunciation. It brands the acts of Germany since Brest-Litovsk as "the political crimes which, under the name of a German peace, have been committed against the Russian people." But it proceeds at once to speak in the language of truth and soberness of the blame which rests upon Russia for making these crimes possible. "Forgetting," says the statement, "that for four years Germany had been fighting against the independence of nations and the rights of mankind, the Russian Government, in a mood of singular credulity, expected to obtain by persuasion that 'democratic peace' which it had failed to obtain by war." It goes on to describe both the utter helplessness of Russia and the shameless perfidy of Germany in the period of the armistice. It declares in conclusion that the Allies "do not and cannot acknowledge" peace treaties thus extorted, that the battles for freedom are everywhere interdependent, and that "the nations whose fate is in the balance may surely put their trust in the armies, which, even under conditions more difficult than the present, have shown themselves more than equal to the great cause entrusted to their valor." Here, then, is protest against the wrong done to Russia and the promise of rescue from the Power which for the present has reduced her to impotence and servitude.

Mr. Wilson makes the same protest and the same promise. But his mind is intent upon questions of sentiment and aspiration rather than upon the hard facts either of the past or of the future. He speaks of the German power having been "thrust in to interrupt and turn back the whole struggle for freedom and substitute the wishes of Germany for the purposes of the people of Russia." He begs to assure the people of Russia that the Government of the United States "will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence in her own affairs," and that "the whole heart of the people of the United States is with the people of Russia" in their struggle against autocratic government. In Woodrow Wilson there is, we trust, just as much fight as there is in the Supreme War Council of the Allies, but his words are calculated at least as much to make the Bolsheviki feel that they are mighty fine fellows and that the world will all be Bolshevik in the near future as to impress upon them the frightful situation into which their country and all the world has been plunged in consequence of their interesting exploits in the immediate past.

Now let us go back a couple of months. On January 5 the British Premier made an elaborate "war aims" address before the Trade Union Conference. Three days later the President of the United States made an elaborate war aims address to the two houses of Congress. Each of these great leaders commented gravely on the situation of Russia. Both recognized that she was prostrate before the Prussian power. The surrender, however, was not then complete, and it is instructive to compare the way in which the two men spoke of the outlook. Said Lloyd George:

We all deplore the prospect. The democracy of this country means to stand to the last by the democracies of France and Italy and all our other allies. We shall be proud to stand side by side with the new democracy of Russia. So will America and so will France and Italy. But if the present rulers of Russia take action which is independent of the Allies, we have no means of intervening to arrest the catastrophe which is assuredly befalling their country. Russia can only be saved by her own people.

Mr. Wilson, on the other hand, after acknowledging that the Russian people lay prostrate, their power "apparently shattered", goes on as follows:

And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind, and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe.

It should be noted in passing that the statement so often made that Lloyd George "washed his hands of Russia" in this famous passage is wholly unwarranted. He merely stated the unquestionable fact that if the men in control of Russia chose to surrender it was impossible for Great Britain and her Allies either to prevent that act or to avert its inevitable consequences. His desire to help Russia was as strong as Mr. Wilson's, and on behalf of the Entente Allies he expressed it as strongly as did the President on behalf of the people of the United States. The only difference was that the British Prime Minister did not scruple to set forth in plain words the fate that Russia was manifestly inviting, while the President preferred to give the Bolsheviki full credit for good intentions which, whether they entertained them or not, neither Mr. Wilson nor anybody else can possibly have believed that they would put into action.

Illustrations of the same difference in matters pertaining to the general issues of the war might be cited in abundance. Let one of the latest suffice. Mr. Wilson's address to Congress on February 11 and Lloyd George's speech in Parliament on February 12 both dealt with the views on peace terms that had been given out by Count von Hertling and Count Czernin. There was nothing in Lloyd George's speech that could possibly be regarded as encouraging the hope at this time of a negotiated peace; and according to statements coming from very near the White House any such encouragement that was read into Mr. Wilson's address was read into it by misinterpretation. Yet note the contrast between what the President says and what Lloyd George says, for instance, on Count Czernin's declaration:

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes, and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that . . . Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve. . . . If he is silent about questions which touch the interests and purposes of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, it must, of course, be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances.—President Wilson, Feb. 11.

It is perfectly true that, as far as the tone is concerned, there was a deal of difference between the Austrian and German speeches; but I wish I could believe there was a difference in the substance. I cannot altogether accept that interpretation of Count Czernin's speech. It was extraordinarily civil and friendly in tone, but when you come to the real substance of the demands put forward by the Allies it was adamant. . . . There was not a single definite question dealt with about which Count Czernin did not present a most resolute refusal to discuss any terms which might be regarded as possible terms of peace.—Lloyd George, Feb. 12.

Within President Wilson's velvet glove there is undoubtedly an iron hand, for he has not only used it but has occasionally bared it; yet there are times when the velvet glove is so much in evidence as perhaps to cause some to doubt whether the iron hand is still there. No one is left in such doubt for a moment by Lloyd George.

We are far from wishing to imply that the Wilson method serves no good purpose. His eloquent declarations of lofty purpose, his charitable entertainment of the most favorable possible view of the purposes of our adversaries,

the generous sympathy and all-embracing tolerance that have inspired his words of cheer to Russia in her sad estate—all these things have played a great part in strengthening the hold of our country upon the hearts of vast multitudes among the nations of Europe. To ignore the potential value of this influence would be to shut our eyes to one of the great factors in the international situation. But to overlook the danger that may lurk in this attitude would be quite as serious an error. No one can say at what time of crisis soft words that are meant for quite a different purpose may have the effect of turning away wrath from the enemy with whom no compromise is possible except at the cost of all that makes a nation worth saving. The war is not fought by arms alone, not even by arms and industry alone. To win it we must never for a moment relax our mental hold on the hard fact that our only hope is in overcoming the might of Germany. Mr. Wilson is surely under no delusion about this. He may think it good policy—and doubtless it is at times good policy—to play the part of the amiable Spenlow; but whenever he does it, he must thank his stars that there is a Lloyd George or a Clémenceau to enact at the same moment the rôle of the inexorable Jorkins.

Japan in Siberia

THE question of Japanese intervention in Asiatic Russia presents three phases.

First: Is it a military necessity?

We should answer, "yes"; in view of what has actually occurred and is to-day occurring. Germany has smashed the Russian Empire, at least temporarily, to smithereens. She is annexing Russian provinces right and left, and extending her protectorate and suzerainty over what she has not actually annexed. She is steadily and rapidly pushing toward the East. The advantages to her from a military point of view of reaching the Pacific Coast of Asia are so enormous that she will certainly not hesitate at any effort to attain that end. The southern route, by way of Persia and Afghanistan, is shut against her. Therefore she is likely to seek the northern. Some hundreds of thousands of her veteran soldiers, who have been prisoners of war, are now in Siberia, freed, and organizing themselves into regiments and divisions again, to fight for Germany there; and the Bolsheviki are fraternizing with them. Without Japanese intervention, which of course is the only possible intervention, there is real danger of the Huns occupying all Siberia, and establishing a naval base on the Pacific, from which to harry us. As a matter of military necessity, then Japanese intervention in Siberia is needed.

Second: What of its effects upon Russia?

It does not particularly matter. Russia, by her breaking of faith with and desertion of the Allies, and by her abject surrender to the Huns, has placed herself out of court. But her disapproval would not be unanimous. The Bolsheviki would protest against the Japanese intervention. But then, they would protest against anything that was rational and just. They have spurned our sympathy and aid, and have gone over to the enemy. We are certainly under no obligation to consider their wishes, and there would be no profit in our doing so. As for the real men of Russia,—such as Prince Lvoff and his associates, who were the men who overthrew Czarism and who planted where the Bolsheviki are reaping, and trampling and destroying more than they reap,—it seems probable that they would cordially welcome such aid from a power which they formerly regarded as their loyal ally.

Third: Can we trust Japan?

In Yankee fashion, answering a question with a question, Why not? And if not, then what nation could we trust? We know of no reason why the word of Japan should not stand at par. Indeed, we are already committed to just such confidence in her. The President, or his Secretary of State, recently made a "Gentlemen's agreement" with Japan. Now we cannot say that we altogether ap-

prove that or any other such compact. It savors too much of the secret diplomacy which Mr. Wilson very properly disapproves, and it looks like an attempt to evade the Constitutional provision that every treaty shall be laid before the Senate for its ratification. But since the "gentlemen's agreement" has been made, it is to be observed that the sole basis of it is complete mutual confidence of each nation in the other. By making that agreement, our government bound itself to trust Japan and proclaimed or recorded the fact that it did so.

Nor is that all. That "gentlemen's agreement" recognizes Japan's superior interests in Eastern Asia, and concedes her right to special privileges, power and action there. We are not at all certain that such recognition and such concessions should have been granted. The Senate never would have done it, which was probably why the compact was not submitted to that body. But since they have been granted, surely we should live up to them. The President has in effect said that we concede to Japan special powers and privileges in that part of the world and that we trust her implicitly not to abuse them. Are we, or is the President himself, prepared to withdraw and to repudiate that declaration? Was the "gentlemen's agreement" another "scrap of paper"?

Our Mythical Air Fleet

OUR worst fears concerning the aviation program have come true. It has gone the way of the other programs outlined by the War Department. The gentlemen who were entrusted with this vital section of the military machine have promised us everything that was to be desired, and now that the date of fulfillment is at hand we find that they will deliver virtually nothing. Our experts have proven to be amateurs and out of their labors they have brought a great mass of industrial confusion and administrative chaos. Where we were led to expect great achievement we now find little more than promises for the future. Where we were led to expect great results we find innumerable excuses. Where we were led to hope for a great army of men in the air we find aviators on the ground without combat planes, guns or equipment. We are told there is no basis for honest complaint because tremendous things have been accomplished and that this will be established by developments—in the future. What a familiar sound it all has! How typical it is of all the promises made by Mr. Baker—perched on the top of the pyramid of confusion he has jumbled together and calls a war machine!

Last summer we were told that America's principal contribution to the war this spring would be a great fleet of aeroplanes. We shall never forget the vivid picture portrayed for us, of America in the very act of snatching control of the air from the Hun. We were told that thousands of American aviators would swoop over the trenches, blinding the German gunners as the Allied infantry followed over the top to victory. We were told how others would bombard the great Krupp Works at Essen—the very backbone of the German military machine—while still others would fly on to Berlin, terrorizing the Kaiser and his minions with their steel hail. The spectacle timed for the spring and summer was truly magnificent. It was this picture which caused Congress to give the War Department \$639,000,000 without debate so that the plans might be carried out.

Now we are told that the public got a mistaken idea of what it was to expect this summer. Nothing of the sort was ever planned for 1918. It was all to be accomplished in 1919.

And yet the most casual observer who will take the trouble to look over the newspaper and magazine files for last summer will find that the gentlemen who are now promising the program in 1919 were then promising it for 1918. Let us see what has actually happened! The \$639,000,000 appropriation which was made for the year ending June 1 contemplated the manufacture of some 20,000 aeroplanes—

training and combat machines. We now have several thousand training planes, which are of no use whatever on the battle fronts, and virtually no combat planes. Nothing less than the intervention of Divine Providence can enable us to supply General Pershing with 500 machines by July 1. This means less than 150 machines—at the very best—over the trenches, because each plane in the air must be supported by at least two on the ground.

We are now told that the delivery of even this many machines will represent a magnificent achievement and fully justify the plans made last year. Of course, this is nonsense. The very men who make such statements are responsible for having sent several thousand American aviators to France during the last few months. If the War Department did not expect these young officers to be supplied with combat planes this year, why were they trained and sent abroad? They are doing nothing. They can do nothing but act as an added drain on General Pershing's supplies. The tale seems incredible!

The immediate causes of the aviation fiasco are similar to those underlying the other War Department failures. Having mapped out a paper plan, Mr. Baker overlooked altogether the vital necessity of creating the proper kind of an organization to execute it. Instead of assembling a force of administrators of tremendous driving force, equipped with knowledge which would enable them to mobilize the necessary industrial facilities, he calmly entrusted the program to an army officer who hadn't the slightest business experience. It is true that the Aircraft Production Board, composed of business men, was supposed to advise the Signal Corps on the industrial aspects, but the board could not spend one cent and could not force action on any phase of the program. It is the old story of the conflict between civilian advisers and military executives.

The result of the misdirected efforts of General Squier has been to overcrowd a limited number of plants without attempting to thoroughly mobilize every available factory in the country that might be used to manufacture planes or parts of planes. There are many reports in circulation that this condition has been caused by favoritism in placing orders rather than a failure to properly apportion the contracts. We are without information upon this phase of the situation, and are willing to assume that the rumors are baseless unless they are substantiated by irrefutable evidence. Just at present the difficulties appear to have been caused by ignorance rather than a desire to favor any class of contractors.

We have said that the immediate cause for the discrepancy between promises and achievements may be traced to a great degree to the fact that Mr. Baker placed an industrial amateur in charge of the construction program. We believe that General Squier is more to be pitied than censured. Others would have done better—much better—but no man or group of men in the country could have developed the nation's industrial potentialities to their limit for the production of aeroplanes under present conditions.

The aeroplane program, the shipping program and every other program put on paper by the Government is destined to fail until the nation's industrial resources are mobilized on a war basis. President Wilson has appointed a committee to investigate the aeroplane situation. A majority of the committee, Mr. Snowden Marshall and Mr. Gavin McNabb, are Democratic politicians with absolutely no knowledge of aviation. Why the President picked two inexperienced politicians to investigate the aeroplane situation we do not know, but we do know that if he will call to the White House any number of experienced business men they will explain to him in a very few minutes that he need look for no efficient war machine until the industries of this country are organized to meet the military necessities.

So long as the various branches of the government continue to compete against each other for supplies, labor and transportation accommodations, with private enterprises crowding them all out in some instances, we may look for-

ward to break downs in every branch of our war machine.

The pity of it all is that virtually every one in Washington realizes the needs of the situation, except the President, and the little group of timid souls who are occasionally admitted to the White House.

TWO Ships in Eighteen Months

THE United States Shipping Board, which was created by Act of Congress on September 7, 1916, has actually built and placed in the foreign service two vessels aggregating 17,600 dead weight tonnage, up to and including this 22nd day of March, 1918.

This represents the tonnage, and all the tonnage, that the Shipping Board has contributed to the world supply during the eighteen months of its existence. As nearly as we can estimate from the cryptic reports of the British admiralty, the Shipping Board's contribution represents the average tonnage that the submarines have destroyed every eight hours during each day of these eighteen months.

How comes it, then, that the public has received the impression of late that the Shipping Board has really accomplished great things despite criticism? The answer is extremely simple. Take, for example, the following despatch sent from Washington by the Associated Press on March 9 and conspicuously printed in hundreds of American newspapers on the following morning:

The progress of the steel shipbuilding campaign was shown tonight by the Shipping Board in figures of deliveries and launchings which indicate a steady upward trend since the first of the year. In February, 17 vessels of 120,000 tons were completed and put into the service. The total was nearly twice that of January, admittedly a bad month, when only nine vessels with a tonnage of 79,541 were delivered. March deliveries at the present rate are expected to reach 23 vessels of 188,725 tons.

Of the vessels completed in February fifteen were cargo carriers, one was a tanker and one a collier. The March schedule calls for the delivery of fourteen cargo vessels, seven tankers and two colliers.

"The progress of the steel shipbuilding campaign" and the "steady upward trend since the first of the year" caused Mr. Cobb of the *World* and many other editors to comment enthusiastically on the "accomplishments" of the Shipping Board. Indeed, the Associated Press despatch, supported as it was a few days later by others from Washington indicating that President Wilson had told Senator Fletcher that he was well pleased with the shipping outlook, caused many good editors to cast anathemas on the heads of those who dared question the policies of Chairman Hurley, now that he was actually turning out ships in great numbers.

Now let us see what the Associated Press despatch really meant. Of course, to the casual reader, and apparently even to editors who should have known better, it meant just what it said,—that twenty-six vessels of respectable size had been built by the Shipping Board and placed in the service in the months of January and February. If this were true, it would represent a commendable accomplishment and would justify many of the promises which have radiated from Mr. Hurley; but it is not true. Of the twenty-six referred to, twenty-four were built by private firms to British and Scandinavian order. The Shipping Board neither planned them nor built them. In fact, the original owners assert that if the Shipping Board had never existed these self-same vessels would have been completed several months ago.

This all sounds very paradoxical. Wherefore the confusion? It arises from the fact that last summer the President authorized the Shipping Board to "commandeer" every ship under construction in this country, in order to hold for American registry all ships being built of American material and with American labor. There were other reasons upon which it is unnecessary to comment. Thereupon Mr. Hurley took over all these contracts and from that day forward every ton of "commandeered" shipping completed has been credited to the Shipping Board until the public

has been given the impression that the Government agency is actually turning out ships in considerable number. The fact is that the Shipping Board had no more to do with the original plans of these ships than it had to do with the aviation program. They were planned and many of them were well on the way to completion long before Mr. Hurley was heard of in connection with shipping, and therefore they are no part of the great fleet which the Shipping Board is supposed to turn out.

When President Wilson issued his commandeering proclamation there were 425 ships of 2,999,408 dead weight tonnage under construction in American yards to private order. About 1,000,000 of this total represented contracts made by the Cunard Line to offset submarine losses. The remainder was divided between British, Scandinavian and American firms. Since the proclamation was issued 93 of these vessels, representing 681,241 tons, have been completed and placed in the service.

Every time one of them was completed the Shipping Board's press agents heralded the fact as if Mr. Hurley had presented the Allies with new tonnage. Of course, the Allies had figured on every ton of it in making their calculations for meeting the submarine menace, so that none of it can be considered as unaccounted for. Every ton was discounted the day the contracts were let. The remainder of this commandeered tonnage, it is hoped, will be completed this year and represents virtually all that America, as distinguished from the Shipping Board, will contribute to the Allies this year. Late in the fall the Shipping Board promises to produce fleets of new vessels, but there is no good reason for believing that any considerable quantity will be in the trans-Atlantic service in time to help meet the summer submarine campaign. We do believe that we may get a few of Mr. Hurley's vessels around Thanksgiving time.

Now, in addition to this tonnage the Board has contracted for 1,227 ships, representing 6,959,450 dead weight tons. Of this number 443, representing 1,535,059 tons, are wooden ships. They are no more than experiments and the judgment of the best shipbuilders in the country is that they will be of little if any value in the trans-Atlantic trade; so, for practical purposes, they may be wiped out of the equation. Sixty-one concrete and composite and 723 steel ships representing 5,207,400 tons complete the program as *contracted* for by the Shipping Board.

Out of this 1,227 ships promised, the Board has actually completed two, as we said before. The remaining 1,225 are somewhere in the state of planning or construction. It is impossible to get a comprehensive estimate of their condition. Many promises are being made. Many yards are being built. We are told that many keels are being laid or are being prepared for the ways. We know and all we know definitely is that two ships have actually been turned out after eighteen months of talk.

Incompetent Civilians Too

INCOMPETENT officers must go. That is General Pershing's dictum, and it is being enforced. Already a number of generals have been sent home. Their loyalty and devotion are not questioned, nor is their general knowledge of military affairs. They have done good service in time of peace, and probably could continue to do so. But this is not a time of peace. This is a time of war, and for its more strenuous duties they are not fit. Therefore they must go. "And let all the people say, Amen!"

But it sets us to thinking, and we have no doubt that many Americans everywhere will have the same thought: Is it not equally desirable to apply the weeding-out process to the civil service, at any rate in the military departments?

Hundreds of chairs and desks and offices at Washington and elsewhere are numerous occupied by men who are loyal and devoted, and who have a good general knowledge of administrative affairs. They have done good service in

time of peace, and could continue to do so; but they are not adequate to the exacting requirements of war time. They are pacifists, in capacity and ability, if not in sentiment; and this is no time for pacifists in any place. They should go.

The opinion is authoritatively expressed that some of these army officers who are now being dismissed were responsible for the failure of the National Guard levies to be more ready for prompt dispatch to the other side. It seems probable that such was the case.

Are these pacifist civilians similarly responsible for the failure of the government to be more ready for the war—with ships, with aeroplanes, with rifles, rapid-fire guns and cannon, and with ammunition?

If so, they should promptly share the fate of the dismissed army officers; giving place to other men, who will be competent to deal with the transcendent issues and requirements of this war.

And let all the people say, Amen!

Safety First

THERE is merit in the suggestion made to the House by Mr. Kitchin, the Democratic floor leader, that a special insignia, consisting of a white band worn on the arm, should be ordered for officers assigned to the non-fighting branches of the army. In the form suggested by Mr. Kitchin it is entirely too sweeping, however, and if adopted would discriminate against many officers of the very finest type who are stationed in America, far from the danger zone, through no desire of their own. These officers are rendering invaluable service at Washington and other centers of military activities in training and equipping our armies.

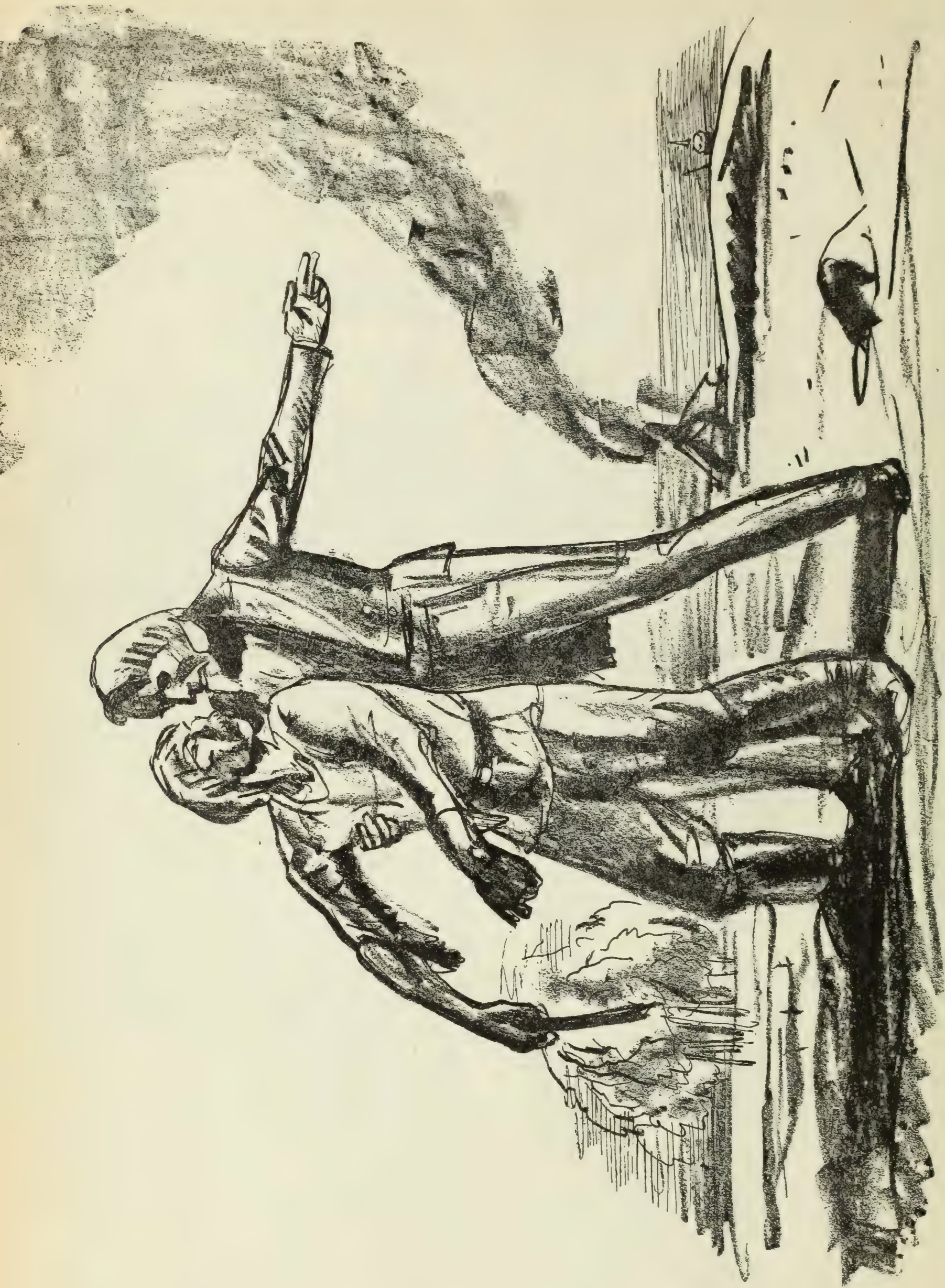
It is not this class of highly respected men that Mr. Kitchin desires to label as slackers, if we understand the meaning of his proposal aright, although his statement has been construed so that every officer other than those assigned to troops would be included in the white ribbon class. It is the large and increasing number of men of draft age, who have used political influence at Washington to get commissions in the non-fighting branches of the service, that the gentleman from North Carolina is really desirous of segregating, we feel.

It is the slackers of this type, who are drawing pay and emoluments from the government while disgracing the uniform they have donned to protect them from the trenches, that should be labelled so that no man—or woman—could mistake them for soldiers. It is this type of gentry that is filling the drawing rooms and restaurants of Washington and other cities while their brothers are filling their places in the trenches, who should wear the white ribbons.

Since the date of the second draft was announced Washington has been filled with applicants who desire to join this group in getting commissions in the safe branches of the service. They are tugging away at every conceivable string to get into an office's uniform before General Crowder gets them into the draft.

Recent criticism in Congress has caused the War Department to take a census of this selected class now stationed at the War Department and in other safe quarters, for the purpose of evolving some plan whereby they be got out of sight. We are told that there are approximately 2,000 of them in the service. The scandal has become so great that it is tending to undermine the spirit of men in the national armies who feel that a premium is being placed on those with a yellow streak.

If Mr. Kitchin evolves a plan whereby only those who deserve the white ribbons shall get them we will do our bit to help him have the regulations enforced, providing he honors us by accepting the suggestion that "SAFETY FIRST" be printed on the bands in bold, black letters.



A LAST APPEAL

... the people of the United States is with the people of Russia in the attempt to free themselves forever from autocratic government and become masters of their own fate.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Week

WASHINGTON, March 29, 1918.

THE Spring Drive is on. It is indeed doubly on. It is on at the Western Front of the Great War, in France and Flanders, where it was expected and where preparations to meet it were made—by our alert and resolute Allies. It is also on at Washington, where not a single ostrich seemed to expect it and where preparations to meet it were conspicuous chiefly for their paucity.

Without reference to the *lucus a non lucendo* manifestoes of our own War Office, it is obvious that the struggle which began in Picardy at the end of last week is the greatest in respect of numbers, and one of the greatest in importance, that the war has seen. In the latter respect we cannot rank it above either the Marne or Ypres; for loss of the Marne would have meant the fall of Paris and the loss of Ypres would have given the Huns control of the shore of the Channel, while the loss of this battle would not necessarily mean any such thing. Still, a German victory would be so very grave a disaster for civilization that we must be devoutly thankful for the substantial assurance that the Allied lines are holding and will hold, unbroken. If they do thus hold, the Germans will be defeated, even though they have gained much ground. They will be morally and practically defeated if they fail to break completely the Allied line. For the latter is what they specifically set out to do.

We may indeed regard this as the last desperate effort of the Huns to obtain decision of the war in their favor. Note the advantageous circumstances. Great Britain and France were worn and tired, almost beyond the limit of human endurance. Russia was out of it. America, after nearly a year, was not yet in it to any significant degree. The conquest of Russia had enormously heartened both German army and German nation, and had released hundreds of thousands of seasoned troops to be transferred from the East to the West Front. Never since the first fierce rush to the environs of Paris had the situation been so opportune. Never had it been so imperative, either.

For on the one hand the German people realized the chance which lay before them and were increasingly insistent that it should be improved; and on the other hand there was the danger—frankly, we cannot say the certainty—that longer delay would mean enormous reëforcement of the Allies with American troops and supplies. In these circumstances the Kaiser struck. He himself has declared it to be the decisive blow, and in spite of that great liar's saying so, we may well believe that to be true.

It has been struck without surprise, and without new inventions; since the theatrical bombardment of Paris from a distance of sixty-odd miles is scarcely to be seriously regarded. The Huns have relied simply upon massed brute force. Reckoning themselves to be, thanks to the Bolshevik betrayal of the Allies, superior in numbers, they have sought to break through the Allied lines by sheer weight, or to win by giving man for man in slaughter and thus by having men of their own left when the Allies were destroyed. It has been met with complete readiness, and with the resolution and resource which have distinguished the Allies from the beginning. The Allied line has bent, but it has not broken and it will not break. It has retreated, but it has not been routed and it will not be routed.

For this assurance, however, we have to thank the war-worn, long-enduring Allies; not ourselves. What they are saying or are thinking of us, we do not know, and we dread to imagine. But if they are charitably refraining from applying to us the historic reproach of Crillon, we cannot escape taking it to ourselves and saying, "They have fought a great battle, and we were not there!" Your pardon; but we were there. Dispatches are said to indicate that no fewer than two regiments of American troops were engaged somewhere on the line. Two regiments; and there were a million men on each side. Two regiments; from a nation of a hundred millions. Two regiments; to "make the world safe for democracy."

Listen! We entered this war a year ago. We were told—we told ourselves—that it was the psychological moment. Our Allies were weary and worn and could not hold out much longer. The winning of the war depended upon our speedy aid. It was a great thing for us, with our almost illimitable resources of men and munitions, to cast our weight into the balance and thus assuredly turn the scale. We bade them to hold out just a little longer, and we would be with them. A year ago. They have held out. Now, after a year of waiting, the supreme crisis comes. And we, who a year ago were so vaingloriously talking of turning the scale, provide two regiments, among two millions—and they are railway engineers.

This, too, we owe to the Bolsheviks. We have said that it is to the Bolsheviks of Russia that we owe the drive

itself and the vastly increased numbers of the Hunnish hordes. It is no less to the Bolsheviki of America that we owe our own unpreparedness to play our part in meeting the drive. We may ridicule or scorn or condemn Lenine and Trotzky for throwing down Russia's arms in the crazy hope that the proletariat of Germany would compel the Hohenzollerns to stop the war; and they deserve all that we may thus pour upon them. But it was the chief War Lord of America who a year ago thought that there was no occasion to get excited or anxious or hurried over a war that was three thousand miles away. Does he think so still, we wonder? Are the Great Twin Brethren altogether proud of the part that America, after a year of preparation, is playing in the Spring Drive?

The drive is on in Washington, as well as in Picardy; and it is a mighty good thing for it to be on. General Leonard Wood's report of conditions "over there" was sufficient in itself to provoke an administrative Armageddon, but it was scarcely a marker to what came out on Tuesday in the Senate. One Bounding Bolshevik from Arkansas—one of the President's "wilful twelve," who had been "agin the war" and "agin the draft" and against pretty much everything except the Hun—strove to stall by declaiming, "By God, I'm against any open session that is going to criticise the War Department!" So sacrosanct are the Great Twin Brethren in the Bolshevik eyes. But his protest was as futile as a grasshopper against a tank. There followed this illuminating colloquy:

"I take it," said Senator Johnson, "that the Senator (Mr. New) knows just what the situation is, and therefore I want to ask him what was the aircraft programme for July 1 of this year?"

"I think," replied Mr. New, "that the original programme called for delivering in France 12,000 combat planes by the first of next July."

"Then I ask the Senator," pressed Mr. Johnson, "how many were delivered or how many will this government deliver on the first day of July in France?"

Said Mr. New, "Thirty-seven!"

"It is reported," continued Mr. Johnson, "that it has been stated in testimony before the Military Committee that without let or hindrance German planes are flying over the trenches so low that our boys are shooting at them with revolvers. I want to know whether that is the testimony before the Military Committee?"

Said Mr. New: "It is."

"Then," said Senator Johnson, "I say that there is just one way to correct this sort of outrage upon American youth, and that way is, in the language of a distinguished executive, 'pitiless publicity.'"

We are not surprised that the occupants of the galleries applauded Hiram's remark; which surely must meet with the equally cordial approval of the President of the United States.

Search as you will, the Congressional Records, covering the legislative proceedings of the Republic for the last hundred years, and you will find no such pathetic spectacle as that presented when Senator Overman, spokesman for the administration, begged his colleagues not to speak the truth lest they throw the American people into a panic. We quote from the verbatim account reproduced in the *Times*:

Senator Overman sprang from his seat, and, advancing to the aisle, interrupted the Washington Senator.

"Does the Senator think this is the proper time, admitting everything he says is true, to discourage the American people in the saddest hour of our history during the war?" demanded the North Carolinian. "Does he think it the proper course to take on the floor of the Senate? Sometimes silence is golden."

"I infer from what the Senator says," returned Senator Poindexter, "that if these things are true we should remain silent. I remained silent a long time."

"But the Senator is taking this opportunity when I say we are in great distress to discourage the American people, when we need to be enthused instead of disheartened," urged Senator Overman.

"This isn't going to discourage the American people," insisted Mr. Poindexter.

"It discourages everybody," argued Mr. Overman. "Now is the time for all men to be true and to be silent about these matters that we admit to be true."

"I don't agree with the Senator," retorted Mr. Poindexter. "I think there comes a time, after a while, when silence and forbearance are a fault. I will tell you that it is the duty of the Senator from North Carolina and of every other patriotic citizen not to be silent, but to exert ourselves to improve the administration and the efforts of the Government in this war."

"The Senator is here criticising the Administration for its mistakes while it is doing the best it can to carry on the war," said Senator Overman.

"I am here to point out what the Senator is seeking to cover up—an undisputed and scandalous failure of the Administration," Senator Poindexter retorted.

"I admitted that what the Senator had said was true," conceded Senator Overman, "but I asked the Senator, admitting it to be true, if this was the proper time for the Senate to be throwing it out to the American people when they ought to be enthused. I say we ought to correct these mistakes, but in the proper way. Every man on the floor wants to correct them. Every man here, I think, is a patriot. Why does the Senator stand here at this time, when we are in a serious condition, to make the people of America unhappy and discourage them? This is not the time."

"How can everybody get together and correct the errors, if everybody does not know about the errors?"

"The point I make is that the Senator from Washington is stirring up trouble in the country."

"If it stirs up trouble, in order to point out the actual situation we are in, with a view of remedying that situation, with a view of remedying this policy of nonproduction and removing the secret influences and mysterious blight that have thwarted the efforts of the Administration, then it is time to understand that situation in order that everybody, as the Senator from North Carolina says, may unite to bring about a successful issue of the war."

"My point is that the Senator is not going about it in the right way. I do not believe, if he will allow me to say so, in the best way to do it at this time."

We hope that General Leonard Wood is not incurring the fate of Senator Chamberlain. The latter gentleman, for speaking some unwelcome but wholesome truths about the government's lack of efficiency in speeding up the war, was austere proclaimed to be an actual falsifier and a potential traitor. Now, here is General Wood speaking right out in meeting to the same effect, only more so. What shall be done with him?

Let us note the circumstances and the facts. General Wood is the senior general officer of the United States Army. With all due credit to others, he is commonly and justly regarded as the foremost American military authority. He is a man of cautious and judicial temperament and prudent speech. He has just returned from a prolonged period of observation and active service at the actual battle front. There is thus lacking no essential element or circumstance which would invest his words with the most serious weight. And what are his words?

That while we have many competent airmen near the front we have no airplanes, and the French cannot spare us any, wherefore our lines at the front are practically unprotected by aircraft, and are subject to attack by Germans who swoop down to within pistol shot, firing upon our men and spying out their positions.

That experts "over there" believe that our much-vaunted but long-delayed "Liberty motor" will not after all be as good for fighting purposes as those made in France and England.

That there are practically no American guns in France, though there is urgent need of them.

That more ships for transport purposes are absolutely essential to the winning of the war.

That our French Allies, much as they appreciate what we are doing, are disappointed at our not doing more and are surprised at the unsupposed extent of our preparedness.

That our Allies are outnumbered by the Huns, and are in urgent need of our aid in men as well as in supplies.

That General Pershing has a fine staff, that the Expeditionary force is a fine body of troops, and that the National Army is a fine organization, which should be moved to France at the earliest possible date.

That our Allies are going to check and hold the German drive, and perhaps make a counter-drive, even though they are outnumbered; an expectation which does not in the slightest degree lessen the imperative need of our making haste, haste, haste.

Such is General Wood's testimony. We shall scarcely expect to hear it contradicted as untruthful, or denounced as German propaganda; and we should be much surprised to have him ordered to keep silent.

We shall, of course, not dispute the proposition that our great pacifist Secretary of War is one of the ablest public officials ever known. But we would respectfully suggest that even he, when he returns for his fleeting glimpse of the "Frontier of Freedom," might do well to consider whether some of the conditions reported by General Wood are quite compatible with the highest degree of efficiency and with the utmost expedition in prosecuting the war. He took profound satisfaction a few weeks ago in giving us the inspiring assurance that nine machine guns had been provided for our forces. We are certain that a large proportion of the American people would be interested in hearing his explanation of the reason why, after being in the war a year, we have not even so many airplanes at the front.

Of course, the Secretary of War is superior in official rank to a mere Major General of the Army, and it may be that some prefer the military judgment of a pacifist to that of a soldier who long ago compromised himself by advocating preparedness at a time when the nation was supposed to be "too proud to fight." Yet there are many Americans who knew Leonard Wood as a brave and accomplished commander and a wise and prudent counsellor before they had even so much as heard of the existence of Newton D. Baker.

We hereby acknowledge receipt of the following communication addressed to the *Review of Reviews* but delivered by a characteristic Burleson mischance to us:

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 20, 1918.

DEAR SIR:

It may be of interest for you to know that the German propaganda is making use in Holland, and perhaps elsewhere, of the following paragraph which they attribute to the *NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*:

"When one considers that it costs America fourteen times as much as Germany to keep the same number of soldiers in the fighting line, and that the maintenance of every American soldier on the European front requires the uninterrupted labor of four men in America, then America's task appears to be a much greater one than was originally thought. Up till now Germany has won the war against the majority of the whole world, and still has the upper hand. So we have to win back first what Germany has conquered. It is not such an easy matter now as it would have been a year or six months ago. For, since then Russia has gone mad, and Italy has bitten the dust. The difficulties of this necessary task have been increased fourfold. That is why we are passing through the most difficult time since the Battle of the Marne."

Yours very sincerely,

I-MAP

WILL IRWIN, H.

What we really said—in the December number of *THE REVIEW*—is this:

So now it seems safe to assume that at last, whether the President is leading the people or, as Mr. Roosevelt suggests, the people are leading the President, we have reached a firm foundation, from which to pursue a definite purpose. But the attainment is none the less easy; indeed, when we consider that it costs us fourteen times as much as it costs Germany to keep an equal number of soldiers on the firing line and that the maintenance of every one requires the continuous labor of four men at home, the undertaking seems even greater than we had supposed.

Nevertheless, it can be done if we first find and then retain a true perspective. So far, we have only been leaping grandly into the dark; now the time has come when we should proceed more sagaciously, more soberly and more prudently, in the light of events which have evolved a recognizable situation. Every step and every act, from this day forward, beginning with the reassembling of Congress, should be taken with a view to prosecuting a mighty

war for at least five years. Accept that as a basis of calculation, reckoning all proposals with respect to finance, manufacture, transportation, aeroplanes, ships, munitions and men accordingly, and our whole scheme of preparation for ultimate but certain triumph will be revised necessarily and at once.

It does not suffice to say glibly that Germany can never win against the whole world; she has won up to date against a preponderant portion of the whole world and is still winning; what we have to do is not merely to prevent her from continuing her devastations but to win back what she has won—and more. It is, as we have said, not an easy task, nothing like as easy as it would have been a year or six months ago; since Russia has gone mad and Italy has bitten the dust, the magnitude of the essential undertaking has increased fourfold. And that is why we say that this is the darkest moment since the battle of the Marne.

But we do not despair; we are not even dismayed. Our mental gaze cannot pierce the cloud but our moral vision tells us that its lining is of silver; it must be; and we shall find it, never fear! Are we losing the war? No. But we are not winning it—and we have far, very far, to go.

This is quite different, of course, from the unidentified "German propaganda" alleged by the Committee on Public Information, comprising Mr. George Creel, Chairman, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, to have been made use of in Holland "and perhaps elsewhere." The points of differentiation in expression, construction and intent are so obvious that we need not bother with them. What does interest us casually is why Will Irwin, H. (I-Map) should have taken so much trouble to misquote us at the behest of Mr. George Creel, Chairman, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy. Can't he read? Or has no member of this gorgeous Committee—frankly we have in mental perspective the Secretary of State as the only one worthy of consideration—sufficient regard for truth and decency to insist upon verification of statements unlikely upon their face ever to have been made? There is no occasion for mincing matters. This misrepresentation was put forth deliberately to discredit *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*,—not openly and squarely, but furtively, in such a way as might induce cunning use by lickspittles. The matter is of the slightest interest to us. We have only to remark in passing that every member of the Committee who fails to repudiate such dastardly business will be registered upon our far-reaching memory as a common skunk. As for Will Irwin, H., we have only to note with regret his disregard of verisimilitude in failing to sign "Cordially and sincerely yours," when addressing Dr. Albert Shaw, who holds our admiration for having won from a personally favoring Post-office Department the privilege of fast-mail service while all like magazines are dispatched intermittently by freight.

Senator New's proposal for the immediate military training of all able-bodied young men between the ages of 18 and 21 excites the opposition, we are told, of all the pacifists, Bolsheviks, Huns and fools, damned or otherwise, beneath the Freedom-capped dome and elsewhere. We are not surprised. It is just the kind of sensible, practical, patriotic measure that would be likely to cause the heathen to rage. For us, we are for it, partly because we are for universal military training all round and all the time, and partly because, whether we have that or not, we think prudence requires such training of the young men who may be wanted in this present war. There is a grave possibility that this war will last for several years yet. It surely will unless somebody "gets a move on" to better effect than our own country has been doing. In that case, we shall have to call a great many more men to the colors, and next year we shall want to call those who are coming of age this year, and the year after we shall want those who are now only nineteen, and the year after that those who are now eighteen. The simplest horse sense suggests that we should now begin training the men whom we may want in the next two or three years. But of course for a man to be prepared for the duties which may lie before him is to the pacifist an unpardonable sin.

Mr. Hurley Talks

BUT for the tragedy of it all, Tuesday evening, when Mr. Hurley made his widely heralded laudation of his own shipbuilding operations would have been really amusing. One can imagine the tables surrounded by real shipping men, men who have had their vessels taken out of their hands and operated at a thirty per cent efficiency during the past six months, men who saw the fiasco coming a year ago, men who have writhed in torment ever since to watch the utter mismanagement of their own industry by landlubbers, men who have known the *real facts* from the first, men of true patriotism who have realized to the full the atrocious stupidity of it all and the terrible danger which threatened their country and the war as a result of it, men who recognized their own utter helplessness in the face of the political machine—one can imagine these distinguished shipping men, courteous and attentive, listening to the gabble of the individual who more than anyone else is responsible for the whole mess, and bowing their heads because they were ashamed—because they were ashamed for their country and for him.

It is as bad as that, although the country has not yet awakened to the full significance of the disaster. Mr. Hurley himself does not know how bad it is. He has never comprehended his job, and he will never be able to comprehend why he has failed. So we must be ashamed for him—and for those who have supported him because he had been chosen and hence could do no wrong.

"It is only recently that America awoke to the vital need of ships," said Hurley to these men. Think of it—to *these men*! "At a belated hour came the realization that constant supplies must go to our boys already on the fighting line," he went on. Is it his idea that we ever proposed to keep our boys intermittently supplied? "At a belated hour came the realization that without ships we can neither keep up the line of supply nor get our new armies to the front."

These are Hurley's words to the National Marine League of the U. S. A. Think of it! Did the diners rise up in their wrath and pitch him out of the window for an insulting charlatan? Presumably not; the episode would have been reported in the papers. Yet the very men to whom he was talking were the men who realized these things the moment America entered the war, who have realized them every moment since that time, who foresaw the whole bitter tragedy; while *he*, the one responsible, was probably the only man present to whom the true situation had come as a belated revelation!

"We were faced with the necessity of creating an entirely new industry," said the chairman of the Shipping Board. "We had to undertake a job that would have daunted anyone but America." He had just been saying that all the shipyards of the country were full when the Shipping Board took charge. Did he expect to convince his hearers that the ships which were then building did not at once constitute the major part of the Shipping Board's asset, or that they were not already accounted for on the Allied shipping programme? Most of the ships which he has launched so far have been these commandeered ships which he took over last August and for which he has the impudence to claim credit when they slip off the ways.

Does Hurley himself know that they would have slipped off the ways a good deal sooner if they had not been commandeered by the Shipping Board? His hearers at Delmonico's the other evening did.

"It took Germany forty years to build up her military machine," said Mr. Hurley. "In less than eight months we have built up a shipbuilding machine, which, when it gets into full swing, will defeat the military machine of Germany."

How will this sound in France and England, where they know what it takes to defeat the military machine of

Germany? How will it sound to our Allies who *know the facts* about American shipbuilding?

And what did Mr. Hurley say, when he came his announced "hitherto unpublished data"? This is what he said:

"There are two methods for computing the construction of tonnage to show what is accomplished. One is by showing the tonnage in the water. The other is by showing the tonnage under construction. But when a great many ships are put under construction at the same time, the question to be asked is, how are they all progressing; how near to completion is the vast programme? Here is the answer. *The total amount of steel construction on March 1 was 8,205,708 deadweight tons. This is made up of 5,160,300 deadweight tons under contract with the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and 3,045,408 deadweight tons of requisitioned vessels.*"

What does the man mean? Does he mean to give the impression that 8,000,000 tons of steel ships are under construction in America today? Heavens above! But no, he crawls out of it by referring, in the next sentence, to 5,000,000 tons "under contract." Those old familiar contracts!

Well, then, does he mean that there are 3,000,000 tons of requisitioned ships under construction in America today? Does the country know that a good proportion of these requisitioned ships are also "under contract"; that is, that the contracts as well as the ships on the stocks were requisitioned when the yards were taken over last summer?

We defy anyone to interpret what Mr. Hurley means by these figures. But certainly he intends to convey the impression to the country that a good many millions of tons of steel ships are now under construction.

This is not true.

The facts are that America today has less than 2,000,000 tons of steel ships actually under construction, and that the rest of the programme is merely contracts and promises. The new yards to build the surplus have yet to be put into operation. The labor situation has yet to be solved. A hundred and one factors will determine the output of ships for 1918. But is it safe to say that 3,000,000 tons would be a generous promise for all that we can do in the present year?

"Of this total," Mr. Hurley goes on, "2,121,586 deadweight tons, or approximately twenty-eight per cent, has been completed." Since when, may we ask, if it is a fair question? America launched less than a million tons of steel ships in 1917. Does Mr. Hurley intend to go back half a century for justification of his astonishing statements? What can the man be thinking of?

Wisconsin

IT is not impossible that on Wednesday next, April 6, we shall all be able to think of Wisconsin with complacency. But nothing could be more unsatisfactory than the spectacle that the political situation in that State presents at this moment. The Vice-President of the United States is stumping the State in behalf of one of the two loyal candidates for the Senatorship, and warning the people that the election of the other loyal candidate would be interpreted as a German victory. This may possibly be true; it may be true, too, that Mr. Marshall is justified in pressing the issue as he sees it. The only thing certain, however, is that, if true, 'tis pity—a thousand pities 'tis, if true.

Such a situation should never have been permitted to arise. The danger of it was plain before the primaries were held. One of the two loyal candidates for the Republican nomination withdrew early from the contest, in order that the candidate of the disloyalists might not win the nomination through division of the loyal vote. Had it not been for the performance of this act of patriotic duty by ex-Governor McGovern, the La Follette candidate would to-day have been the Republican nominee for the Senator-

ship; as it was, Lenroot won only by a squeak. But when this first phase of the danger has been safely—though barely safely—passed, it was clear that there still stood before the people of Wisconsin an ominous conjunction of sinister forces in the final contest. Berger, the Socialist candidate, will be supported by no less than three elements. The genuine Socialists will vote for Berger. The pro-Germans of every shade, from outright disloyalty to milk-and-water semi-pacifism, will vote for Berger. And, in spite of the formal support given to Lenroot by the La Follette crowd, nobody knows how many votes may be cast for Berger by the henchmen and followers of La Follette, who, it must never be forgotten, besides all his other delightful peculiarities, is a political boss and organizer of the most dangerous type. With the loyal vote divided between Davies and Lenroot, we are face to face with the possibility that this formidable combination may succeed in capturing the United States Senatorship. We do not believe that this will happen; but if it should happen, it will be a grave blow to the nation.

There are not many States in the Union, thank Heaven, where anything so sinister as this situation can arise. But there are some States in which something comparable in significance to it may occur, and there are many Congressional districts in which precisely the same problem will present itself next fall. It is time that true men in all parts of the country were awakening to a full realization of the duty that this situation imposes. There is only one thing that matters about the next Congress, and upon this one thing we must centre all our efforts. If party stands in the way of it, we must forget party. The one thing that we must have is a Congress that is determined to win the war—a Congress that will not flinch from the task whatsoever the coming months, the coming years, if it must be, may bring forth. There are many parts of our duty in the mighty struggle that it is now physically impossible for us to fulfil. We cannot have ships, or aircraft, or guns, or trained soldiers in the numbers in which they are needed at this time, or in the numbers in which they will be needed next fall. But there is one thing we *can* do. We can show that we are in this war with all our heart and with all our strength. There is no limit to the completeness with which we can do this duty, except such as may be set by our own unworthiness. And if we do it completely, we shall not only, so far as in us lies, be vindicating the nation's honor, and shall not only be preparing for great deeds on land and sea in the coming months or years. We shall be instantly putting into action a mighty force that makes for victory. When the stupendous battle now raging in Picardy has come to an end, when the mighty hosts again confront each other in grim expectation, it is of America that both sides will be thinking when they turn their minds to the future. America, aligned with England and France as firmly and devotedly as they are aligned with each other, means to them the assurance of triumphant deliverance; it means to Germany the conviction of impending doom. That assurance among our friends, that conviction among our foes, will be worth twenty army corps to the cause of liberty. Shall we withhold this one great contribution that it is in our power to give? Shall we stint it through sluggishness of mind or meanness of spirit? Or shall we rise to the occasion and forget all lesser matters in the presence of the one great issue?

The Paternal Rake's Progress

SHALL the officially determined price of wheat be fixed at a higher figure? The controversy rages, with zealous protagonists on either side, and with the result as yet in doubt. That it is a question of much immediate importance is indisputable. It is of importance to the farmers who grow the wheat, to know whether they are to get \$2.20 or \$2.50 a bushel for it. It will mean hundreds of millions of dollars to them. Obviously it is of at least equal

importance to the people everywhere who eat wheat flour, to know whether they are to pay probably three dollars a barrel more for it than now. But it means ever so much more than that.

Remember the tumbling blocks of childhood. You stood them on end, in a row, less than their length apart; then tipped the end one over, and, each falling against the next, they all went down. It is just so, only in reverse direction, with prices of commodities. Put one up, and they will all go up; either because they are actually forced up by each other, or through sympathy or by way of "improving the opportunity." If the price of wheat rises, the price of flour must rise; and the price of bread; and the wages of the man who eats the bread; and the prices charged for the commodities which that man makes at the factory; and so on. They are all linked together.

Moreover, there is a valid argument for equality or uniformity of treatment. If the government guarantees that the wheat-grower shall get a certain price for his wheat, there is a logical demand that it shall similarly guarantee the prices to be had for potatoes, and milk, and beef; for coal, for cotton and for oil; for steel rails and for lumber and for bricks; for labor on the farm and in the factory. If it is paternal in the one case, it should be in all.

There is much danger, too, of fixing wrong prices; too high, so as to encourage profiteering, or too low so as to impair industry. We have had an example in the coal business. The Secretary of the Interior and the coal operators fixed it at a price which if maintained would doubtless have prevented last winter's fuel famine. The Secretary of War overruled them and fixed the price at a lower figure, and the result was nation-wide distress. The same danger exists in every case in which the government essays such action.

This is of course not said by way of disapproval of all price-fixing by the government. We are quite willing to concede that as a war measure some such arrangement may in some cases be necessary. Even so, we are by no means convinced that a subsidy system would not be preferable to price-fixing. Suppose, for example, that it were demonstrated to be necessary that farmers should get 30 cents a bushel more for their wheat, in order to enable and encourage them to engage in production on the largest possible scale; and that instead of arbitrarily raising the price of wheat and therefore of wheat products to the people, the government were to pay a bounty of 30 cents a bushel to wheat-growers, and let the market price of wheat, and all others dependent upon it, remain unchanged. The people would be paying the bounty, of course, by way of the United States Treasury, just the same as in the other case they would be paying the higher price for wheat. But they would escape the general disturbance of prices of other commodities which would be inevitably consequent upon price-raising.

We are aware that the very name "subsidy" or "bounty" has an odious sound to democratic ears, and we concede that the thing itself has at times been grossly abused. But we do not know that "sumptuary legislation" has any pleasanter sound. In fact, we pretty clearly remember hearing the latter denounced unsparingly as an undemocratic and iniquitous thing. In time of war it may be necessary to do many things which we would not do in peace. But between two evils it is prudent to choose the lesser, and especially to choose that one the evil influences of which will be least widely extended. Just because it seems necessary, or is necessary, for the producers of certain commodities to receive higher prices for their goods, is no reason for plunging into a regular rake's progress of official price-tinkering, until democracy is transmogrified into paternalism.

Secretary Daniels

IN these times of disappointments and failures, it is indeed gratifying to be able to chronicle the fact that at least one branch of the national defense has lived up to

its very best traditions and has merited all the confidence that a devoted people has reposed in it. We refer to the Navy.

When the House Naval Affairs Committee ordered an investigation of the service some weeks ago we feared that all of the revelations would not be thoroughly agreeable, but to our surprise and delight, Republicans joined Democrats in preparing a report which gave Mr. Daniels and his administration the most unstinted praise. Had the report been signed by none but Democrats we would have discounted its findings, but when such bellicose Republicans as Fred Britten announce their complete satisfaction with the management of the Navy, none except a hypercritical partisan can remain in doubt.

The following paragraphs present, in tabloid form, the committee findings:

"First. All appropriations have been expended or obligated with judgment, caution, and economy, when you consider that haste was necessary to bring results and abnormal conditions obtained in reference to all problems of production or operations.

"Second. The Navy, with limited personnel and matériel, was suddenly called to face many difficult and untried problems in sea warfare, and has met the situation with rare skill, ingenuity, and dispatch, and a high degree of success.

"Third. The efficiency of the Navy's prewar organization, the readiness and fitness of its men and ships for the difficult and arduous tasks imposed by war were early put to the acid test and thus far in no way have they been found wanting, and we feel that the past 12 months presents for the Navy a remarkable record of achievement, of steadily increasing power in both personnel and matériel, of rapidly expanding resources, and of well-matured plans for the future, whether the war be of long or short duration.

"Our committee undertook this investigation expecting to find that no matter how well in the main the Navy had made its expansion into a war force we would find some matters subject to adverse criticism. We brought with us the desire to cooperate with the Navy to the one end, success. An examination of the records will show how little occasion we have had to find fault. Some mistakes have, of course, been made, yet the Navy has shown its strength by the manner of its correction."

During the last five years, in the REVIEW, and more recently in these columns, we have criticised Mr. Daniels freely. We have disagreed with many of his ideas, we have opposed many of his methods, and now that the organization which he administers has made such an excellent record we offer him our sincere congratulations.

We believe that much of the success of the Navy during this trying year may be attributed to the fact that Mr. Daniels has shown rare discernment in surrounding himself with the best brains in the service.

We congratulate him for having picked excellent advisers; we congratulate him for having followed their advice, and we congratulate him on having made the best record that any Secretary of the Navy has made since William C. Whitney administered that office.

To the Earl of Reading

A FEW REMARKS ADDRESSED TO THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT THE LOTOS CLUB IN NEW YORK ON MARCH 27.

AS we meet tonight to pay tribute to our distinguished guest we may well recognize at the outset that the time, though filled with anxious hours, as it is, could not be more fitting because it is the day of England's greatest glory in the service of mankind. Never before in her long career has she, never before in the history of the world has any nation, stood more nobly for all that makes life worth living. Pausing first, as I do, and as our guest would have me to do, to salute with gratitude and with reverence our sister France, we all must realize that at this moment, through force of circumstance, the highest honor rightfully attaches to our mother England. Well might our President express to that undaunted host the admiration of the American people of their "splendid steadfastness and valor" and breathe "a perfect confidence" that they will emerge from the frightful conflict

victorious. That we should be bearing so small a portion of the mighty burden is naturally a source of deepest grief but if, as I believe, this is but the beginning of the war, we have yet time to do our full part in a manner worthy of the race from which we sprang. The remark has been attributed to Napoleon that England invariably loses every battle—except the last one. When history shall repeat itself let us of America not only hope and pray but make certain through our unflagging endeavors that, in the final day of triumph, we stand in adequate numbers, shoulder to shoulder, with those resolute British lads who are fighting to the last ditch today to save our lives, our wives, our daughters, and our little children just as surely as they are fighting to save their own.

It would be idle, illusive and harmful to pretend to regard our work of the past year with satisfaction. Who, twelve months ago, would have believed it possible that now we should have begun and finished but two ships and should have in France not one new big gun, not a single battle plane and so small a number of American soldiers? Though we have not failed, we have stumbled sadly. That we all know. But I would not dwell upon the deficiencies of the past. Let us rather turn our eyes to the future in confident anticipation that, though we have profited less than we might have hoped from the mistakes of others, we may from this day forward profit from our own. Primarily, at any rate, we may rest assured that the world is not coming to an end immediately and that if William the Damned continues blasphemously to rely upon the Almighty, he is surely doomed. What above all else we should take to our hearts, as we enter upon this second year of warfare, is the homely old adage that God helps those who help themselves.

We have acted, or have failed to act too long upon the fallacious notion that our belated entrance signaled an early ending of the war. The lesson derived from that false theory we now have learned. Let us then provide at once for an army not of one million nor of two millions, but of five millions, as a minimum and, so far as lies within our power in due time, of ten millions of men, and let us pay no further heed to either the terms or the time of peace. Let us make no more futile attempts to differentiate between Huns who command and Huns who murder. Let us put aside every compassionate thought and crush under heel every kindly sentiment. Let our one and only motto be: Kill Germans; kill them in the greatest numbers possible and by every conceivable honorable means, not as fellow beings, but as mad dogs who must be made to realize that they who take the sword must perish by the sword. It is the only way.

"We accepted this war," said Abraham Lincoln at another crucial period in our national progress. "We did not begin it. We accepted it for an object and when that object is accomplished the war will end and I hope to God it will never end until that object is accomplished."

"Let there be no misunderstanding," said President Wilson. "Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of materials, is being devoted to that purpose until it is achieved."

To each of these two great utterances, upon which we must take our stand irrevocably, let each and every one of us declare solemnly with George Washington "I am ready for any service that I can give to my country."

We cannot all take places upon the battlefield. We can only send those whom we love better than ourselves and await in constant anguish, as some of us here do await tonight, the possible arrival at any moment of the dreaded message.

But there are things that we can do better than they and to hardly less purpose. To my mind, as I behold the situation in Washington, the chief menace at home is the injection of political partisanship. Already the minds and energies of a great number of those to whom we have

entrusted the conduct of affairs are being diverted to the coming Fall campaign. Practically all measures are approached from the viewpoint of personal ambition. Presently large sums of money will be raised and expended, animosities will arise, passions will be stirred and the whole country will be in a turmoil at a time when it should be possessed of but one all engrossing thought and purpose.

Gentlemen, there ought not to be a Federal election this Fall. It is not necessary that there should be one. The matter is one wholly of arrangement and can easily be effected by the leaders of the two great parties, if they will but face the situation in a generously patriotic spirit. It might not be feasible or proper to deprive the sovereign States of their chief prerogative, in the election of Senators, although even this could be done without possibly affecting the result with respect to many, but there is no practical or legal reason why the present membership of the House of Representatives could not or should not be continued as it now stands. The popular branch is now and ought to be in harmony with the Executive. No conceivable advantage could accrue to the country from changing its political complexion.

Doing so would serve only to substitute confusion and discordance for the fixed and definite responsibility which now exists. Certain members should be beaten, but their number is few, their names are known and they are recognized through their acts of infidelity to the country which they dishonor. Against these the two great parties should unite and consign them to the oblivion and disgrace from which they never should have emerged.

True, we must observe the form of an election but there should be but one issue—loyalty to country, to civilization and to God. Thus we would achieve the unity so greatly needed, worth more than a corps of soldiers or a dozen battleships, and without which we might ultimately even fail. The plan is wholly practicable. It is inconceivable that the President would not welcome it. If the politicians should draw back, it would remain only for the people, by men such as you throughout the land, to rise in their patriotism and ardent desire to help to win the war, to compel its adoption. That is one thing, gentlemen, which you and those like you can do. Why don't you?

And there is yet another opportunity of scarcely less importance which may at least be suggested and which bears more pertinently upon the presence of our guest. Precisely as the President has urged upon our Allies the desirability of unified military control and operation, so is there need, a pressing need, of a drawing together in sympathy and in spirit of our Allies and ourselves. Time was, to be sure, a century and more ago, when the clash of arms was heard upon these shores, but the father of the distinguished Associate Justice of our Supreme Court, whose acquaintance the Lord Chief Justice enjoys, accounted for that circumstance when he referred to the misguided monarch of the day as "the snuffy old drone from the German hive," and, if you will glance at your Declaration you will note that it was not against the English people nor against the British Parliament that Jefferson voiced the grievances of the American colonies, but it was exclusively against His Teutonic Majesty. And even as early as 1843, at a great banquet in this city, Daniel Webster, introducing Mr. Aldham of the House of Commons, referred to the revolution as "rather a serious family quarrel which terminated in a manner not particularly disadvantageous to either of us." While, too, we have never regarded as a wholly justifiable or even quite courteous performance the burning of our Capitol, it remained for an English historian to denounce it as not only shameful in itself but "the more shameful in that it was done under strict orders" from that same snuffy old drone from the German hive. "Confidence," moreover, as Lord Chatham remarked, "is a plant of slow growth in an old bosom." So it is really no matter of surprise that from the day, more than a century ago, when Admiral Cockburn put the question "Shall this harbour of Yankee democracy be burned?" no Briton of authority

spoke from the rostrum of our House of Representatives until a few months ago Mr. Balfour made his stirring address. But the vital point was not its being so long in the doing as in its being done at all. And the applause which ensued proved one thing at least,—that we had not forgotten Manila Bay and von Diedrichs and Chichester and our own George Dewey.

Ought not we Americans now to do more than we are doing to cement our union of purpose for the sake, if for nothing else, of mutual encouragement and determination? All of our Allies, France, Italy, Belgium, even Japan, have sent to us their best in character, ability and fame—England most notably of all, and especially at the latest by honoring America with her great Lord Chief Justice, as he in turn honors us by his presence this evening. Recently there have come to me from abroad appeals for return visits from Americans of like or similar standing who can help with their voices, as their sons are helping with their hands and arms in the trenches, and as Henry Ward Beecher helped to make more potent for the saving of our own Union the sympathy of Britain's great and gracious Queen. And there leaps to mind instantly the names of our two former Presidents and Mr. Hughes and Mr. Choate, if he had not died in the service of his country, and most fittingly for England at this time that of our own great, sturdy and eloquent Chief Justice of the United States, Edward D. White. But here I stop lest I be heralded as a constructive critic or as a conscientious objector.

So much has been said of Lord Reading and so truly and graciously said that I could hope only to indulge in thankful repetition. No man, some one has remarked, can be complete unless he have both a vocation and an avocation, and that often it happens that he profits from a definite reversal of the two. Let us hope that Lord Reading, whose vocation is the law and justice and whose avocation is diplomacy and friendship, may find this aphorism to be true, and so rejoice our hearts by remaining with us, to our infinite satisfaction, for many, many years.

Our compliments to the Seamen's and Firemen's Union of Great Britain. Generally speaking, we don't approve strikes, and particularly the kind of strike which that organization threatens. But in this case, bully for them! They have decided that they will serve on no vessels which carry delegates to the "Inter-Allied Labor Conference." "We will," they say, "take no one who is opposed to the doctrine that Germany must make compensation to dependents of our murdered seamen." So if any such delegates want to come across to the United States to try to Bolshevize us, they will have to sail on other vessels than those manned by this Union. The only criticism of their stand which we would make is, that it is not as broad as it might well be. Greater questions are involved than the mere compensation specified. It would be well to have equally strenuous opposition made to any such delegates on any errand connected with the war. The prosecution of this war and the making of peace at the end of it are matters entirely too important for any class discussion. They must be dealt with by whole nations and not by classes or parties. The workingmen of America, as of Great Britain, are much interested, but they are interested as integral parts of these nations.

So between the drumfire in the Senate and the sniping outside, the spring drive at Washington is promising some results. It is a pity that the Great Twin Brethren are not here to view it from the side lines. The niftiest little pacifist that ever sat in the seat of Edwin M. Stanton would surely enjoy having a chance to duplicate his justly renowned boast about the "nine Browning guns" with an exultant pointing with pride to the thirty-seven airplanes. Still, we console ourselves with the thought that he is not now three thousand miles away from the war.



WELL DONE, JOSEPHUS!

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Week

WASHINGTON, April 5, 1918.

THREE things have happened on the Western Front this week; all good. (By Western Front we mean the battle line in France and Belgium; not Wisconsin.)

First: The Hindenburg Drive is checked. That means, by the grace of God, that it is defeated. It was by far the most formidable of all the Hunnish attacks, save possibly the first of all, which was checked and defeated at the Marne. In some respects it was more formidable even than that, since it comprised for the first time not only German but also Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops, and also for the first time comprised the bulk of the former eastern as well as the western armies of the Central Powers. But it is checked.

True, it has gained much ground; a triangle with a hypotenuse of fifty and a base of forty miles; say an area of a thousand square miles. That is considerable. But we are inclined to think that, in Ben Franklin's phrase, the Hun has paid too much for his whistle. It is estimated that he has lost 400,000 men in the drive. Good! That means 400 men for every square mile of land. At that rate we should be glad to designate about ten thousand square miles of land on the map, which we should be delighted to have him occupy on the same terms. A square mile of shell-torn and desolated land is well exchanged, temporarily, for four hundred killed or disabled Huns. Or look at it from another angle: Four hundred thousand Huns have fallen, to one hundred thousand of the Allies; four to one. Now it is a terrible thing to have a hundred thousand clean, decent, civilized Frenchmen and Britons and Belgians and Americans stricken down in battle with wild beasts. Yet nothing is more obvious than what the end of such a campaign must be. It means extermination of the beasts.

We say that this checking of the great drive means its defeat. That is because the drive has failed in its object, which was to break the Allied line. That line is bended,

but unbroken; and it will not break. Moreover, once halted, once deprived of its momentum, there is little possibility of the drive's being effectively renewed. It began on a plane of least resistance; but it would have to begin again on one of greatest resistance. To employ a homely simile, the drive is in the plight of a motor car stalled midway up a hill of increasing steepness. On the level ground before reaching the hill, and on the easy grade at the beginning of the ascent, it got up full power and went at the hill with a mighty rush. But the rush was not sufficient to carry it "over the top." Just where the steepest grade began it came to a dead stop. What chance has it of developing sufficient power to do what it could not do under its original impulse? Yes; we say that the checking of the Hindenburg Drive is good, gloriously good.

Second: General Foch is appointed Generalissimo of all the Allied forces; which is triply good. It is good because it is well for those forces to be under a single command. No matter how closely separate commands strive to cooperate, they cannot equal absolute unity. It is because of their singleness of supreme command that the armies of the Central Powers have had much of their advantage over the Allies. "Divide and conquer" is a sound maxim, objectively. "Unite and conquer" is at least equally sound and imperative, subjectively. Again, it is good to have such a man as Foch appointed to the place. The man who at the crucial moment of a great battle could calmly report that one of his wings was crushed and the other was routed, but that he was attacking with his centre, was instinct with the highest and most triumphant genius of warfare. Never before had the principle of "playing both ends against the middle" such a converse interpretation as that. And he did it, and he won. That is the kind of commander that we rejoice to see supreme over all the Allied forces. And once more, the appointment is very good, because it is ungrudgingly, cordially, even enthusiastically, acquiesced in by all the Allies, and thus they are welded together, mentally and spiritually as well as physically, as they never otherwise could have been. Jefferson once urged our joining Great Britain in a war against some Continental powers, because, he said, "nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting, side by side, in the same cause." Just one thing, however, could and will more strongly tend to knit inter-Allied affections, and that is not merely to be fighting side by side but also to be fighting under the same commander.

Third: Our troops have gone in at last. They have not merely gone in, but they have done so as an integral part of the Allied forces, brigaded with the British and the French. Perhaps that was because their comparatively small numbers made it inexpedient for them to maintain an entirely separate army organization. If so, blame or praise

must be given to the fact of their fewness. If there are those who begrudge and disapprove this merging of American troops into foreign armies, they must blame those persons or conditions that are responsible for our not having ten times as many men over there as we have. On the other hand, those who approve the merging will find therein consolation for the delay in sending our men across the sea. For ourselves, we wish that we had as many men, and as well equipped, as the French or British, so that we could take in hand one-third of the battle front. Seeing that such is not the case, and that we have enough men there merely to "fill in the chinks", we are grateful for the ungrudging readiness with which we adapt ourselves to the situation in which we have involved ourselves. There are no better troops in the world than our own, when they have a fair chance; but not even the best troops in the world need hesitate or think it beneath their dignity to be merged with those who conquered at Ypres and at the Marne.

Therefore we repeat that the week's record in Picardy and all along the Western Front is good; inspiring us to "thank God and take courage." It would be a monstrous shame and reproach to us if on this further western front, here at home, we did not greatly emulate the spirit and achievements of those who are bearing the burden and heat of the day. There is a German drive here to be checked, a drive of devilish propaganda under innumerable guises. There is need of a unified command, of a type and temper that uses the iron heel instead of the pussyfoot. There is need for complete identification of ourselves with our Allies who have shown their eagerness to identify themselves with us. It is a world war; it must have a world spirit and a world control, with as complete coordination among the governments and peoples of the Allies as there is among their armies in the field. And the events of the last week have made us one of the Allies, in body, in mind and in soul—which is perhaps the best of all the week's good things.

The country rejoiced to hear that Leonard Wood, our senior Major-General and most famous commander, was pronounced fit as a fiddle by the Examining Board and regretted to hear further that he had been ordered West instead of East. No little surprise was expressed at the President's neglect to obtain from the General first-hand information respecting actual conditions in France at the beginning of the great drive. Assuming, doubtless with full warrant, for the Administration, Mr. David Lawrence of the New York *Evening Post* administered a sharp rebuke to "certain partisan newspapers" for making "a great fuss when General Wood, in his passion for headlines, sought a personal interview with the President."

The fling was as gratuitous as the statement was false. General Wood never asked, directly or indirectly, to see the President. The simple truth is that Senator Thomas, a Democrat and an ardent supporter of the Administration, was so deeply impressed by General Wood's statement to the Military Affairs Committee that he communicated to Secretary Tumulty with utmost earnestness his judgment that the President should send for the General forthwith and obtain from him directly the facts which were so vital to America's participation in the war. Mr. Tumulty replied that the suggestion would be taken "under advisement," and apparently it was. In any case, hearing nothing further, on the following day and again on the third day Senator Thomas repeated his request, only to receive the same answer. Then he gave it up.

Meanwhile the *Sun* depicted with characteristic directness and power the feeling of a bewildered and distressed public. "Is it conceivable," it asked, "that it is not the President's desire and purpose to order General Wood to the White House? The senior Major-General of the United States Army, once its Chief of the General Staff, comes back from the front, where 3,000 miles from the seat of government American troops are in action. He is a skilled and able soldier, whose judgment upon military

facts and military requirements is sound and weighty. The Commander in Chief of the United States Army ought to call the returned soldier before him without the lapse of a single day, and inquire diligently of him concerning his observations and his judgments made on the field of action. If the President permits anything to prevent such a conference he will lose an invaluable opportunity.

"There was once a President who would hardly have allowed a returning General to have his breakfast before he had delivered his report in person and been thoroughly catechized upon it. No consideration whatever would have been allowed to keep the two men apart.

"That is how it should be. The President, more than any other man in the United States, needs what General Wood has to impart."

And again a few days later:

If the thing is conceivable, suppose the war was on this side of the ocean, and Germany were our ally, entering or about to enter the conflict with a common foe. Suppose that one of the highest and most intelligent officers of the German command, General von Ludendorff, for instance, had just returned to headquarters after a personal inspection of conditions at the front in America. Does any human being believe that a week, a day, an hour would pass without the urgent summoning of General von Ludendorff to the presence of a Kaiser eager for every detail of information which the General could give him? But the Kaiser is an autocrat. Is it because the Kaiser is an autocrat that President Wilson studiously avoids doing in the case of General Leonard Wood that which William II. would most certainly do in the case of von Ludendorff? Or is it merely because the President prefers to keep his mind clear of military facts until Secretary Baker reports?

The *Boston Evening Transcript* also remarked less sharply but no less effectively and with obvious restraint:

One of President Wilson's first official acts after he entered the White House was an announcement that General Wood's tenure of office of Chief of Staff would not be interrupted until it expired by law. A year later, at the expiration of his term, the President thought so highly of the General's work that he wrote him a letter of thanks and congratulations, and soon thereafter assigned him to the command of the then most important of all the military departments, the Department of the East, with headquarters at Governor's Island. Since then much has happened to vindicate the vigor and vision of General Wood's plea for preparedness.

Whether the President will yield to the Senatorial plea and accord to General Wood the audience which a Democratic Senator has led in requesting, the people will soon know. They will hope, and they have a right to expect, that the audience will not be denied. They realize that the pressure upon the President's time is severe, and they rejoice when they hear that he has sought a brief respite from his cares at the theatre or in a game of golf, a horseback ride or a motor trip. They are well aware of the importance of preserving the health of the head of the nation at this crucial time. Nevertheless, they will hope, and they have a right to expect, that somehow and some time soon Woodrow Wilson will make and take the time to see and hear Leonard Wood telling what he saw and heard on the Western front.

It is a reasonable request that Senator Thomas, of Colorado, on behalf of his colleagues has left at the White House, and reasonable are the hope and expectation of the people that it will be granted. If the President of France thought it worth while to summon General Wood to an audience, surely the President of the United States can afford to do likewise. France is a democracy, so is the United States, and the life of democracy the world over is at stake.

Needless to say, we sympathize with our distinguished contemporaries, but in justice to the Administration we have to chide them in all kindness for their neglect to take into account the attendant circumstances. Had they done so, they would have learned from their Washington correspondents that the officially registered appointments of the President for the nine days during which General Wood remained in Washington before being shipped off to Kansas were as follows:

Monday, March 25.

2.00 P. M. Newly appointed Minister from Honduras, Antonio Lopez Gutierrez.

2.15 P. M. The Netherlands Minister.

4.30. Senator Hollis.

5.00. Representative Helvering.

5.30. H. E. Wills and F. A. Burgess. (Extend invitation.)

Tuesday, March 26.

- 2.30. Cabinet.
- 4.30. Dr. Franklin Martin.
- 5.00. Senator Wolcott.

Wednesday, March 27.

2.30. War Council—Chairman Hurley, of Shipping Board; McCormick, of War Trade Board; Baruch, of War Industries Board; Secretary McAdoo; Food Administrator Hoover; Fuel Administrator Garfield, Secretary of Navy Daniels, and Acting Secretary of War Crowell.

Thursday, March 28.

- 4.30. Former President Taft and Dr. Lowell.
- 5.00. Commissioner Harris.
- 5.30. E. W. Scudder, editor of *Newark News*.

Friday, March 29.

- 2.15. Hon. Chas. Denby.
- 2.30. Cabinet.
- 4.15. Acting Secretary of War Crowell.
- 4.30. Representative Howard.

Saturday, March 30.

No callers.

Sunday, March 31.

No callers.

Monday, April 1.

- 2.00 P. M. The Archbishop of York.
- 4.30. Governor Gunter, of Colorado.
- 5.00. Mr. George Creel.
- 10.00. Marine Barracks—Army and Navy League Ball.

Tuesday, April 2.

- 2.30. Cabinet.
- 4.30. A Mitchell Palmer.
- 5.00. Dr. Garfield.

It would be the height of impropriety to attempt to surmise the purport or relative importance of these somewhat variegated conferences. Nor does it seem to be necessary. The meetings of the Cabinet and the War Council were as usual. Commissioner Harris is a candidate for Senator against Mr. Hardwick from Georgia, and Representative Howard is from the same State. Former President Taft and President Lowell of Harvard, it may be assumed reasonably, were permitted to call to present a report regarding the work of some Labor Committee with which they are associated. Mr. Scudder is the proprietor of the principal paper of New Jersey, which is to elect a Senator this Fall to succeed the Honorable David Baird, whose appointment by Governor Edge he, oddly enough, approved, possibly with a view to obtaining a Democratic successor, though whom or why it is difficult to imagine. The others were apparently "courtesy calls", with the single exception maybe of Dr. Franklin Martin, recorded in *Who's Who* as First Lieutenant, U. S. A., Medical Reserve Corps, formerly "editor of *Surgery, Gynecology and Obstetrics*."

The multitudinous reasons why the President could not grant Senator Thomas's request that he hear Major General Wood's report of conditions in France are apparent, especially when taken in conjunction with Mr. Richard Washburn Child's painstaking depiction, in *Collier's*, of a desperately contested game of golf in the morning, a motor ride in the afternoon and "an evening at Keith's vaudeville theatre with the 'unchanging five.'"

It is far from our desire to be harsh with Dr. Edward P. Mitchell of the *Sun* and Mr. James T. Williams, Jr., of the *Evening Transcript*, the most distinguished elder and younger journalists of the country, but we cannot refrain from directing their attention to the exquisitely discriminatory language of Mr. David Lawrence, still as of the Administration, who adds both conclusively and rebukingly that "if the President wants to talk about army affairs he consults Major General Peyton C. March",—whom incidentally he never in his life has seen.

The outstanding fact about the Wisconsin Senatorial election is that Berger is beaten more than 3 to 1. Against every disloyal voter in Wisconsin—pro-German, pacifist, socialist, anything that makes a man unwilling to stand by his country in the supreme struggle for freedom and right—against every such voter Wisconsin can point to more than three who are faithful to the cause of America. That this should be an occasion for rejoicing is a thing that

is in itself far from pleasant; yet it is an occasion for rejoicing. A week ago nobody could be quite certain that Wisconsin would do so well as that; we all felt confident that Berger would be defeated, but there remained a doubt. Now we can all breathe freely; for if Wisconsin is three to one against socialism and disloyalty, there is no question about the overwhelming sentiment of the people in communities more normally American.

Yet there is occasion for a very sobering reflection in the result. Berger's vote was somewhat less than one-fourth of the total; had it been a trifle more than one-third of the total he might have been elected. Lenroot appears to have a comfortable plurality—ten or twelve thousand—over Davies; but the loyal vote is not far from evenly divided between them, and the division might easily have been still more equal. In that case very little more than one-third would have sufficed to elect Berger; and his actual vote did not fall so far short of that proportion as to give one the feeling that his defeat was a practical certainty all along. And his election would have been almost a national calamity. No amount of explanation—no amount of analysis of contributory causes, or pointing to division of the loyal vote—would have sufficed to wipe out the fact that an important State of the Union had sent to the Senate a man who stood flatly on the platform that our war is a crime and that the American people demand its abandonment. In any future contingency at all resembling this in Wisconsin, all other considerations must yield to the single purpose of making such a misrepresentation of the American people impossible.

What kind of talk those fellows have been indulging in it is pleasant to recall, now that the Berger offensive has been disposed of. "We claim," said this impudent pro-German on the eve of the election, "that the Congress and the administration violated the mandate of the people as expressed in the peace vote of 1916. It is now for you to say which is right, the jingoes or the common people." Well, Berger has had his answer. And if that is the answer of Wisconsin, with its organized Teutonism, its organized Socialism, and its organized La Folletteism, none but a fool or a liar can have the audacity to question what is the answer of the American people.

As for the contest between Davies and Lenroot, we believe it is a literal fact that outside of Wisconsin not one man in ten cared a straw which would win. Mr. Wilson chose to make the candidacy of Davies an Administration issue. On that issue he has lost; but we do not believe that the result will be regarded as of any national significance whatsoever. Its chief use ought to be that of a lesson to point the futility of the kind of issue that was there sought to be raised. To make the contests of the present year a test of confidence or want of confidence in the Administration is neither desirable nor possible. A little margin one way or the other—a House of Representatives Republican or Democratic by a small majority—will not be interpretable as a proof that the country wishes either to rebuke the President or to assert that his course has been in all respects above criticism. And more than such a slight margin of preponderance there is almost no prospect of either side getting. Why invite the discord, the waste of interest and energy, involved in a contest with nothing substantial for its outcome? Mr. Wilson will be President until March 4, 1921. It is to him that we must look for the steering of the country's course for the carrying out of the measures necessary to win the war. It is right that he should be honestly criticized when there is reason for honest criticism. It is right that he should be defended against criticism that is malicious or wrong-headed. But there is no reason in the world why the broad question of support or non-support of the Administration should be submitted to settlement, or a pretence of settlement, by a multitude of district elections in which that issue cannot be truly drawn, and in which if it were drawn the result could have no more real influence than would the verdict of a lot of college debating societies.

Patriotism vs. Partisanship

IN view of the many misapprehensions respecting our suggestion, put forth at the dinner to Lord Reading, that the country be spared the harmful consequences of a bitter partisan election next November, we wish to say at the outset that we are not in favor of the re-election of President Wilson in 1920. Whether or not we shall be, when the time comes, will depend wholly upon circumstances and conditions which shall then exist and which cannot now be foreseen. Neither, for the same reason, are we in favor of the election of Mr. Roosevelt or of Mr. Hughes or of Mr. Beveridge or of Mr. McAdoo or of Mr. Anybody. Indeed, we can think of nothing more deplorable at this time than public consideration of the relative merits of those who may become candidates. Such discussion serves only to distract the public mind from the mighty work immediately in hand and no good purpose whatever.

What we would do, if we could, is to avert, so far as possible, the inevitable calamities attendant upon a Congressional election in this hour of the Nation's greatest peril,—just that and nothing more. If it were possible, under the Constitution, to permit the country to pass upon the present Government's conduct of the war, to keep the Administration in or to put it out, we are disposed to think that we should approve the proposal. But it is not possible. The President was elected to serve four years, and the political complexion of the Senate cannot, by any conceivable possibility, be changed this year.

Our suggestion has no bearing whatever upon 1920. It is limited to the forthcoming election of a House of Representatives, and the only question is whether it is advisable to engage in unnecessary political strife at home when all of the energies of all our people should be united and utilized to their full, as never before, in the prosecution of our desperate warfare abroad. Surely there can be but one answer to such a question unless the legal or the practical obstacles are found to be insuperable,—and they are not.

What are the objections? "The proposition is unconstitutional," declares Mr. Norman E. Mack, with the finality of one accustomed to predict the election of William Jennings Bryan. "It is a brilliant idea," Representative Moore adds, we assume, sarcastically, "the Constitution would not permit it."

This is utter nonsense. We must have elections, of course, but there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent Republicans and Democrats from joining in support of agreed-upon candidates; in fact, this has been done over and over again in individual cases and can be done without impinging either fundamental law or any existing statute in four hundred districts as well as in one. "Of course," frankly admits the *Washington Post*, which opposes the plan upon other grounds, "it would be possible to make the elections a mere formality if all parties agreed to it." While "all parties" sounds somewhat formidable, it narrows upon analysis, assuming naturally the ready acquiescence of the two Congressional committees, to the National Committees of the two great parties. Once let each of those bodies appoint a sub-committee to confer with the other and let them meet as patriots, rather than as partisans, and an agreement upon sitting members to be re-elected, along with a few to be defeated as disloyal, would be reached to a certainty.

But can they or will they consent even to meet? Probably not. Such at any rate seems to be the consensus of opinion.

"The weakness of the suggestion," the *Washington Post* continues, "is so apparent that there is no likelihood of its adoption," and proceeds:

Col. Harvey deplures political partisanship in the present situation, and at the same time declares that the political complexion of the House should not be changed. If partisanship is to be disregarded, what matters the political complexion of the House? Partisanship has not in the slightest degree hampered

the administration during the life of the present Congress. Every measure demanded by the President as necessary in the conduct of the war has been granted ungrudgingly by practically unanimous votes, and an inspection of the record will disclose that the strongest opposition to war measures came from members of the President's own party.

Then why, in Heaven's name, only for the sake of making a change probably for the worse in so desirable a situation, inject the partisanship, expend the great sums sadly needed for war purposes and endure the agony of a nation-wide campaign? But, Mr. Bennett concludes vigorously, "any effort to rob the people of the privilege of passing upon the service of their representatives would not only be a sign of weakness to the world, but it also would be an intolerable invasion of the people's rights." To which we reply that, so far from being "a sign of weakness," the setting aside of partisanship, following the example of England and France, would afford to the world convincing evidence of the unity, strength and determination of the American people. And it would be no "invasion," intolerable or otherwise, of "the people's rights" to merely submit a recommendation which the citizens of each district would be quite free to accept or to reject. Would Mr. Bennett have regarded a union of the loyalists of Wisconsin upon a candidate against Berger as invasive or intolerable or anything but highly desirable?

The *Tribune* opposes the proposition backwards and forwards because governments "tend to drift" and are "never static," and remarks that "the trouble with a highly centralized authority is that in this country it cannot at present be changed throughout a fixed term,"—precisely as we have said. But the *Tribune* adds:

The Congressional elections do not occur for another seven months. Next November we shall have been at war a year and seven months.

If at the end of this time it is clear that the war has been prosecuted with characteristic American energy and efficiency—if by next fall we have a considerable and well equipped army in the field, fully supplied and properly protected against the submarine—the American people will unquestionably sustain the present government. But if by then, or later, the present system of centralized authority, with no immediate responsibility to any one, should not prove adequate in this great crisis, there might be need of a radical change.

And how "radical," pray, would be a change to a Republican House while a Democratic President and a Democratic Senate continue in power? What on earth could it do? The great appropriations have already been made and a Republican majority in the House would be as powerless as the present minority; it would have to continue to support the Administration's war policies, even to "stand by the President"; it could only gain a few petty offices and muddy the waters; especially if the Overman bill, which makes of the President a virtual autocrat and which the *Tribune* paradoxically supports, should become a law.

The *Washington Evening Star* perceives "not the slightest peril" in the "regular order"; nor do we; only unwise and unnecessary dividing and weakening of our forces in the face of the enemy, to the disheartenment of our Allies; but Mr. Noyes goes further. "The people," he says, "are still supreme; the Government is theirs; if they desire changes in their agents they will say so at the polls; and whatever they say next November will 'go.'" Where, we wonder, does Mr. Noyes imagine a Republican House would "go" except, as Marse Henry might suggest, to hell, while W. Wilson sits, or mostly stands when visitors are present, in the White House? And how far and in what direction, since it would have been elected under a pledge to "give the President everything he wants in the prosecution of the war"? If there were an issue in sight for November, the situation might be different; but there is none; so why fetch in a lot of greenhorns, who could be only ciphers at best, to supplant men who have the advantage of experience and some knowledge at least of what has been done, what is required and how to proceed.

The New York *Evening Post* thinks the proposal "a beautiful plea," but doubts "if even the advocate of this counsel of perfection expects to see it followed" because "human nature is tough" and "political human nature particularly refractory,"—a truth which we readily concede, but without dismay, because constant dealing with it of late has convinced us that it is not invulnerable. Moreover, all are not so pessimistic, not of course by refractory nature but by training and association, as Mr. Rollo Ogden. The New York *Herald*, for example, remarks far less forbiddingly:

Colonel George Harvey's wish that Congressional elections might be done away with this year in order that the whole thought of the people might be centred upon the problems of war runs along the same lines as that of the great majority of Americans. The present is no time for the petty squabbles of party politics, nor will seven months hence be a time for that sort of thing. There should be this year just one party, the American party, and just one platform—"We must and will win the war." Of course, it is impossible to bring about that ideal condition, but it will be approached if the men of both great parties see to it that all nominees for Congress measure fully up to the American test. That done, the country can forget the elections until the day for voting comes.

There has been a lot of needless talk of politics during the last week at Washington. Senators who have made bold to refer to delays in war production have been charged with partisanship, even though it is now admitted that their assertions were warranted. The campaign in Wisconsin has been getting on the nerves of some persons—a fact that did not escape the observation of Colonel Harvey and doubtless inspired the thought expressed at the Lotos Club.

And its alert namesake, the other *Herald* of Washington, speaks up encouragingly:

We commend to our readers the perusal of Col. George Harvey's remarks at the Lotos Club banquet on Wednesday night.

The proposal to do away with elections this fall will, we fear, fall on unwilling ears. It will be acclaimed by those whose constituencies are "close" and termed "Utopian" by those who have what "Fingy" Connors calls a "cinch."

Then, too, there is that grand army of patriots who every other year valiantly charge the pie counter. True, the "desk warriors" enlisted a few, but a very considerable body are still menacing the south front of Congress.

The colonel struck a responsive chord in his spoken attitude toward the President, and we believe the mass of people would so record it. We may disagree with the President because he doesn't ring our doorbell every night and tell us what is on his mind, but we are agreed that he is the best burden bearer since Lincoln. To a remarkable extent he has the confidence of the people.

It is not surprising that Col. Harvey's speech created a fine impression on the audience. That was but a ripple, and as it spreads you will find in an increasing zone the feeling that it is "too good to come true."

Of the statesmen interviewed by the *World*—with the exception of Senator New, who observed with charming succinctness, "It is a foolish plan; I am opposed to it"—a majority, though by no means all, seemed to agree with Representative Rainey, who said: "He takes a very high patriotic ground. I hope it will become possible to carry out the election along lines he suggests, without bitterness. But I doubt the feasibility of his suggestion." And the *World's* headline runs to the same effect—"Ideal but Impracticable."

But why is a great patriotic act at this critical time impracticable? We can answer in a sentence:

Because the managers of each party fear that the other might profit from the operation; consequently both turn deaf ears, without giving a moment's heed to the surpassing requirements of the country and the cause or to the merits of the proposal.

The odd thing about it is that both are wrong from even a partisan standpoint; each has much possibly to gain and nothing possibly to lose; we can prove it to any but a hermetically sealed mind; and we shall prove it in the next number of this journal, which has for the time no interest whatever in any party, in any candidate or in any thing, living or dead, but the winning of the war.

Our First Year of War

OUR first year of war. Also our "first hundred thousand." The coincidence is significant, instructive, reproachful, admonitory. Of all the doings of the year, none is more illuminating than the fact that not until its closing days were we able to put any considerable body of troops into the actual war. Precisely how many have thus been hurried to the front this week is not disclosed. There are intimations that the number is about one hundred thousand. Let us assume them to be correct. Bracket them, then, with the Bryanesque boast that if the President called for a million men at sunrise, he would have them all in battle array at sunset; or something to that effect. That was an argument against preparedness. Other arguments are now being put forward by other men against other measures of preparation. As was that, so are these. As is the difference between the boast of a million men in twelve hours and the reality of a hundred thousand men in twelve months, so, inversely, is the difference between the piffling moral treason of anti-preparedness and the vital needs of the nation.

Nevertheless, thank God for our first hundred thousand! Thank God, too, that General Pershing had the brain and the sand to take the initiative, and right off his own bat proffer the troops to General Foch, without waiting to consult the Secretary of War or Colonel House or Joe Tumulty or anybody else. We are told that his action is approved. So somebody once remarked that a certain corpse "looked resigned." It had to be.

The incident is illustrative of the whole year of war. It is a superb thing thus to send our men to the battle front at what may be the psychological moment. But what is to be said of our having thus to send them without cannon and without airplanes, save such as are loaned by the hard-pressed Allies whom we are seeking to aid? The contrast between the personal readiness of the men and the unreadiness of their equipment is unspeakable. There is a like contrast between the readiness of the American people to support the government's war measures and the unreadiness of the government to avail itself of that support in some of the most essential respects. We say that the readiness of the nation has been above all praise. It is true that a large part of the nation has seemed not yet to have awakened to realization of the fact that we are at war; but another part has been as wide awake and as zealous as the most ardent patriot could desire. But awake or asleep, all have joined in such support of the government as never was known before. Congress has voted, and the people have approved its voting, such autocratic, dictatorial powers to the President as never were dreamed of before; and there has been such an outpouring of wealth into the war-coffers of the government as must stagger the imagination which tries to grapple with the figures.

Yet with all this, done so generously, so confidently, and so promptly, unreadiness, hesitation, divided counsels, red tape, and what not else, have caused the sending of our troops abroad without the necessary weapons of warfare, and the sending of our men to the battle-front without airplanes; and the latter, at any rate, are not likely to be supplied for months yet to come, though nearly a billion dollars was long ago appropriated for their production.

That, in epitome, has been the story of the year: Some splendid achievements, and some dreary failures to achieve. Never did the American Spirit seem more deserving of Kipling's mordant lines:

Enslaved, illogical, elate,
He greets th' embarrassed Gods, nor fears
To shake the iron hand of Fate
Or match with Destiny for beers.

Happily, we may have confidence with the same bard to say of the same subject that

.. while Reproof around him rings,
He turns a keen untroubled face
Home, to the instant need of things.

It has been a year of preparation. Still more it has been a year of atonement for neglect, and a year of humiliation as well as of exaltation. It will be well if, whether because of it or in spite of it, the second year upon which we enter to-day shall be a year of action, positive, aggressive and triumphant.

Excuses—Not Ships

WHEN a fortnight ago and again last week we repeated and emphasized the warnings given in the first numbers of this WEEKLY, that every promise made by Edwin N. Hurley should be discounted, we little believed that Mr. Hurley himself would publicly admit the collapse of his paper programme at this early date. Indeed, the absurd promises made by the chairman of the Shipping Board before the National Marine League of the U. S. A. a week ago last Tuesday inclined us to believe that the man had merely "got his second wind" and that he would continue to fill the gullible public up with the most ridiculous optimism for some weeks to come.

How comes it then, that exactly seven days after Mr. Hurley made the shipbuilders of America blush by telling them that "in less than eight months we have built up a shipbuilding machine which, when it gets into full swing, will defeat the military machine it took Germany forty years to build," he announces that "we are keenly disappointed in the amount of tonnage delivered by American shipyards in March"?

"Only twenty-one steel vessels aggregating 166,700 tons were delivered during that month," he continues and warns the shipbuilders "that America wants ships, not excuses."

How comes it that this man, who next to President Wilson is more responsible at this hour for carrying out our military programme than anyone else, should make the most absurd promises and follow them with the most pathetic plea within the short space of seven days? Every shipbuilder in America knew what Mr. Hurley said before the Marine League was untrue and we feel sure that none of them is surprised by the shortage of tonnage which Mr. Hurley now cries out against.

The simple truth of the matter is that Mr. Hurley is an amateur, who does not now and never has understood shipbuilding, and has absolutely refused to take the advice of the only men in America who do understand the business. In the words of the street, he has "fallen for" every experiment proposed by gentlemen who had nothing to lose; he has completely overlooked the very fundamentals of the immense responsibility the President has charged him with, and has failed to differentiate between ships on paper and ships on the sea. He has told the public what he had on paper, as if the sweep of a magic wand would put them in the sea.

All through the fall and winter Mr. Hurley compounded promises upon promises. We have no doubt that out of the abundance of his inexperience he believed they would come true, but we knew that not a practical shipbuilder on either coast, or any naval constructor, ever believed they would. During the fall and winter Mr. Hurley found ready excuses when his plans were not realized. First, there was the rail congestion. Everyone sympathized with his plausible statements that he could not be held responsible for the transportation breakdown. He passed the rail buck to others.

Then came the weather. No one would hold Mr. Hurley responsible for the weather. Then came the labor situation and again Mr. Hurley passed the buck. For all the setbacks of the winter he promised us greater results in the spring. Now that all of these excuses have been used heretofore, Mr. Hurley by inference and innuendo indicates that the shipbuilders themselves are to blame.

Here is a section of the telegram which he sent to every shipbuilder in the country:

"We are keenly disappointed in the amount of tonnage delivered by American shipyards during month of March and the slow progress made in many yards. Only twenty-one steel vessels aggregating 166,700 tons were delivered during that month and our minimum estimate was for 197,075 tons. Instead of this reduction from our estimate we should have had an increase."

To begin with, it must be remembered that the tonnage referred to herein was *not* planned or laid down by the Shipping Board. It was ordered by British and Scandinavian firms. In all probability it would have been completed months ago—at least some of it would—if Mr. Hurley had not disrupted the old yards by his labor policy. Every ton of this shipping has been discounted by the Allied admiralities in their submarine calculations. This must not be confused with the contributions which Mr. Hurley promises for the Shipping Board.

"Are the majority of your men doing a full day's work? Are you working overtime? Are you running a night shift, or planning to do so? It is imperative that every power that can be taken advantage of be used,"

he asked the shipbuilders. Mr. Hurley knows full well that a majority of the men are not doing a "full day's work"; he knows also that they are doing little if any bona fide overtime. He knows that the policy of temporizing with unpatriotic petty labor leaders has reduced materially the productivity of the men employed in the yards. He knows that many men are working on Sunday—but not on Friday or Saturday—because on Sunday they get double pay which gives them in five days what they should get for six days' work.

Mr. Hurley knows that he failed to handle the housing or transportation situation in time to make it possible to assemble the necessary labor. He knows there are not enough trained shipping men in the country to meet the demand and that he is not training them as he should be doing. We cannot divorce ourselves from the feeling that Mr. Hurley's change of front has been caused by the fact that President Wilson, after many months of promises, has finally asked for an accounting and has discovered that the man responsible for the shipbuilding programme has been giving him optimism instead of facts.

If Mr. Hurley's change of front indicates that he has at last awakened to the truth and that he will no longer fill the public with nonsensical promises, it is withal a healthy sign. The next step Mr. Hurley should take is to discharge the band of press agents who have been tickling his conceit by writing the speeches which he mouths on every occasion and then to give his undivided attention to work.

Doing Our Duty

ASTENOGRAPHIC report of the conversation between Secretary Baker, General Pershing, Lord Derby and Mr. Balfour at that momentous conference when an agreement was reached to brigade American troops with British units would furnish one of the most sprightly chapters of current history. Those who heard our nobby little Secretary of War jumble facts and fancies into an oratorical effort when he attempted to defend his administration before the Senate Military Affairs Committee can readily visualize his breathless haste in recounting to the British leaders America's "unprecedented accomplishments."

How weary Mr. Balfour and Lord Derby, who had seen England's life blood drench the hills of Picardy, must have become while our little chattering ex-pacifist told of the great army that America had raised to make the world safe for Democracy!

We can readily fancy Mr. Balfour politely listening to Mr. Baker and then asking him, quite pointedly, why, if America had 1,500,000 men under arms, we refused to accede to the *request made by the British Government several months ago* that large numbers of them be taken overseas in British transports so that they might be trained and brigaded with British troops before the German drive was started. We can readily fancy General Pershing blushing as his chief attempted to excuse the failure of our government to give ungrudgingly of our man power when our Allies asked for it as their darkest hour approached. Of course, the American public does not know that the British Government made this request months ago. It does not know that Great Britain was willing and anxious to supply the transports to move our men overseas and was prepared to take them to British camps where they could be trained to meet the great German drive, or at least to release Englishmen to meet the Huns. There was no military reason why they should not have gone. They were partly trained and ready for over-seas service and every military dictate prompted our government to send them abroad so that the camps might be utilized by the second draft and the replacement troops which would have been called months ago if the plans of the General Staff had been carried out.

Is it any wonder that Great Britain and France feel that we did not come up to our promises when, in civilization's saddest hour we held more than 1,000,000 troops in America? Of course we cannot be expected to fathom the mind of an administration which refused to send the men when they would have been of their greatest value, and now accepts without a blush the magnificent thanks which our Allies give to us for acting at this late hour.

But, returning to the conference, we wonder just what excuse Mr. Baker gave for our failure and just how he phrased a promise to dash off to a cable and ask President Wilson to order the movement of troops which Great Britain asked for months ago. What a magnificent thing it would have been if we had furnished the men when they were asked for? What a surprise the Hun would have found, when instead of "two regiments of American railway engineers", he would have met Americans on every side! How our hearts would have throbbed with joy if on March 21 we had received reports that Americans were honestly fighting shoulder to shoulder with Britons and Frenchmen!

If we had accepted this great opportunity to serve humanity who would have dared to laugh at us for a race of braggarts and point to the wreck of our aviation program and the confusion that we call a ship building program at the end of a year?

But our Allies are considerate of our feelings and rarely lose an opportunity to glorify our leaders. Hardly had the President's approval of the request made by Mr. Balfour and Lord Derby reached London than the government issued its official statement praising "our unselfishness" in the most fulsome terms;

"It is announced at once because the Prime Minister feels that the singleness of purpose with which the United States have made this immediate and indeed indispensable contribution toward the triumph of the allied cause should be clearly recognized by the British people."

And while the government at London patted us on the back for doing what we should have done months ago Lord Reading lost no time in swelling the chorus of glorification for our "immediate contribution."

Needless to say the British press, led by the *Times*, applauded the action as "generous and wise."

It was left for the American press, presumably inspired by Washington, to add to our own embarrassment by chronicling the decision as if it originated at the White House. We are indebted to the Washington correspondent of the *Sun*, who should have known better, for this altogether original suggestion:

"No explanation of the announcement from London was made to-day at the War Department. Probably not more than a very few of the highest officials knew precisely what method is to be adopted to rush additional forces to France."

"Reviewing the meagre information that has been available as to the great things that have been accomplished since the German drive began, many officials were convinced to-night that Mr. Baker had been sent to Europe by President Wilson for the purpose of bringing about just the amalgamation of forces that has been effected. In urging single command for the whole battle front in the west it was regarded as certain that the American Secretary would not have gone empty handed to the conferences."

Death for the Spies

THE proposal to impose the death penalty upon spies, or upon those guilty of certain forms of espionage and hostile propaganda, may seem to some harsh and blood-thirsty. It is not. It is humane and life-saving, as well as logical and in accord with common sense. It is also equitable and consistent, as between our own citizens and aliens.

Let us consider this latter point first. The reproach has often been uttered, and not altogether without reason, that we treat alien enemies more leniently than our own citizens, and that we permit Germans to enjoy knowledge of American military and other affairs which is withheld from loyal Americans. We should certainly be subject to that reproach if we refused to mete out to aliens the stern penalty prescribed for our own citizens. Treason is a crime committable by citizens, and for it we prescribe the penalty of death. Spying is a completely comparable crime, committable by aliens, and we can see no reason why we should not prescribe for it the same penalty. We do that under military law. A noteworthy precedent was set for it very early in our history. Arnold was a traitor, and his accomplice Andre was a spy. If we could have caught Arnold we should have hanged him. We did catch Andre, and we did hang him. We can see no reason why, in time of war, the civil penalty for spying should be less severe than the military. We suppose that if a German spy were found within our lines in France, he would quickly be placed before a firing squad. Why should we be one iota more tender toward a German spy who is caught within our lines—say in a munitions factory or a shipyard—in the United States?

It is logical to put spies to death, because the spies are themselves always plotting and often causing the death of American citizens. That is what they are spies for. What is the legal precedent? Many a man is sent to the gallows, or to the electric chair, as a murderer, although he did not actually do the killing and was not even present when it was done, but merely hired or incited some other man to do it. The spy may not actually with his own hands kill anybody. But he plans for their killing, and incites, directs or enables others to do it. Why should he not be held to account, just as much as one who hires a "gunman" to slay an enemy in a private feud?

It is not harsh, but merciful, to put spies to death. That is not only because it puts an end to their own murderous practices but also because it discourages others from engaging therein. If some of the German spies, conspirators and propagandists who early in the war were causing fires, explosions, shipwrecks and what not else had been promptly strung up or placed before firing squads, there would thereafter have been far less of their infernal work done or planned. If by putting one guilty man to death the lives of many innocent men can be protected and saved, we say, in humanity's name, go to it!



Lloyd George: "Where is Leonard Wood?"

A cartoon from the "Puck" magazine. "Puck" is a weekly magazine.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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A Call to the Patriots of America

WASHINGTON, April 12, 1918.

THE Hun is at the gate; the Republic is in peril; freedom is at stake; civilization and humanity tremble in the balance; America must save the cause; her sons are on the battle-line; her men and boys, her women and daughters at home are working, giving, hoping and praying for victory, in this, the darkest hour of the great invasion.

Shall we at such a time impair the power and strength of the Nation through partisan strife among ourselves when every ounce of the energies which we can rally is required to meet the beseeching calls of our bleeding Allies to help, help, help, in their desperate and heartrending struggle against the common foe?

"United we stand, divided we fall!"

No country has better reason than our own to realize this immutable truth; none has heeded it in the past at greater cost in the blood of men and the grief of women. Can nothing be done to avert the calamitous effects of a bitter political contest throughout the Union, already beginning and bound to rage with increasing virulence till the polls shall close in November?

Forget patriotism (God forgive us!) for a moment and heed only partisan considerations.

What has the Democratic party to gain from a contested election next Fall? It already has a majority in the House,—small but sufficient; suppose that majority should be increased to fifty or a hundred, what of it? Mr. Clark would continue to be Speaker, there would be no changes in chairmanships of committees and the new members would be as ciphers except in voting. True, such a result might be heralded as a striking testimonial of approval of the Administration, but that is all. There would be no practical advantage. And if the opposition should win, what then? Surely, in the words of the late Mr. Holman, it is better to be safe than sorry. Weighing

possibilities in the balance, clearly the Democrats have nothing tangible to win and much perhaps to lose from the hazard of an election.

What of the Republicans? Suppose they should carry the House, what would they have won? Committee chairmanships, clerks and doorkeepers and—a Speaker, presumably Mr. Mann, who voted for the McLemore resolution and for pretty much everything else that the Germans wanted. They would acquire no real power,—not even control of the great appropriations which have already been made chiefly and would be completed between November and March. In point of fact, they would not be in a position to oppose any measure proposed by the President because they would have been elected under pledges to uphold vigorous prosecution of the war. For this very reason, moreover, they could not even maintain successfully that their majority should be taken as a rebuke to the Administration, unless the choice of a virtual pro-German as Speaker should be so regarded,—and surely that would be neither palatable nor popular. All they could claim would be that they had been elected simply and solely because they were Republicans.

The only thing under the sun that the Republicans could win by carrying the House would be the privilege of dividing the responsibility for the future conduct of the war,—thus barring them completely from making a clean-cut issue two years later, when the existing Government as a whole must make an accounting to the people and either stand or fall upon the record made with full authority.

No less surely than the Democrats, though for quite different reasons, the Republicans have nothing to win and much, perhaps, to lose from a contested election.

But the country and the cause have a great deal, a very great deal, perhaps everything, to

gain from an agreement between the two parties to re-elect practically all of the present members. Let us enumerate a few of the advantages:

1. It would avert the bitterness of a nationwide campaign.

2. It would make the issue, wherever an issue might be raised, one of Loyalty pure and simple, with no such differentiations as disgraced the Wisconsin campaign and might easily have produced a Socialist, pro-German Senator.

3. It would not only achieve specifically but would signify notably to our Allies a splendid unity in purpose and determination.

4. It would eliminate the dangerous participation in a political contest of two millions of soldiers in camps scattered from Flanders to California.

5. It would obviate the waste of hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of dollars in useless electioneering when every penny is needed to win the war.

6. It would save at least a day's time consumed by anywhere from ten to fifteen millions of men in simply voting, to say nothing of many days of campaigning, thus increasing the country's productivity by this means alone by more than a hundred millions of dollars.

7. It would release for speaking for Liberty loans and other war purposes, not only the hundreds of the chosen representatives of the people, but also thousands of others who otherwise would be electioneering,—not only release them, but release them in such a way that Republican and Democrat could stand shoulder to shoulder upon the same platform and plead the cause of their common country.

8. It would elevate Patriotism above Politics and would redound to the pride and glory of the Nation whose elders at home would bury prejudice in their eagerness to back up the boys abroad who soon will be giving up their lives by the thousand in the service of the Republic.

Can it be done? Of course, it can be done. *It is being done.* Already the leaven is working. And it makes the heart glad that again the Old Dominion leads the way. Two years ago the Ninth District of Virginia elected Bascomb Slep, a Republican, to Congress, by a plurality of only 1,388 out of a total vote of 34,308,—a margin none too large for comfort. But there will be no contest this year. Last week the democratic district committee met and adopted unanimously the following resolution:

Whereas the minds and hearts of all our people are and should be turned toward the winning of the war for democracy, and whereas we do not believe their time and energy should be diverted from patriotic activities into the requirements of a fierce partisan campaign, therefore we recommend to the democratic party in the ninth Virginia congressional district that no nomination for Congress be made this year.

Fitting and stirring expression of patriotic thought! And what was done in the Ninth Dis-

trict of Virginia can be done in practically every other district in the country by co-operative action to that end by the official leaders of the two great parties.

What have they to say? Is it too much to ask that Chairman McCormick and Chairman Hays call their executive committees together and at least consider the practicability of reaching an understanding which would save God only knows how many precious lives—and, it might be, even the war itself?

Upon the Presidential election in 1920, as we have said, the suggestion has no bearing whatever. The future must care for itself.

With respect to Senators to be elected next Fall, the impropriety of attempting to choose by agreement men to serve six years is apparent. Nevertheless, the fact may well be noted that a fine spirit is beginning to pervade the country. Already the Democrats have given notice that they will not oppose the re-election of Senators Nelson of Minnesota and Kenyon of Iowa, and it is virtually assured that the two parties in Idaho will unite upon Senators Borah and Nugent, if the former, as it is hoped and believed, shall reconsider his determination to withdraw from public service at this critical time.

Other States which may be ignored because of the conclusiveness of party primaries are Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas, Colorado, Texas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Michigan, South Carolina, Mississippi and Wyoming, leaving only fifteen States in which Senatorial elections would be requisite in November, to wit: Rhode Island, New Mexico, Maine, West Virginia, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Kentucky, Illinois, Oregon, Nebraska, Delaware, Kansas, South Dakota, Montana and Massachusetts.

Doubtless, too, several of these States will follow the example of Iowa and Minnesota and reach agreements shortly, thereby reducing the total to so small a number that the two National Committees could readily effect an arrangement such as we have proposed, to little or no injury to either party or any individual and to incalculable advantage of the country and the cause.

Our call is to the patriotism of America.

The Week

THE Drive is still on. The Huns are still gaining ground, and losing men. The Allies are still stubbornly holding the world's Thermopylae. That is the week's record on the Western Front. Before these words now being written are printed and read, an epochal crisis may occur. Or the death grapple may continue for days, weeks, months, before a decision is reached. Speculation is idle. But two things are sure. The Huns will persist in the drive until their last ounce of driving power has failed; and the Allies will resist until their last ounce of resistance is exhausted. The fate of the world depends upon the balance between the capacities for endurance of the contending hosts.

And George Creel is proud that America was not more adequately prepared to enter the war.

We have said that all depends upon whether the irresistible force proves really irresistible, or the immovable mass proves to be really immovable. But there is another factor in the problem. Far more clearly than ever before is now seen the vital value of American participation, the imperative need that every man and every gun that we can possibly provide shall be flung into the Pandemonium of Picardy without a breathing-space of delay. A million Americans added to the Allied hosts to-day would end the war to-morrow—the million men whom, we were fondly

assured, if they were called for at sunrise we would have ready for action at sunset. A half million would make the Hun drive a hopeless failure and roll it back in Kultured disaster to the Rhine. An effective quarter million would make the Allied line secure. We might have had that million there if this nation had maintained a rational policy of military preparedness, such as its founders designed. We might have had the half million if we had begun the work of preparation as soon as the war began—the war which, we are told, the President discerned in advance—and had pressed it with the enterprise and efficiency and vigor of which we so fluently boast. We might have had the quarter million on the first line if only the nation had awakened to the facts which confronted it a year ago, and if one of the ablest public officials the President has ever known had not been so obsessed with the thought that the war was three thousand miles away. What would it not be worth to this nation and to the world to-day, what would not be the saving in lives and in treasure, if only we had been more ready to do our part in our own war?

However, George Creel will be proud to his dying day that we were not more adequately prepared.

It is a splendid thing that even now, after a full year of agonizing delay, we are able to send at least our "first hundred thousand"—more or less—into the fray. The presence of even those few will be greatly heartening to our Allies, and their participation will add perceptibly to the resistant power of the Allied line. It is, too, a fine thing that we have permitted their organized identity to be lost by merging them into the French and British troops wherever they are needed. The necessity for this is of course to be deplored. It will always be a cause for deep regret that our forces were not sufficiently numerous, sufficiently well equipped, and sufficiently prepared, to maintain their own organization and to play their own part on at least a full third of the long battle front, subject only to the authority of the international Commander in Chief. But since such is not the case, it is well to let them be utilized in whatever way in which they can be of most service; and we hope that they will fight as well in foreign ranks and under foreign flags as they would in and under their own. For their present disposition, we have to thank—or to blame—our lack of more adequate preparation for the war.

Of which George Creel will be proud to his dying day.

The most significant news of the week comes from London. The British Prime Minister has introduced a bill for drafting into the army all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and fifty, and in some cases up to fifty-five years. What that means needs no elaborate diagram to explain. It means that Great Britain has reached and passed the maximum of normal man-power, and is now forced to call out for service the last line of her reserves. The bill also provides for the application of conscription to Ireland, at which various Irish Members of Parliament promptly proclaimed revolt. How serious the threatened opposition to the measure will be, we shall not undertake to forecast. Of the right and wrong of it, of England's insistence upon the conscription and of Ireland's objection to it, we shall not assume to judge. We have troubles enough in our own country without undertaking to manage the affairs or to censure the domestic policy of others. But it is certain that nothing but extremest necessity could have driven Lloyd George to so extreme a measure, with all its perils of domestic disaffection and disorder. He is simply compelled to draft boys not yet come to manhood, and men far past their prime, and to challenge revolt in Ireland, because America was so woefully unprepared to assist the Allies who for two weary and strenuous years had been protecting her.

And George Creel is proud that we were thus unprepared.

France scarcely speaks. She is too busy, fighting. France, that divine marvel, mystery, miracle, among the nations—France, the voluble, the volatile, the mercurial, the capricious—France gives no sign of her martyred distress. Bleeding at every pore, burdened beyond all credence of endurance, she sets her face as a flint and her heart as adamant, and has no word of complaint, no word of repining or of reproach, no word save the grim growl beneath her sobbing breath, "They *shall not pass!*"

And George Creel will to his dying day be proud that we were not more ready to help France.

A contrast is presented in our own services. Our Navy has done well. Let us give credit where credit belongs. There have been few complaints of our fleet. There have been many testimonies of its efficiency. It has been used far more than the general public has been made aware. It has been protecting our transports, destroying U-boats, and aiding our Allies in keeping the seas free from Hunnish piracy. It has, to employ again a hackneyed phrase, maintained the best traditions of the American Navy. And why? We shall not enter into any analytical comparison of the heads of the two Departments of the Navy and of the Army, to determine how Josephus Daniels has been able to produce so much better results than Newton D. Baker. The reason is far more fundamental than any mere personalities. It lies in the fact that the Navy was measurably prepared, while the Army was not. That is all. With all its imperfections, and they were neither few nor trifling, the Navy was far more nearly adequate to our needs than was the Army. The piffling Pacifists, who would see the ruin of the Republic in the maintenance of a standing army of respectable dimensions, forget that we have for many years had one of the most powerful standing navies in the world, without being dragged into war by it or suffering any other of the hideous evils which they so confidently predict as the results of military preparation. If our Navy had been no stronger proportionally than our Army, we should have had at the outbreak of this war perhaps one or two dreadnoughts, half a dozen cruisers, and two or three submarines. Had that been the case, would we now have our gratifying record of naval efficiency? Had our Army been as strong, proportionately, and as well prepared, as the Navy, would our Allies to-day be driven to the agonizing and desperate straits which they now suffer?

Nevertheless, let it not be forgotten that George Creel is proud that we were not more adequately prepared.

The Drive is still on. It is likely to remain on for some time. Neither army can become exhausted speedily. It may be that we shall hear of further retirement of our Allies—and our own troops. We shall be consoled for such loss of ground if there is exacted for it a sufficiently heavy toll of Hunnish lives. Ground can be regained, but not even William the Damned and his "Old German Gott" can bring dead Huns to life. The Allied line will bend, but it will not break. And when a thing will not break, the more it is bent the stronger will be its ultimate reaction. So let the Drive proceed. Our part is plain. To the sacrifice of everything else,—for everything else is of minor import,—our men must be rushed to the battle front. Every available ship must be pressed into the transport service. Every man in camp who is measurably prepared must be put aboard and hurried to the other side. They are waiting for us. They are dying for us—and because of our delay. If we could not get there in time to avert a catastrophe, we should still have to go, to undo it. It is better to go over in time to save Paris from falling than to go afterward and recapture Paris from its captors. We may have—we have—all the confidence in the world that Paris will not fall and that the Hunnish drive will not succeed. But we prefer to have that confidence based not alone upon the Godlike courage and endurance of our

Allies, but also upon the equal efficiency of our own soldiers, marshalled in adequate numbers upon the battle line.

And amid all our heart-straining haste to atone for neglect and delay, let us bear in mind that George Creel is proud, and will to his dying day be proud, that we were so unprepared.

The President's speech at Baltimore, upon the first anniversary of our declaration of war, has been well received by the press at home and abroad, although it is not a fact, as reported, that it evoked great enthusiasm from the audience. It comprised three elements—confession, judgment and defiance. Confession of misapprehension of the facts appears in the words "even in this moment of utter disillusionment," which sprang from Hertling's contemptuous rejection of the President's bid for negotiations on February 11. Then, for the first time, it would appear, Mr. Wilson realized that something more than lofty moral suasion was required to fetch Germany to her senses. It also accounts in large measure for the half-hearted way in which the Government prosecuted the war for the first ten months, upon the calm assumption that it would be ended within a year.

A disposition to "judge" rather than to fight, to which we directed attention months ago, permeates the entire document. At no time, the President declared, had he "judged intemperately;" we must "judge as we would be judged;" there can be "no difference between peoples" in the "final judgment," though why as between the defenders of Belgium and the brutes of Prussia Heaven only knows, if it is to be a "righteous judgment;" from the treatment of Russia and Rumania we may "judge the rest;" he would not even now "judge harshly or unrighteously," but would "judge only what the German arms have accomplished with un pitying thoroughness," without regard presumably to the damnable spirit which instigated the crimes,—truly a lofty pinnacle from which to view the devastation of the world, emphasizing more sharply than ever before our own conception of the attitude of the American people under the title, "Wanted, a Leader, not a Judge!"

But let us not repine if, at last, even after twelve long months of vain gropings, futile words and pottering deeds, disillusionment has indeed struck home; let us rather rejoice at the defiance voiced at the close:

Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force—force to do the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

Now, if we can only hold him to it!

So the enterprising Mr. Burleson is going to establish an aerial mail service between New York and Washington after all. Lv. N. Y., 12; ar. Phil., 1.30; ar. Wash., 3.30. Lv. Wash., 2; ar. Phil., 4; ar. N. Y., 5.30. So the schedule reads, to be put into effect on May 15. The airplanes, we are informed upon poor authority, are to be brought from the battle lines of France and equipped with our 100% inefficient Slavery motor. Hearty congratulations to our P. M. G.! Incidentally, we may remark an extraordinary improvement in the postal service of Washington. A stamped letter mailed from the War Department at 1.30 p. m., April 1, was safely delivered to its recipient on Massachusetts avenue at 11 a. m., April 8, having been forwarded seven full city blocks at the rate of a block a day. This breaks the record, we think; anyhow, we have the envelope plainly postmarked and should be pleased, upon request, to have it framed for suspension over the desk of the P. M. G., as conclusive evidence of the growing efficiency of a truly remarkable Department.

Still Reorganizing

WHEN Secretary Baker created his War Council by assembling a group of superannuated generals whom he had been forced to decapitate as bureau chiefs following the shocking revelations of the Senate Committee and when a little later—on February 11th to be exact—he announced another re-organization of the department, we chronicled our conviction that he was merely camouflaging to placate public opinion.

We were satisfied at that time that no man big enough to be Secretary of War, or sincere enough, would make the absurd changes that he proposed and then tell the American people that he had re-organized the War Department upon an efficient basis.

The developments of the last few weeks have merely tended to confirm our convictions of months ago. The so-called re-organizations have proven to be failures. The War Department is not now functioning, and has not functioned at any time since we entered the war. One bureau, one section, one division has broken down after another. In some instances the breakdowns have been caused by the pitifully weak men whom Mr. Baker placed in charge. In others the breakdown has been caused by the inherent weakness of the machine which Mr. Baker created!

The fundamental causes of the breakdowns are found in Newton Baker's characteristics. He is temperamentally incapable of recognizing strong men when he sees them and, by experience and training, he knows nothing of administration or execution. He can chatter by the hour, but he cannot organize a war machine.

We shall not at this time comment at length on the shameful manner in which General March has been ignored in certain military affairs, notably the censorship business as it affects the publication of the casualty lists or the action of General Pershing in turning over the American troops to General Foch. Let it suffice to state that the Chief of Staff of the American army was not consulted in either case and was compelled to appear before his subordinates as a mere onlooker while these important policies were acted upon by President Wilson and Secretary Baker. Of course, such methods could be followed in no other country in the world and it is no wonder that, as a result of General March's treatment, reports were circulated that he was about to be transferred from his post to France or to some other command.

Can any one fancy the British Chief of Staff being informed by a group of newspaper correspondents that King George or Lloyd George had made important military dispositions without consulting him, or can any one fancy a group of reporters rushing into Hindenburg's headquarters and informing him that the Kaiser had disposed of large numbers of his men without discussing the project with the Chief of Staff? Of course, the thing is unthinkable, but it is truly typical of the off-hand manner in which our adolescent Secretary of War handles the department. Highly desirable as the action may have been, the method was subversive of all military policy.

The shock which the public received in January when the Senate revealed the pitiable conditions in camps and cantonments, coupled with facts proving that we were months behind in every military schedule, has now been repeated as the painful truth of the breakdown of the aeroplane program is wormed from unwilling witnesses.

It has been a notorious fact in Washington for months that the men associated with Howard Coffin, Chairman of the Air Production Board, considered him an irresponsible personal press agent, who could never put through his part of the air program and that General Squier, Chief Signal Officer in charge of the project, was a little scientist who had no conception whatever of the rudiments of organization or administration. Responsible army and navy officers and their business associates never expected Coffin or Squier to put the program through as they promised. How comes it then that the public was not forewarned?

Because Newton D. Baker stood between these agents of his and the only possible remedy—publication of the truth. Every time an attempt has been made to estimate the progress of the program, Mr. Baker blocked such investigation, and when startling truths leaked out he damned them with official denials. The public preferred the denials to the truth and the investigators passed off the scene branded by the Committee on Information as friends of Germany who were bent on "giving information of value to the enemy."

There is no evidence on record indicating that Mr. Baker ever considered the warnings given him by men who feared for the program, but the results show that he allowed Coffin to churn out the most preposterous promises and allowed Squier to spend money like a drunken sailor—getting nowhere except into a delirium of hope.

Now we have the results—37 combat planes when we should have had 3,700 at least.

The saddest part about it all is that virtually every other bureau of the War Department—with a few exceptions—is fumbling along in the same manner as the Signal Corps.

When dear old General Bliss was succeeded by General March, we congratulated the country on the change because we considered the new chief an excellent choice. Unfortunately General March has not yet had an opportunity to show his ability as a general military director because virtually all of his time and energy has been used in trying to create a working organization out of the hodge-podge of inefficient officials and cumbersome machinery which Secretary Baker jumbled together.

Passing over without comment the facts as told to us by the *World* that 1500 medical officers will be dropped because they are inefficient, that another re-organization of the Ordnance Bureau is at hand—and that thousands of reserve officers will be retired as useless, let us consider the results of Mr. Baker's re-organization of the General Staff of February 11.

It will be remembered that the most important changes made in this so-called re-organization consisted in the creation of a division of purchase and supply and the Storage and Traffic Division. The first of these divisions was supposed to co-ordinate all purchases and to put an end to the disgraceful methods whereby every bureau of the War Department was bidding against every other, thereby driving prices to the sky and disorganizing industries needed for war purposes.

Mr. Baker placed in charge of this division Colonel Palmer Pierce, who had no experience or qualifications which fitted him for the post. Mr. Baker had known Colonel Pierce as a delightful companion—but we have looked in vain for any other reason that prompted the appointment. In order, however, to satisfy the Senate which demanded that a man of calibre be placed in charge of purchases, Mr. Baker announced the appointment of Mr. Edward Stettinius as "Surveyor General of Supplies," in which position he did not have any more power than a messenger boy. This so-called re-organization has worked just as we said it would. It has been an absolute failure and now General March, according to *The Times*, is preparing to retire General Pierce and will place Colonel Hugh Johnson in charge with instruction to try to bring order out of chaos. So much for the results of Mr. Baker's re-organization of the supply division. We are informed that other changes are pending and we know that many more must be made before the War Department functions.

As soon as the Senate confirms Mr. Stettinius as Assistant Secretary of War, he will take charge of the general business—as contradistinguished from the military and administrative affairs—of the department. It is well. He will undoubtedly make a great improvement in these branches. Of course, Mr. Stettinius or a man of his type should have been in the post a year ago—but this administration refuses to appoint an official who is efficient except after the bitterest experience.

There is a maxim in the army that no regiment is better than its colonel. The maxim applies to the War Department and its Secretary. As long as Newton Baker remains as Secretary of War, we cannot hope to reach a state of efficiency that will give us strength to beat the Hun.

The Draft and War Production

WITHIN the past few weeks there has been in this country a keying-up of the note of war activity all along the line. Many factors have contributed to it. The approach of the spring campaign in Europe necessarily fastened attention upon the question of how much we had accomplished in preparation for it, in comparison with what had been expected or promised. Congressional investigations, and criticism in and out of Congress, were for a considerable period the centre of public interest. Proposals for a War Cabinet or the like, and the Administration's counter-proposal, embodied in the Overman bill, indicated the realization, on all sides, of the need of more intense pushing of the war. Reorganization and improvement in personnel became the order of the day. Then came the tremendous struggle itself, in the fields of Picardy. Finally the combination of Teutonic deeds in Russia and Teutonic words in the mouth of Count Czernin gave President Wilson occasion for the speech at Baltimore in which he declared that our cause must be won, and can be won only by "force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit." We had, indeed, been solemnly committed to this unlimited devotion of all our strength to the winning of the war from the very beginning of our entry into it; but undoubtedly the country has, by this latest utterance of the President, been put on notice that whatever may be demanded of it for the prosecution of the war must be promptly, cheerfully, and unstintedly given.

No time, therefore, could be more opportune for putting into motion any scheme that would effectually promote the utilization of all our available man-power at home for the backing up of the war-work abroad. The shortage of ships, of airplanes, of food, of anything that is essential to the carrying on of the war, is largely a matter of labor shortage. And the labor shortage is largely a matter not of actual lack of men in the country, but of man-power not utilized as it should be. There are men that are idle, or employed in a desultory and intermittent way; but this is a minor element in the case. There are vast numbers of men whose occupation is such as to make no contribution either to the carrying on of the war or to the supplying of the real needs of the community at home. A large part of these men are of draft age; and we are sending to the training camps and the front thousands of young men whose labor at home would be just as useful as their service in the army, while leaving behind, either in idleness or in useless occupation, thousands of others who might help win the war. Evidently this is not in line with the idea of "force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit." In present-day warfare the force that counts is industrial force just as much as the force actually arrayed on the field of battle. To fail to utilize the one is as disastrous as to withhold the other.

When the "selective draft" law was first proposed, there was in all discussions of it a great deal of emphasis on the adjective. Yet when the draft was put into effect it was made hardly at all "selective," except as regards the personal circumstances of the registrants—their having dependents or not, etc. The idea that the Government was to get the best it could out of the men—in the field if that was best, in the farm or factory if that was best—played almost no part at all. In the later regulations, those applied during the last few months, more has been accomplished in this direction, and yet very little in comparison with what is obviously possible. There has been under consideration, however, a plan which seems to offer very great possibilities. Its central idea is extremely simple.

Let neither lateness in the accidental order-number assigned to a man by the draft-lottery, nor any other reason for not calling him at once into the military service, interfere with his being at once taken out of idleness or a useless occupation and put into one that will contribute to the country's strength, if that can possibly be done. Under the plan, any man on the registration list who is not engaged in work that is needful either for the general good or for war purposes would be given the choice of taking up such work or going into the army. The plan would require systematic provision of work for those who accepted the former alternative. Of course this could not cover every case; but with the enormous need of labor in essential industries—including farms—constantly pressing upon us, it ought to be possible to meet the great majority of cases, and thus to provide a marked addition to our effective producing capacity.

The plan is certainly worthy of most serious study; and especially so because, if successful, its working might be extended to ages outside the draft limits, and thus contribute in a quite unforeseeable measure to the increase of our war strength. Certain it is that we need every ounce of strength we can get and that there is a vast amount of strength which is going to waste for want of intelligent utilization.

Check Aliens, Not Citizens

THAT some further checks upon hostility to our own Government within our own borders are highly desirable, is not to be denied. Perhaps some further legislation is necessary. Certainly existing laws need to be enforced more strictly and relentlessly. But the first need is to take such action against enemy aliens, not against loyal American citizens. The interdiction should be against German conspiracies and propaganda, not against American criticism.

There are at the present time hundreds of thousands of enemy aliens at large. Many of them are unregistered, having contemptuously disregarded the law requiring them to report themselves to the police; so that they are already deliberate and contumacious lawbreakers. Most of them, registered or not, are as free in their actions as American citizens. That many of them are engaged in various forms of hostile propaganda is quite certain. So long as such conditions are tolerated, it seems strangely incongruous to apply more repressive measures to Americans. Surely our own citizens should not be discriminated against.

It should be borne in mind that criticism is not treason. A man may radically disagree with the policy of the government and yet be perfectly loyal. He may even have and express more respect for an office than for the personality of the man who temporarily occupies it, without being a traitor. Loyalty, objectively, is not personal. It is collective, or organic. A man owes allegiance to the United States, and to its Constitution and laws, and not to the President or to one of his Cabinet officers. Protection is needed not for the President against loyal criticism, but for the nation against hostile alien propaganda.

Never was a nation more tolerant of spies and alien propaganda than this, and few have been more severe and repressive toward its own perfectly loyal citizens. The extent to which the potential and even the actual deviltries of Huns, unnaturalized and naturalized but un-Americanized, have been permitted if not condoned, is an amazing anomaly, while that to which American citizens have put their common rights in abeyance for the supposed good of the country is one of the wonders of democracy.

Loyal citizens are patiently willing to suffer whatever temporary disabilities and inconveniences may be necessary to promote our victory over the Blond Beast. But they expect, and have every right to expect, that the Blond

Beast's cubs and jackals shall feel at least the equal weight of restrictive authority. They would, moreover, greatly deplore the imposition of any repressive measures which would prevent the utterance of corrective and constructive criticism which at times might be of incalculable benefit. It is now conceded that immense good has resulted from those very criticisms and inquests of a few weeks ago which were at the time resented and even denounced as either mendacious or disloyal. Surely it could not now be designed to prevent the doing of further good in the same way.

The way for a government or an official to escape criticism is not by repressing it with gag laws, but by not deserving it. On the other hand, the way to escape injury from alien plots and propaganda is by crushing them or their authors relentlessly. And the two processes are not unrelated. We have an idea that sterner dealing with enemy aliens would greatly diminish American criticism, and that the sending of a few spies to a blank wall or the gallows would obviate all necessity for anything like a gag law.

Japan and Russia

SUPERSERVICEABLE exponents and champions of the Administration are pointing, for vindication of its unwillingness to sanction Japanese coöperation in Siberia, to the attitude of the Japanese Government itself. It does not seem inclined thus to enter the Russian Empire; wherefore, say these ingenious pundits, if Japan herself thinks it best not to go in, we surely should not urge her to do so.

That would in any case be a hopeless non sequitur, since it is not difficult to conceive a case in which a country might be reluctant to do something which it really ought to do and which its allies ought to insist upon its doing. But in this case the argument is worse than that. It is a bedlamite confusion of cause with effect. Our government is not and has not been withholding its sanction because of Japan's disinclination to enter Siberia; but Japan is thus disinclined because of the withholding of our sanction.

Nor can we regard more highly the argument that we should restrain intervention by Japan for fear that such action would alienate Russia from us and drive her into the arms of Germany. That would be as great a mistake as it would be to refrain from attacking Germany with all our might for fear of alienating the German democracy and driving it to the support of the Kaiser. We cannot recall that the Bolsheviki reciprocated any sympathetic overtures from this country. On the contrary, their response to the President's message to the Russian people was to reject it with contempt and to play directly into the hands of our enemies at Brest-Litovsk. We cannot imagine that the President would consider it sound and hopeful to try that policy again.

As a matter of fact, there would be no ground for resentment or objection on the part of any intelligent Russian who was loyal to the cause of the Allies and who was not at heart pro-German. That is, of course, because Japan would not enter Siberia in a spirit of hostility to Russia, but rather of friendship and helpfulness, precisely as Great Britain and the United States are at the present moment intervening in northern France. We do not think that the presence and activities of General Pershing and his army in Picardy will alienate France from us and drive her into the arms of Germany. Neither should Russia be alienated by the generous services of Japan in repelling the invaders and would-be conquerors of her territory and in assisting her to self-rehabilitation.

The essential feature of the case which is too much overlooked is the desirability of mutual faith and coöperation among allies. Is Russia our ally? If she is not, there is no occasion for us to be concerned over anything

that Japan may do to her. If she is our ally, she should certainly trust our good faith and believe that in favoring Japanese intervention we are seeking her welfare at least as much as our own, and that such intervention will mean not conquest nor spoliation but rehabilitation and protection.

Similarly, Is Japan our ally? If she is not, there is no occasion for her to wait upon our approval of her intervention. If she is not our ally, moreover, how does it happen that we are borrowing ships from her, to take the place of those which our unrivalled efficiency has not been able to supply from our own yards? But if she is our ally, as she is certainly the ally of our allies, is it not high time that we should treat her as such by reposing in her the faith and confidence of which she has never shown herself unworthy? Surely, if we regard her as our ally, we should trust her not to abuse the opportunities of her intervention in Siberia.

Perhaps, now that Japan has actually entered Siberia, in company with Great Britain, a change will come over the spirit of the anti-interventionists' dream. We can scarcely suppose that they will sternly disapprove the conduct of a power that is indisputably one of our chief allies. But how much better it would have been if an American contingent also could have accompanied the expedition!

As to Bulgaria and Turkey

WHAT of the enemies of our Allies? It is one of the striking anomalies of this anomalous war that while we are in a peculiarly close degree allied with various European powers we persist in remaining at peace with certain other powers with which they are violently at war, and that while we are at war with two powers we remain at peace with two others which are allied with them in the war and are actually assisting them in their hostility to us.

It seems to us that every principle of consistency, as well as the most practical considerations of effective co-ordination, should call for immediate declaration of war against Bulgaria and Turkey.

Within the last few weeks a "Jewish Legion" has been recruited in this country and many of its members have gone abroad to fight. They are to fight as a part of the British army which is operating against the Turks in Palestine. In other words, we have permitted the public recruiting of American citizens to fight against a power with which we profess to be at peace and with which we technically are at peace. Also, we have long been countenancing the recruiting of soldiers here for the British army, knowing quite well that Great Britain is at war with Bulgaria and Turkey and that she may send against those powers the troops which she raises here. If there is any more flagrant method of violating our own principles of neutrality than that, we are unfamiliar with it. We once sent home in disgrace a foreign minister for doing that very same thing.

We are assisting our Allies in France and Belgium. We are understood to be willing to assist them also in Italy. But apparently we are unwilling to assist them in Palestine or at Salonika. Alliance seems, then, to be a matter of longitude. It does not extend to "somewhere east of Suez."

Sympathy, too, seems to be geographical in its limitations. We fly to arms to right the wrongs of Belgium and to expel the invader from her borders. But the identical wrongs of Serbia leave us indifferently cold. The Bulgar and the unspeakable Turk may ravage her at will; it is no business of ours; we are and shall remain at peace with them. Word has gone forth from Constantinople that the remnant of Armenia is to be utterly destroyed. Every woman is to be ravished; every man is to be slain. Even those who were under the protection of the Russian flag

are to share the fate, the Bolsheviki having delivered them all over to the Turks and Kurds. But we Americans, who years ago raised so great a clamor over the massacre of a few hundreds, and wanted our government to declare war on Turkey on that account, and who a year or two ago were convulsed with horror at the deeds that were done in Turkish Armenia, now go by on the other side and protest that we are not our brother's keeper when the remaining hundreds of thousands in what was Russian Armenia are at the point of death. We cannot intervene. We are at peace with the unspeakable Turk.

We are proposing stricter laws and stricter administration of laws against enemy aliens; meaning Germans and Austrians. God knows we need them. Yet we purpose to let the allies of those enemies go free. Germans and Austrians must not pass beyond certain metes and bounds; but Bulgars and Turks may go and come without let or hindrance, and may have free intercourse with those whom we debar. Is that not to make a farce of the system?

Let us be consistent. Of old it was said, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." Equally true is it that we cannot profitably be at war with one power and remain at peace with its blood-sworn ally. It is the boast—and it is a true boast—of the Kaiser of the Huns that the four powers which compose his "Mitteleuropa" are united as one. They all serve the one command. Sofia and Constantinople take their orders from Berlin; their armies have Prussian commanders; their war policy is prescribed by the German High Command. Yet while with two powers of that quadruple union we are at war, with the other two we remain at peace. Could a foreign power be at war with New York and remain at peace with Massachusetts?

"How long, O Lord, how long?"

The high praise that is being bestowed upon our troops abroad is doubtless well deserved, and it serves as a convincing refutation of much of the pacifist and anti-preparedness babble with which we have been wearied. Whatever may be the case in some other lands, military training here does not brutalize men. On the contrary, it makes for suppression of the brutal traits which so many men possess. The average American soldier is not a Hun, nor anything like one. We shall never have cause to blush for our men abroad, but only to wish that their numbers were multiplied twentyfold.

Permit me also to assure your majesty that we shall continue to do everything possible to put the whole force of the United States into this great struggle. *President Wilson to King George.*

May we not voice the heartfelt gratitude of uncounted millions for this startling, though none the less welcome, variation in form of expression?

"The President only consults that estimable and elderly gentleman."—*North American Review.*

And yet Col. House is only about two years older than Col. Harvey.—*Boston Herald.*

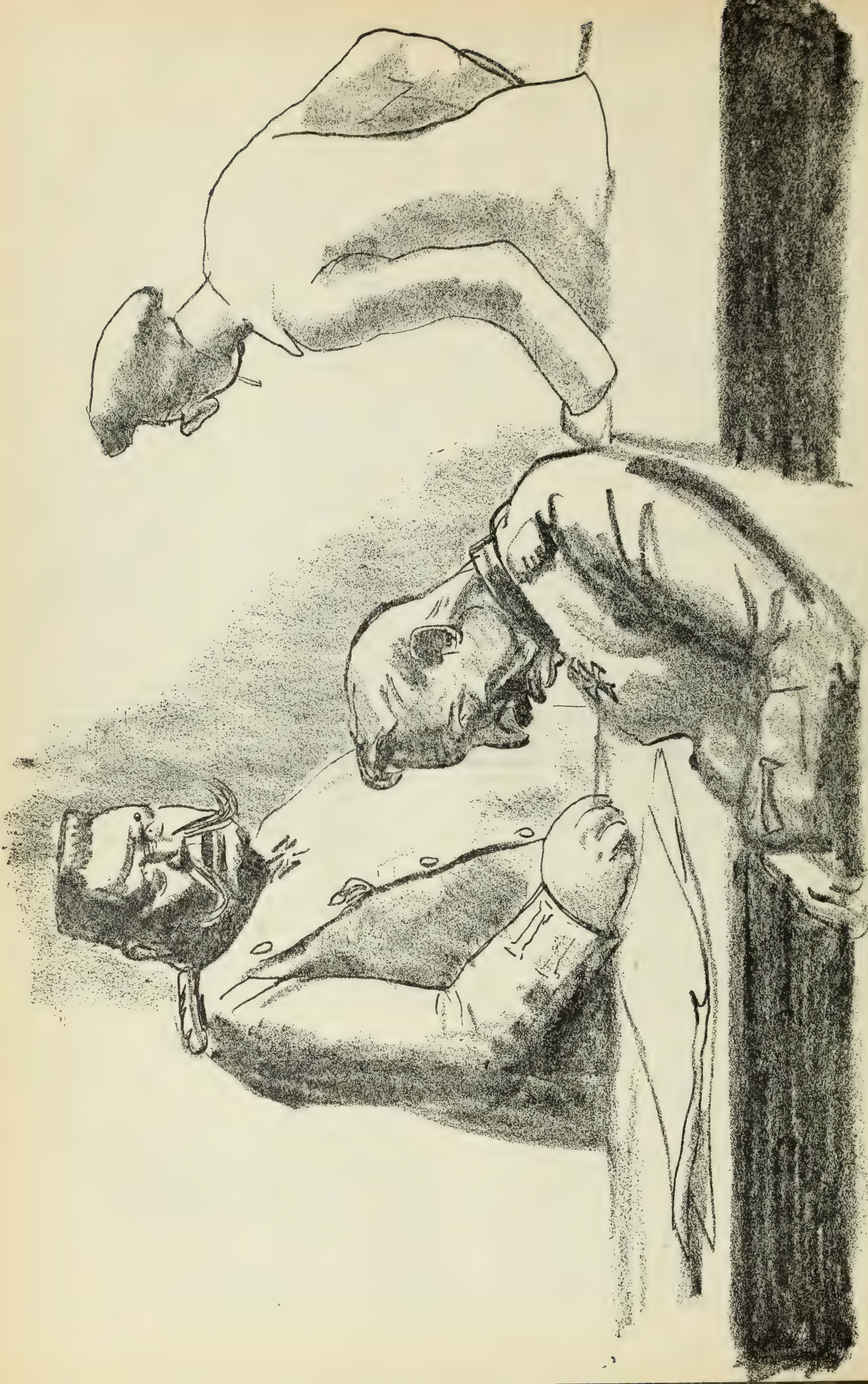
That is what we said.

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THE UNHOLY TRINITY

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

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The Week

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1918.

THE anniversary of Lexington and Concord; a time for heart-searching thought for all who value the principles for which was fired "the shot heard round the world" and which are now in greater peril than at any time since that day one hundred and forty-three years ago.

The Drive continues, and our Allies and ourselves are being driven. That is the ominous record of the week. How much further the process will go, speculation fears to guess. It was expected as a matter of course that our line—for the British line is our line—would yield to some extent to the first fierce impact of the Huns. The wisest observers predicted that it would bend, but would not break. It has bent, and it has not broken. But it has bent too much. It is patent to the world that the line has fallen back further than was intended. It has been driven back to a point where loss of land is serious. At first we could well afford to relinquish territory in exchange for the multitudes of Hunnish lives which were its price. Now we can do so no further. The battle line is too near to the Channel ports. We do not expect the Hun to reach those ports. He will be held, by the favor of God and by the valor of the allied arms, as he was at the Marne three and a half years ago. But—we wish that the Drive could have been checked further back.

What must now also be patent to the world is this, that there was no camouflage in the Allied appeal for speedy American aid, or in Sir Douglas Haig's declaration that the British army was fighting with its back to the wall. Those utterances of brave men in distress were genuine, extorted from unwilling lips by the irresistible compulsion of a realization of the world's peril. It was nothing but the direst need that dictated the request—it was more request than spontaneous offer—for the immediate blending of all our available men with the forces of the French and British. It was that, too, as we said last week, that drove the British Government to take summary action for bringing the man

power of Ireland into the battle. The Drive has been and is a fearful reality.

And this, too, is made clear, that there has, on the other hand, been much camouflage in the talk about Germany's waning man power and declining morale. Precisely the opposite is disclosed as true. More than a month ago, Major Stuart-Stephens, writing in "The English Review," anticipated that Hindenburg was collecting "an immense striking force somewhere in the rear of his line—a force which in guns (owing to the withdrawal of nearly every battery from Russia) and in 'cannon fodder' will surpass anything that even this war of giants has yet witnessed." That was an accurate forecast. Hindenburg did collect such a force, and he has hurled it against the Allied line, not in a single blow, but in a succession of blows, not growing feebler, but apparently increasing in strength. Such are not the performances of a demoralized and degenerate army. They are the deeds of an army flushed with confidence born of successful achievement.

This accords with what we have hitherto said about the effect of the great Bolshevik betrayal, that it would enable the Teutons to throw practically all their force against the western battle line, and that it would enormously hearten and encourage the German army and the German government and people as well. As proof of this, note the disappearance of disaffection and of demonstrations against the war. Note that even the Social Democrats of Germany, who once were babbling about "peace with no annexations and no indemnities", have now fully committed themselves to the policy of annexing, at least, the entire coast of Belgium to Germany, and also to taking the Beast's share of Russia and of Finland; the latter so as to menace and cow Sweden and Norway, and to give Germany an outlet upon the Arctic Ocean. Note also that the famous Reichstag resolution of last July, for "peace without indemnities and without annexations", has been formally annulled, and that thus the representatives of the German people, of the German Social Democracy, stand with the Hohenzollern brigands and the Prussian military ring, in seeking plunder and loot wherever it can be taken by force. It matters not three whoops in hell whether the German people have just been brought to this attitude by the successful conquest of Russia, or have secretly held it all along and have simply been camouflaging. What does matter is that equally with William the Damned and his spoons-stealing sons, the German people are out for international loot. That fact knocks into a cocked hat the notion, which never had legitimate or rational excuse for existence, that we are at war with nothing but the German Government, and not at all with the German People. You cannot separate the two. We are at

war with Germany—government, military caste, Prussianism, people, Social Democracy, all; the whole damnable thing.

Some encouragement was given during a week of many discouragements by the complete recognition of General Foch as Commander-in-Chief, in fact as well as in name. Haig, Petain, Pershing, and the Belgian and Portuguese, and probably the Italian, commanders will all take their orders from him. That is as it should be. On the other side, there is not a child-crucifier, a virgin-ravisher, an incendiary or a thief who does not sneeze when Hindenburg takes snuff. It is well to have honest men equally united under a single authority; particularly at a time when there is so imperative a need of precisely the spirit of the man who, when both his wings were defeated and all but destroyed, ordered an instant aggressive by his centre.

The return of Secretary Baker to these shores, presumably accompanied by his enterprising brother, was, of course, an incident of the week of first-class magnitude. It has been intimated that it was he who "speeded up" the Allies so as to have them prepared to meet the German drive. If so, he may have to explain himself to George Creel, who surely would have had them remain quite unprepared and then be proud of the fact to the end of their days. It is also whispered among the Illuminati that we owe to him the appointment of Foch as Generalissimo; in which case we also owe him much thanks. But the supreme significance is subjective. The great War Minister was not merely at a comfortable distance from uncomfortable controversies and inquests which prevailed at Washington, but also he was in close touch with the war which he once slightly regarded as being three thousand miles away. We shall see what effect the experience has had upon him. Remembering that before he went he was one of the ablest public officials the President had ever known, there is a possibility that he will now rank as the ablest that anybody ever knew.

But above all and before all and after all, the one supreme message of the week to every American who is fit to live is Choate's "For God's sake, hurry up!"

There was a felicitous conjuncture of events in the simultaneous execution of the death sentence upon Bolo Pasha and the introduction of Senator Chamberlain's bill for turning over to army courts all German spies, propagandists, practitioners of sabotage, pernicious pacifists, and other such traitorous scoundrels. It is to be hoped that the bill will promptly be enacted into law, and will be inexorably enforced, with the disposition of Bolo as a shining example worthy of all emulation. This is for three major reasons. One is, that the Department of Justice is confessedly overburdened with work and needs to be relieved. The second is that these cases properly belong to courts martial. Offenses against the military establishment and its operations should be dealt with by military authority. And the third is that it is high time to quit pussyfooting and get down to brass tacks. We have made ourselves the wonder of the world by our lenience toward spies and traitors. Loyal American lives have been lost, property and supplies of inestimable value have been destroyed, war preparations have been delayed and hampered, and the cause of America and her Allies has been endangered, through mistaken tolerance and clemency toward creatures as venomous as rattlesnakes and as incorrigible as mad dogs. We can feel no sympathy with a policy which sends men to risk their own lives in killing Boches in Picardy and Flanders, and which gives liberty or at most luxurious "internment" to enemies no less malignant and actually more perniciously efficient and dangerous than any of Hindenburg's Huns. Court martial, short shrift and deep graves for the enemies within our gates. "Treason must be made odious."

Nation-wide comments upon Mr. George Creel's "proud

of our unpreparedness" speech appear to have penetrated beneath the cuticle if not even the actual derma of that distinguished purveyor of official information, to such an extent that he sought the generous services of Mr. David Lawrence, of *The New York Evening Post*, to attempt a labored explanation, denial, vindication and what not. Such service Mr. Lawrence promptly undertook in his best "Court Chronicle" style, assuring us that "Unfortunately for Mr. Creel, there was no stenographer present," and proceeding to give what Mr. Creel "claimed" was the true version of his speech, which was "quite a different thing, of course, from what Mr. Creel was quoted as saying." Unfortunately for Mr. Creel, however, there was a stenographer present, a veteran stenographer, alert and accurate; doubly unfortunate for him, we must say, since it was Mr. Creel himself who assured Mr. Lawrence that there was no stenographer present. "All of which," says Mr. Lawrence, after discovering the sawdust stuffing in the doll, "proves that the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information shouldn't have made the speech at all;" in which sapient conclusion we congratulate David the Devoted in being, at least for once in his young life, in exact agreement with the opinion of the American people. In addition to which it may be fitting to recommend to the Chairman of the Committee, etc., a diligent and sympathetic study of the habits and habitat of *Cambarus pelucidus*. He would find it both congenial and profitable.

"As for 1920," said Secretary McAdoo, in a speech delivered at Houston, Texas, "in my judgment, there is only one man in America who deserves the gift of that exalted office from the American people"—and the audience rose and cheered like mad. They thought he meant Roosevelt. Perhaps he did. We don't know. But it was foolish talk. The country is not quite so poorly off as all that. Nor is this a good time to launch a boom which is more than likely to prove a boomerang.

Secretary Baker returns safely "with a sense of pride and confidence at the achievements of the United States and Allied troops abroad that would justify many trips across the water." What the specific achievements of late have been, however, he reserves "for the ear of President Wilson alone"—which perhaps is just as well. So far as we can make out from the published reports, Mr. Baker put in most of his time smelling porridge and tasting baked beans; and yet you never can tell; we may wake up some years hence and learn from a newspaper syndicate, as we are now hearing from the mysterious biographer of Colonel House, that he knew so much about the future that his tongue clave so like a mustard plaster to the roof of his mouth that he could not portray the events he foresaw until they had happened. Be that as it may, he is back safe, sound and, up to this writing, silent except as to the particular ear aforementioned. Everything was lovely when he left, anyhow, and, let us hope, will so continue until justification of another of his many interesting trips across the water, promised for the future, shall appear. We had hoped that the Secretary would fetch news of the results of the marvelous plan of campaign dislodged from the brain of General Bliss, but apparently either the Huns intervened or the information is reserved, perhaps indefinitely, for exclusive publication in the *Official Oaxetin*. What really worries us now is what has become of Brother H. D. Something must have happened, since none of the papers chronicle his arrival at an Atlantic port. Can it be possible that his lips are still glued to that seductive straw in the cellar of the Hotel ———? Alackaday! We fear the best.

The fatal defect in the *World's* strident attempt to beat Senator Hitchcock out of the Chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations is that its basis is, not disloyalty to the country, but refusal to be subservient to the Executive. Like Senator Chamberlain, he will not take orders or crook the pregnant hinges of his knees. Like Senator

Chamberlain, too, he has supported every war measure proposed by the Administration since the war began and took charge of the principal one when Mr. Stone sadly turned aside. But he did back up his Democratic colleague on the Military Affairs Committee in demanding a full exposition of wretched deficiencies and he did repudiate utterly the express declaration of the bootlicker Overman that the truth must be kept from the people, to save the face of the Administration. So apparently Mr. Hitchcock is in bad. But he isn't really. The real goat is the *World*, which was seduced into playing the part of feeler-out for the "high officials",—and all to no purpose whatever, since even tried and true "loyalists" like Senators Martin, Swanson and Simmons will not go quite so far as that. We frankly recognize—and so we doubt not does Senator Hitchcock—that Mr. Lodge is by far the best equipped man in the Senate for the position, but he is not only a Republican but *persona* very much *non grata* at the White House. So it really comes down to a choice between Mr. Hitchcock, one of the three most capable Democrats in the body, and a most charming and versatile colleague, who three times in a single speech referred to "Mr. David Lloyd Jones." The result is not in doubt; so we need not bother further about the matter.

Mr. Schwab ought to be, and we believe is, able to build ships, and speaking quite presumptuously for the country of which Mr. Creel is the sole representative acknowledged by the misnamed *Independent*, we thank the President for giving him a chance to try. What a dreary waste of a year it has been! First, Goethals, hamstrung by Denman; then Admiral Capps, worthy but physically unequal to the task; then Rear Admiral Harris, hopelessly entangled in red tape; and finally the impossible Mr. Hurley, supplemented by Mr. Piez, who by the way is a most capable and courageous man and should be retained without a blanket. It goes without saying—although we could say it from positive knowledge—that Mr. Schwab did not accept the responsibility until he had exacted from the President absolute authority to go ahead on his own hook quite unhampered. The first thing he will do, we hope, is to take the whole outfit out of Washington, whose atmosphere is not suitable for manufacturing achievement on a large scale. But he knows or ought to know best about that. Anyhow, his appointment is a good omen for our second year of warfare, and again we voice sincere gratitude to the President for doing, even at last, the obviously right thing.

The most encouraging—in fact, the only trustworthy—information we have yet been able to obtain respecting the building of ships comes direct from President James A. Farrell of the United States Steel Corporation, who not only knows what he talks about but, unlike the wonderful Shipping Board, never confuses promise with performance. The Corporation is constructing two great plants—one on the Hackensack river in New Jersey and the other at Mobile, Alabama. The former will launch its first big ship of 9,400 tons about May 15 and the latter will follow suit in August. Each thereafter will launch a like ship every three weeks, making a minimum total before January 1 of twenty with a tonnage of nearly 200,000 tons. Auxiliary plants for making engines, boilers, guns and all else pertaining to complete equipment are being constructed meanwhile and four thousand houses, along with the requisite traction lines, stores, etc., are being built at Mobile. The Corporation also expects during the coming year to supply the Government with approximately 1,000,000 tons of shipbuilding material. Its entire program calls for an expenditure of over \$50,000,000 of its own money, with no financial aid whatever from the Government. This sounds like business.

Far be it from us to even seem to be impertinent, but now that Mr. Baker has been convoyed safely home by the German submarines, why not—

Send Secretary Lansing to Versailles;

Make Mr. Baker Secretary of State;
Appoint a real soldier Secretary of War;
—and let Mr. Root and Dr. Butler come to Washington and confer openly with the President instead of dribbling their advice furtively through Colonel House?

We have more excellent suggestions in mind, but these will suffice for the present.

Again we ask: *Why not?*

A Wind-Bag House Cleaning

A SEMI-OFFICIAL dispatch from Berlin brings tidings of great joy. Chancellor von Hertling is not going to speak a piece. The Lord giveth and if the Lord would only take away the power of utterance from the gab mongers how thrice blessed would be the name of the Lord.

With the German Chancellor sparing us his threatened speech, we shall be spared the rejoinders and the surrejoinders, the rebuttals and the surrebuttals—that dull and deadly tiresome thud of alternate oratorical flails walloping the four or fourteen diplomatic points of Calvinism peace basis chaff for non-existent grains of peace comfort. Surely we have had a nauseating surfeit of that diet. "May we not" hope that we have had the last of it?

But Herr von Hertling says in explanation of his generous reticence that this is not a time for words but for deeds. A pertinent observation. Heretofore with us it has been a time for words and deeds. We furnished the words, roaring cataracts of them, while our allies furnished most of the deeds. The Secretary of War alone let loose a Johnstown flood of language before the Senate Committee, and mighty fine, smooth language it was, too, while Mr. Creel rallied nobly to his support with a reinforcement of eighteen millions of shock pamphlets, each one of them filled from cover to cover with words.

Some words led to others. Short and Ugliers got perilously near the front. Short and Ugliers are not handsome, but they are fighters. We had serried ranks of them right close back of the firing line. Some of them came straight from High Quarters at that—slightly camouflaged, perhaps, but undeniable Short and Ugliers.

And then there was our output of winged words. Homer let loose fair-sized flocks of this sort of fowl from time to time in his day, but we filled the skies with them. Our Hot Aircraft Non-Production Board alone swamped the entire German front with them—bombers, scouts, battle-planers, everything navigable in hot air. Where there is wind there is a way, was the motto of the Non-Production Board. And there was never lack of wind. When Mr. Coffin's powerful lungs began to show signs of weakening, the *Official Bulletin* bellows got to work. There was never anything like it outside the Arabian Nights. Sindbad the Sailor's roc episode could qualify as a bird of a story, but it lacked circumstantiality. It was supported by no diagrams and was without convincing pictorial exhibits. But Sindbad the Sailor was handicapped. He had no Public Information Committee back of him, and the vivid realism of moving picture illustration was unknown in his day. In competition with the Hot Aircraft Non-Production Board, Sindbad, old favorite as he is in aerial poultry tournaments, is clearly outclassed.

Now with this record of word output to show, it may be submitted that nothing further in that line can reasonably be expected of us. As the von Hertling Hun says, it is deeds, not words, that count now, and the day for taking the word for the deed has long ago passed. It is house-cleaning time for the windbag incapables. Every time one of them is uncovered and flung out to make room for someone whose antecedents and experience are presumptive evidence of being equal to the job, instead of the reverse, then we shall have in every such case an instance of that useful constructive criticism which Vice-President Marshall admits is not only unobjectionable, but desirable.

A thorough clean-up of this sort may leave us a little short on Doctors of varied branches of learning, but we shall be away ahead on Doers.

Sabotage, Strikes and Treason

THE three things are not identical. They are not necessarily related. Yet they may be linked inseparably together.

Thus sabotage in war time, when applied to government supplies, is treason, pure and simple, and nobody but a crazy casuist can make anything else of it. To destroy or damage in any way machines, munitions or anything else which is being prepared by the government or for the government, for the prosecution of the war, is to give aid and comfort to the enemy. That applies not alone to the products of factories and mines. It is equally sabotage and equally treason to destroy crops, or timber. The person who does such things is aiding the enemy as surely and almost as directly as though he used a rifle on the battle front. This fact needs to be recognized, and the men guilty of such crimes need, for the good of the nation, to be lined up before blank walls and used as targets by students of small arms.

Strikes are in a different category; or some of them are, for there are various kinds of strikes. We are entirely in sympathy with Mr. Gomper's plea for the right of men to cease work in order to secure better wages or better conditions of employment; within certain limits. But if men thus go on strike, there must be no picketing, no attempt at interference with other men who wish to work and even to take the identical places which the strikers have vacated. Any such interference, even if it amounts to nothing more than efforts at moral suasion, would be closely akin to sabotage. Certainly it would be giving aid and comfort to the enemy, and so would savor strongly of treason.

A purely passive strike, in which men merely withdrew and refrained from working, might be free from the taint of treason or of anything worse than "slacking"; and it might be as bad as open sabotage. Thus if men quit work in circumstances which caused injury to the plant or to its products, it is difficult to see how their conduct could be differentiated from that of those who did wilful damage. Indeed, to quit work when it would be impossible to fill their places promptly, and when important government work would thus be delayed, would obviously be to injure the government and to impair its ability to conduct the war, and that would be to give aid and comfort to the enemy. There are times when to become a slacker is to commit moral, if not technically, legal treason.

It is well to bear in mind, too, that in the last analysis the government has the same right to draft men into civilian service as into military service. If men can be conscribed for service in the army, to fight, they can also be conscribed to work in munition factories and elsewhere, to produce supplies for the army. We should be reluctant to see resort made to such policy. So we were reluctant to see military conscription adopted. But it had to be, because men would not volunteer in sufficient numbers; and it was, of course, necessary to impose severe punishment upon those who sought to evade conscription or who, having been conscribed, deserted the service. So if there were not sufficient volunteer industrialists to supply the nation's needs of life in this war, the inexorable and impregnable logic of the case would be to resort to conscription, and to impose heavy penalties for shirkers and deserters.

We have no idea that so extreme a course will be necessary. The spirit of the industrialists of America is too fine, too loyal, to require it. But it will be well to bear the logic and the equities of the case in mind, in order that workingmen and their leaders may incessantly realize their responsibilities. They are helping to win the war and to make the world safe for democracy, just as truly as the

soldiers in the trenches, and they are under the same moral compulsion to be loyal and steadfast. And we do not know that American workingmen could wish any greater honor than this, that their volunteer service was as adequate in numbers and as efficient and loyal in quality as the compulsory service of the army, and that their steadfastness in it, without compulsion, was as perfect as that of the soldiers who were constrained by the fear of the penalty of desertion.

Hope For Ireland

AMERICA'S best comment, clear and convincing, upon the "Irish problem" is the record of the "Fighting Sixty-Ninth." That famous regiment, in its intense patriotism and its aggressive belligerence against the Huns, is in general one of the sources of American pride and in particular is typical of the temper of Americans of Irish origin or descent. Despite a few O'Learys and Devoys, such Americans are conspicuously loyal to the Allied cause, and are conspicuously hostile to the Huns. And what they are, the Irishmen of Ireland must be.

We say that they must be, not at all because of any British compulsion, the very thought of which is to be deplored, but simply because they are Irish, because of the ideals which they cherish and because of the wrongs which they have suffered. Every Irishman knows perfectly well that there never has been any affection or confidence between his race and the Prussians. On the contrary, there has from time immemorial been an antipathy amounting as nearly to hereditary hatred as the feeling between any other two nations in the world. Irishmen are too shrewd to be deceived into believing in the love which the Huns now profess for them. They realize that it is as false and treacherous as hell, and is meant merely to make a catspaw of them.

Irishmen know that the Allies are fighting for the very principles of liberty and popular self-determination for which they themselves are striving, for the very cause for which Emmet and O'Connell and Parnell and Redmond gave their work and their lives. They know that the chief intent of Germany in this war is to destroy that cause and to deny those principles. They know that the triumph of the Huns would make the position and condition of Ireland immeasurably worse than it has ever been under British domination. They know, too,—they cannot help knowing,—that however much the triumph of their own cause has been delayed, it will be absolutely assured in the triumph of the Allies. The suggestion that after Ireland had "done her bit" in winning the war and making the world safe for democracy, her own just claims would or could be for a moment ignored, is simply fantastic in its folly.

It is said by some, including some of the most sincere friends of those concerned, that a tactical blunder was made by Mr. Lloyd George in moving for Irish conscription; that he "put the cart before the horse" in demanding conscription before Home Rule was granted. That may be as it may be. We are not apologists for, nor champions of, Mr. George, but merely his allies in winning this war. He is quite able to give his own reasons. But as we view the case at long range and through the glass of impartial benevolence and friendship, this is what we see:

The Irish, in a national convention of representative composition and of the most authoritative intellectual and moral character, after long deliberation, had failed to agree. Upon some points there was agreement, but upon several, of fundamental importance, there was apparently irremediable disagreement. Two reports were therefore made. One, which was not so much a report as a narrative presented by the chairman, represented the views of a majority. The other set forth the views of a minority, but a minority so large as certainly not to be in any sense negligible. That, of course, threw the whole problem back to Great Britain to solve and to decide. It became necessary for the British Government either to decide between

two conflicting reports, with a practical certainty that adoption of either would be bitterly resented if not violently resisted by the adherents of the other, or else to say in effect "A plague o' both your houses!" and prescribe a settlement of its own. But just at that point the full fury of the Hunnish drive was felt, a drive against Ireland as much as against England, and there was need of every available unit of man power. Confident that at heart the Irish were as ready to fight for the Empire as they had been before on a hundred fields and in a hundred wars, and urged by the necessity of an army that stood with its back to the wall fighting for the empire's life, the call for conscription was made, coupled with the assurance of Home Rule as soon as a bill could be drafted and enacted.

That is the simple story. With technical criticisms we, at any rate, need not greatly concern ourselves. It is pointed out that the continuance of British conscription while Ireland was exempt was engendering a spirit in England less and less favorable to Home Rule. To have the kingdom and the empire endangered by Irish exemption from what England and Scotland were bearing, seemed intolerable. Some say that if Home Rule had first been granted, the Irish would have volunteered without conscription. Others reply that if the Irish had volunteered or had accepted conscription, Home Rule could not have been withheld for a single day. Perhaps; perhaps not. It is not for us to judge.

We are the more restrained from censoriousness in any direction by the painful and humiliating realization that it is largely because of American unpreparedness and delay that this tremendous military necessity is imposed upon our Allies. We cannot be captious toward those who are suffering from our fault. The sum of the matter is, then, so far as Americans are morally authorized to express themselves, that Irishmen should have self government, and that they should bear their full share of the burdens of the war. And we confidently believe that that is what they are going to have, and that is what they are going to do.

The Liar

CZERNIN, then, is the scapegoat of his imperial master. We are not surprised. It is a perfectly logical and consistent development. And he well deserves his fate. He lent himself to the Hohenzollern-dictated Habsburg infamies as a pliant if not indeed an eager tool. Unclean work was to him congenial work. Thus he was a traitor to his own race. Being a Bohemian, he served oppressors of Bohemia, in a war in which they were arrayed against the very principles for which Bohemia has long been contending. A glib, smug, time-serving politician, devoid of moral fibre or common honor—let him go.

Yet give the devil his due. From one point of view Czernin does not deserve his fate. He has been forced to resign because of the fault of another. It really does not matter whether Charles of Habsburg elects to adapt old Adam's primal excuse, and to plead that his mother-in-law was the "wicked partner," or to pretend that he has been made the victim of a forgery. Either course will provoke derisive cachinnations and guffaws on High Olympus. The judgment of the world will only be reinforced and confirmed thereby. The fact is that Charles lied. He wrote to his brother-in-law, Sixtus de Bourbon, asking him to tell President Poincaré that for the sake of making peace he was willing to support in the strongest manner possible the just claims of France to Alsace and Lorraine. Later he wrote to William the Damned that he had never done any such thing but had always been heart and hand with Germany in holding fast those provinces. And when he was caught and exposed in the lie, his Foreign Minister had to pay the penalty. That was all.

Why not? The Prussian princes, the Crown Prince himself foremost, have been looting the plate and jewels and other treasures of French dwelling houses which their

troops have sacked. If Hohenzollern princes of the blood royal may be thieves, may not a Habsburg Emperor be a liar? The German Emperor has again and again shown himself a liar. Has not an Austrian equal privileges? Surely a Habsburg is not to be outdone by a parvenue Hohenzollern. Then there was Bismarck, who falsified a dispatch in order to provoke war, and boasted of the deed; and who connived at an attempted assassination of the Russian Czar in Paris in order to make bad blood between Russia and France, and boasted of that, too. Why, in the name of the infernal Father of Liars, should Charles not lie; and why should we expect anything but falsehood and treachery from the Huns and their allies? When Prussians sing "Heil dir im Siegerkranz!" surely Austrians must be permitted to respond with their national anthem, revised to date, "Got erhalte Karl den Lügner!"

The real significance of the incident is not in the passing of Czernin, who will, of course, be replaced by some equally subservient lackey of his imperial master's imperiously imperial overlord, but rather in the cumulative argument which it supplies in favor of prosecuting the war with "force—force to the utmost, force without stint or limit" until we have won peace with victory, and in its evidence of the utter folly that there would be in so much as talking about peace through negotiations with such creatures as Charles the Liar and William the Damned. Its significance is in its demonstration of the sound sense and everlasting justice of the President's contention that when we re-enter into relations with the Central Empires, they must have governments which can be respected and trusted. We cannot negotiate with treaty-breakers and perjurers.

Another Denman-Goethals Disgrace?

THE Garfield-Williams coal controversy indicates, and indicates very clearly, that the country will be subjected to another Denman-Goethals disgrace, unless President Wilson acts promptly and wisely. The facts underlying the controversy appear to be extremely simple.

Mr. Williams, representing Director General McAdoo, filled with the laudable desire of reducing railroad expenses found that he could make an annual cut of \$70,000,000 on the coal bill alone by taking the entire output of certain groups of mines. In consideration of reduced prices Mr. Williams agreed to give the operators 100 per cent car service. The arrangement would have worked perfectly for the railroads and would have been satisfactory to the operators involved but it would have wrecked the coal business generally. Preferential car service for mines serving the carriers would have meant a shortage of cars for all other mines with the consequent complete demoralization of labor and output.

Convinced that this policy would not be possible, but yet determined to reduce the railroad fuel bill Mr. Williams thereupon proposed a scale of prices which will not support mining properties generally. Dr. Garfield, who inaugurated his unhappy administration by assuming that all coal operators were robbers and consequently cut prices soon discovered that he had done the country an irreparable damage by reducing the supply of coal. He found that low prices, coupled with car shortage, meant demoralized management, shortage of labor and eventually closed mines. Labor once attracted to more congenial work and better wages on the surface cannot readily be induced to return to the pits. The result is that many properties which were supplying coal when we entered the war are now closed down, and during the first week of this month production was 1,500,000 tons below the normal output. Dr. Garfield, with last year's experience in mind and a coal shortage staring us in the face for next year is quite naturally opposed to allowing Mr. Williams or anybody else to make more trouble even for the purpose of saving \$70,000,000 in the railroad bill.

Under normal circumstances we are quite sure that we

would accept the business advice of Mr. McAdoo in preference to that of Dr. Garfield, without an exhaustive investigation. Mr. McAdoo's record justifies such faith in his judgment. In the present instance, however, it appears to be a case of facts. As a result of many months of very unhappy experience Dr. Garfield should be conversant with the facts. Nothing of the sort can be said for Mr. McAdoo or Mr. Williams as far as we are able to judge. Neither of them has had the time or opportunity of familiarizing himself with the coal situation as Dr. Garfield has.

Dr. Garfield is charged with the full responsibility of coal administration. Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Williams have no more right to interfere with his administration than Dr. Garfield has to dictate to the Secretary of the Treasury or the Comptroller of the Treasury. President Wilson should call the three gentlemen to the White House and explain this fact to them so clearly that they could never again mistake their duties.

If the President had followed such a course when the immortal Denman began to run wild in the Shipping Board American troops might be driving the Hun out of France today instead of going stale in American camps because of shortage of shipping.

Unless he follows such a course in the present circumstances we may expect a repetition of the disgraceful industrial disorganization of last year in a greatly aggravated form.

New York and Prohibition

THE New York Legislature has adjourned, and it has not ratified the proposed prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States. For this relief, much thanks. It seemed at one time as though New York would join in the stampede. Good old Maryland gaily rushed into it, taking not much more time to make up her mind than did her sister Virginia or other States further South; Massachusetts went about the matter more deliberately, but ultimately joined the crowd. Whatever the final outcome, it is a comfort to think that New York has at least refused to surrender her freedom at the very first summons. And who knows but that the spell of "crowd psychology"—*psychologie de la foule*—which has been sweeping Legislature after Legislature into the stampede, may be broken before the question comes again before a New York Legislature? To the members of that body who had the moral courage to stand out against the craze, much thanks are due for having procured at least the opportunity for the State to decide the issue at a more normal time.

That issue is not whether New York—or Pennsylvania, or Ohio, or any other State, as the case may be,—shall or shall not prohibit the manufacture, sale, importation or use of alcoholic liquors. The issue is wholly different from that of a prohibition statute, or a local-option statute, or a prohibition or local-option amendment to a State Constitution. What New York was asked to do was to surrender forever her control over the question whether it shall or shall not be possible for a man in New York to get a glass of beer or a bottle of wine. Even more than that she was asked to do. She was asked to give her consent to the institution of a state of things in which not only New York would be absolutely powerless to make it legal for a man to get a glass of beer, but in which it would be impossible for a majority of the people of the United States, or a majority of both houses of Congress, or a majority of the States of the Union, ever to restore to the people of the country, or to the people of any State, or of any city, that elementary right. Before anybody in these United States can again have the privilege of getting a glass of beer—after the amendment has once been ratified—it will be necessary to get an amendment to the Federal Constitution passed by a two-thirds vote of the House of Representatives and a two-thirds vote of the Senate, and ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

No matter how grievous New York and Boston and Baltimore and Chicago and San Francisco may find the thing to be in its actual working, there will be no help for it short of a tremendous nation-wide agitation, capturing two-thirds of Congress and 36 of the 48 States.

The thing is so preposterous that it is humiliating to think of the want of sober sense that has thus far been shown in its adoption; the only consolation being that it may be in considerable part accounted for by the absorption of public interest in the war, and the accompanying tension of public feeling. But that comfort doesn't go far when we consider that this copper-fostered prohibition is not only in itself an absurd proceeding, but is of the most portentous significance in its relation to our whole scheme of government. It breaks down utterly all barriers to Federal control. Supposing the amendment adopted, what possible objection in principle could be asserted against any amendment whatever of Federal authority upon what has hitherto been the domain of the States? A particular proposal might, of course, be objected to for special reasons; it could not be objected to as violating the principle of local self-government after that principle has been abandoned, in the most flagrant possible way, by a decision of the States that was deliberately registered in the Constitution of the United States.

There may not be much prospect of preventing the consummation of this Constitutional absurdity and atrocity. But every man who keeps his head, and who is not afraid to stand up for his convictions, should feel it his duty to keep up the resistance to the last. How much the rush of the Legislatures into this folly has been a matter of crowd psychology is evident when one reflects, for instance, that neither Maryland nor Massachusetts had ever come anywhere near adopting even State prohibition, and yet that their Legislatures adopted this measure without the slightest apparent realization of its being infinitely more extreme than those which the State had uniformly refused to sanction. Only on the ground of epidemic campaign can this kind of thing be accounted for. And no one can be sure that the epidemic will persist. The chance of fighting it next year may prove to be much better than this; and no State should be regarded as having surrendered until it has actually done so.

For Party or For Country?

"CONGRESS," says the Democratic New York *World*, "is still playing politics with this war—Republican politics and Democratic politics. Questions involving life and death to the cause of the self-governing nations battling against German autocracy are dealt with in the spirit of the cross-roads politician. The country is in the war, but Congress is not in the war. It is running for office and jockeying for political advantage while the best manhood of civilization is dying in Flanders and Picardy."

And the Independent New York *Herald* continues:

There is not much poetry in that but a lot of truth. Periodically there comes from Capitol Hill the lament that the country is not awake to the seriousness of the crisis it is confronting. The boot is on the other foot. If this war is to be won—and it must be won—Congress must be made to realize that the country is no more interested in its petty political squabbles than is Colonel George Harvey, who has urged that a way be found to eliminate all elections this year. That cannot be done, but a way should be found to wake up Congress, and every other institution in Washington that needs waking up, to the fact that persons charged with grave responsibilities who persist in playing politics or thinking in terms of politics these days are digging their political graves.

The condition is undeniable. Already approximately one-third of the members of Congress have left Washington upon one pretext or another to mend their political fences and those who remain are actuated primarily in their speechmaking and voting by considerations bearing upon their coming campaigns for re-election. As we have noted

frankly before, moreover, the virtual elimination of partisan strife probably, as the *Herald* remarks, "cannot be done," but not because of any legal obstacle, as we demonstrated conclusively last week. Party spirit and personal ambition are the only things that stand in the way of a simple proposal which would strengthen America to a marked degree and so contribute materially to the shortening of the war, with all that that implies in the saving of lives and money.

The *Boston Globe* puts its finger upon the crux of the opposition when it asks:

Does Col. George Harvey, the original Wilson man but not a persistent admirer of the President, who proposes that the two great parties shall make some arrangement so that Mr. Wilson may stay in office for the duration of the war without the struggle and excitement of a National election, realize that the adoption of his suggestion would deprive the politicians of their chief source of profit and amusement?

While it is evident that Mr. Taylor cannot have examined our suggestion with his customary care, else he would have discovered that it has no bearing whatever upon the next Presidential election, he is wholly right in attributing the opposition to the politicians, not to the people. Speaking along the same line, the *Watertown Times* goes even further when it declares specifically:

Even the White House, so much indebted to Colonel Harvey for making Wilson President in 1912 by direction and for again making him President in 1916 by indirection, will not take kindly to the Harvey plan. The presidential utterances as forwarded to the Democrats in New Jersey and Wisconsin indicates otherwise.

We do not for a moment believe that this supposition is correct. The President erred in both instances referred to, but they were isolated and trivial as compared with the present proposal and it is quite inconceivable that he would veto a plan so full of helpfulness in the performance of his own great task. Our contemporary errs, too, in insisting that "it is better to go to the polls and express our dissatisfaction than to criticise purposelessly and run a chance of being classified as destructive critics instead of constructive critics." There would be no definite issue before the country because all candidates would pledge their earnest support of the Government, but, even if there were, what possible gain to the great cause could be derived from administering a general "rebuke" to the President at this time?

For ourselves, we have to confess, we remain unmoved by occasional references to our comments upon specific performances as destructive instead of constructive. We strive steadfastly to blame plainly, even sharply, whenever and wherever blame seems deserved, and to give full and hearty praise to all that is praiseworthy,—preferring mightily and invariably to do the latter and regretting only a certain scantiness of opportunity.

The *Washington Evening Star* is not wholly accurate, we are gratified to be able to note, in saying that our proposition "has met with no response." The voices of two great commonwealths accustomed to assume leadership ring strong and true through their most representative journals,—so impressively, indeed, that we quote at length from the *Boston Evening Transcript*:

LET MASSACHUSETTS LEAD

At the dinner tendered Lord Reading by the Lotus Club a fortnight or more ago, Colonel George Harvey made a suggestion pertinent to the times which has not found favor with professional politicians of either party. On that account it has attracted all the more attention among the people to whom "nothing else matters until the war is won." The suggestion was that the usual campaign preceding the election of a new House of Representatives, which the Constitution fixes for November next, be abandoned, to the end that the people might be spared the annoyance of the blare of partisan trumpets and give ear only to counsel and constructive criticism intended to speed up the conduct of the war and hasten the day of victory. The election must be held, but the campaign could easily become so nominal that the mass of the people would pay little attention to it and content themselves only with an examination of the records on the war of the candidates seeking re-election.

So far as the fifteen candidates for re-election are concerned—the Republicans and the Democrats—we can think of no good reason why the suggestion of Colonel Harvey should not be adopted by the people of Massachusetts. * * * In other years

it will be possible to strengthen the delegation by the election of a number of men better qualified for congressional service. We can well afford to make loyalty the acid test this year—loyalty to congressional responsibility, the loyalty of intelligence and courage. Such a test the Massachusetts members of the House of Representatives, both Republicans and Democrats, can pass.

Massachusetts may well lead in the adoption of Colonel Harvey's timely suggestion by serving notice on the professional politicians to keep out of this State this year, and by re-electing the whole Massachusetts delegation at Washington in recognition of the loyalty with which they have supported the prosecution of the war, opposed its misconduct wherever they believed they found misconduct, and stood by the Government in its every forward step toward victory. Let us keep these men on the job until the war is won or until one of them falls a victim to the sneaking hope of a premature peace. The professional politicians will not welcome the idea that this is an off year for them. But this is the people's war; they will pay its cost; they are the only sovereigns in this country. Their representatives at Washington are their head servants and nothing more.

From the *Charleston News and Courier*:

The message of Lloyd George to America, delivered at the Lotus Club dinner in New York Wednesday night, through Lord Reading, has been widely heralded. There was another utterance at that dinner fully as deserving of the attention of the nation. We refer to the earnest appeal which was sounded by Col. George Harvey that there be an end of bitter political fulminations and that the whole people, regardless of former party lines, get behind the President for the winning of the war.

There are few men from whom such words as these could come with greater significance, for Colonel Harvey himself has been in the past one of the most persistent critics of the present Administration. He opposed Mr. Wilson's re-election. He is not now in personal agreement with the President as to many things; but Colonel Harvey, whatever else may be said of him, is unquestionably a very able and a very discerning man. From the beginning of the war he has kept in close touch with conditions and sentiment in Europe and he sees the danger which *The News and Courier* touched upon the other day.

Partisanship is almost inseparable from democratic government, and under normal conditions is to be accepted as a matter of course. There are times, however, and this is supremely the case now, when a bitter display of partisanship is tantamount in its effects to treason. Fortunately, the people sense this almost instinctively. The words of Colonel Harvey are an encouraging illustration of the reaction caused by partisan speeches such as those which are now being delivered in the Senate.

And from the *Washington Herald*:

Colonel Harvey's suggestion becomes more impressive as it is studied. It applies only to the Congressional elections of this fall, and has no bearing whatever on the presidential election of 1920. The skeptical, and especially those afflicted with the now malignant disease of "acute partisanship," affected to view the proposition with alarm. The "It can't be done" were early critics—but "it can be done and indeed is being done," as Colonel Harvey tells us. The Democrats in the Ninth District of Virginia, a close constituency, passing the resolution unanimously:

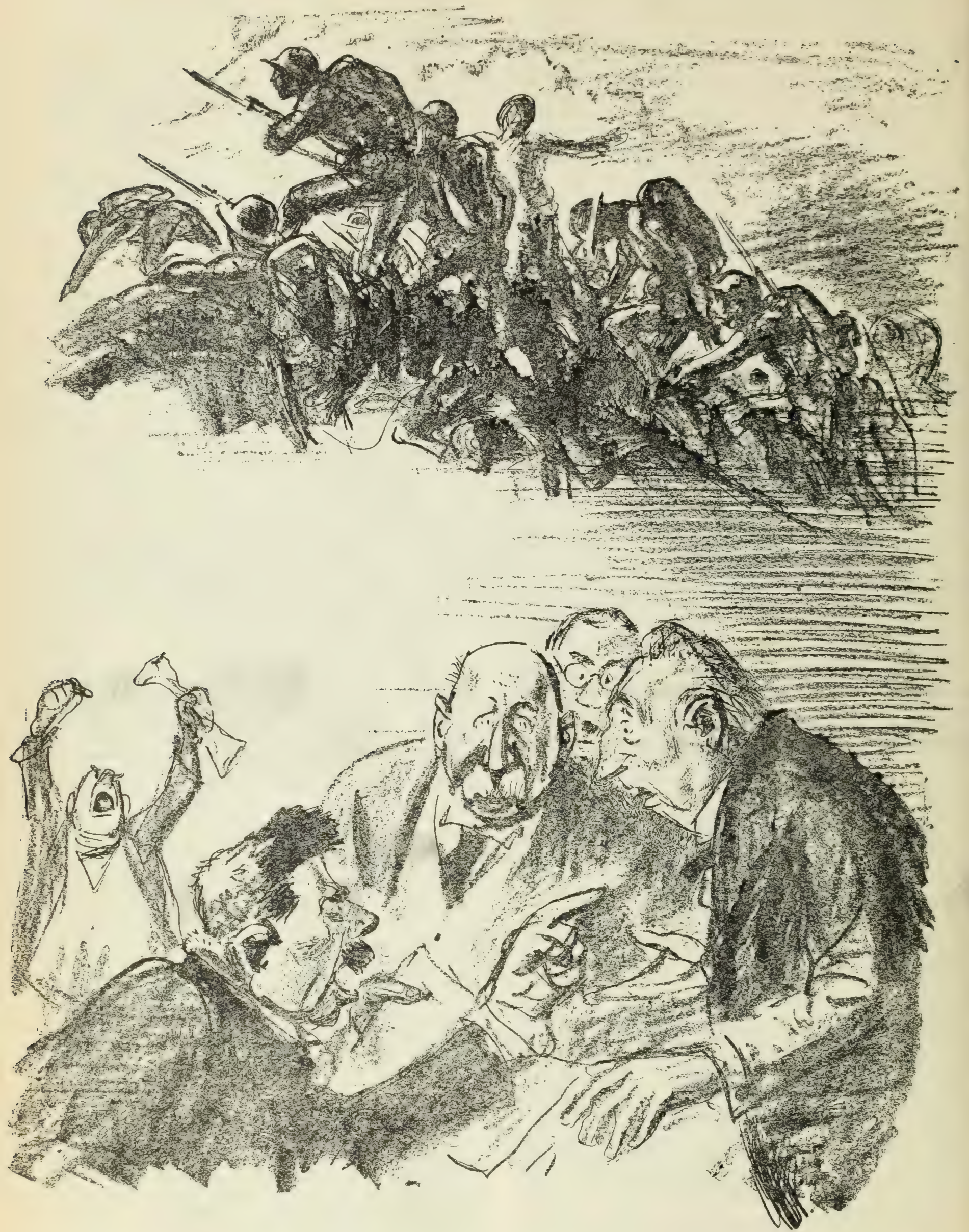
"Whereas the minds and hearts of all our people are and should be turned toward the winning of the war for democracy, and whereas we do not believe their time and energy should be diverted from patriotic activities into the requirements of a fierce partisan campaign, therefore we recommend to the Democratic party in the Ninth Virginia Congressional District that no nomination for Congress be made this year."

The Democrats have given notice that in the Senatorial contests scheduled for the fall the re-election of Senators Nelson and Kenyon will be unopposed, and in Idaho Borah and Nugent will be returned by consent of both parties.

This very important contribution of Colonel Harvey's to the country is based on the highest form of patriotism. Its adoption will save money by the millions of dollars; will avert bitterness; signify to the Allies a splendid unity of purpose and determination, and "it would," Colonel Harvey says, "elevate patriotism, avert politics and redound to the pride and glory of the nation."

There is ground for serious thought in the whole proposition, and if the committees of Mr. McCormick and Mr. Hays would meet, the way might be opened for a very happy solution of impending troubles.

The *St. Louis Republic* laments "the distractions of an election" in this hour of peril, but regards it as "unlikely that a sufficient weight of opinion can be concentrated to prevent one." Indeed, the common opinion continues to be, "ideal but not practicable." The phrase is not unfamiliar to us. It was applied with extraordinary unanimity to a certain suggestion which we adventured some eleven years ago with respect to the Presidency; and yet, even thoughtful unconscionable persons might be disposed to reverse the terms, Behold!



THE BOYS AT THE FRONT AND THE POLITICIANS IN THE REAR

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Week

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1918.

WE have the distinguished privilege and supreme satisfaction of announcing that the problem of locating the exact position of a submarine from a ship, at a distance which for obvious reasons cannot be mentioned, has been solved by American inventive genius. This is not a guess based upon experiment. It is a fact demonstrated by actual experience. While the contrivance does not presage the complete extirpation of the pest, it does virtually guarantee its ultimate elimination as a material force in piratical warfare.

The most significant war news is not of fighting but of finance. The eighth German war loan, of \$3,500,000,000, has been fully subscribed. That makes, according to the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, a German indebtedness on account of the war of \$31,000,000,000. That is about \$477 for every man, woman and child in the whole Hunnish empire. We have an idea that it spells something very considerably like bankruptcy. Certainly it gives much point to the frantic demands of the Senates of the old Hansa cities, that Germany shall insist upon a big indemnity at the end of the war. An indemnity of anywhere from ten to twenty billions from the United States would come in mighty handy; wouldn't it?

At the same time with this announcement the British budget for the year was presented. It was the largest in the history of any nation in the world. It amounted to \$14,117,935,750; perhaps with some odd shillings and pence; the English are very precise. By jacking up the income tax to a maximum of 30 per cent, and imposing additional taxes upon various luxuries, it was expected to raise a revenue of \$3,999,737,500. That would leave a deficit of \$10,118,198,250 to be covered by loans. In presenting that budget the Chancellor was not merely cheerful but actually buoyant and optimistic; thanking God that

things were as well with the United Kingdom as they were.

And at the very same time our petty little Third Liberty Loan was desperately struggling to make good fifty per cent of the minimum!

Now that Third Liberty Loan is, of course, all going to be subscribed; not merely the minimum, but a good deal more. It would be treason to doubt it. But it strikes us that the examples of our enemy and of our Ally should shame us mightily, because that we did not subscribe the whole, even to the maximum, in the very first week of the campaign, instead of letting it drag along, almost "runnin' emptyins", as they say down East, and depending upon a half-past eleventh hour drive to carry it over the top. If the Huns can make good three and a half billions, with a total of thirty-one billions, and if England can face with a smile a deficit of more than ten billions, *why the devil* are we slacking over some miserable three or four or five billions?

"Over There" the decision is postponed. Neither side has gained significant advantage. Perhaps the most significant thing is that the Huns have not gained such advantage. The professedly irresistible force has been resisted. True, the immovable mass has been moved, but it has not been destroyed, nor broken; just shoved along a little to a new place, where it now sticks tighter than before. And seeing that the losses in the process were three or four to one against the Huns, we can afford to regard the situation with a considerable degree of Christian fortitude.

Our American troops are getting deeper and deeper into the melee. They are giving of themselves the creditable account which we always expect of them. Their losses have been heavy, as was also to be expected, seeing that the Huns sent their choicest hand-picked "storm-troops" against them. But it is gratifying to observe that the Huns' losses were much the heavier. Seicheprey will henceforth be a memorable name in American military annals.

Highly gratifying, too, is the statement that in the course of six weeks the Germans lost a thousand battle-planes. Coupled with the news of the death of Captain Richthofen, that indicates that the enemy is losing the war in the air, although it was in the air that he boasted that he was sure to win. The fly in the ointment, which is a particularly big and offensive one, is the fact that American planes had no part in the splendid work of destruction. American aviators were there, numerous, alert, effective. There are no better Hun-killers in the world than they. But they were in foreign planes, not one of our promised twenty thousand having materialized. What would it not have meant if only that promise had been made good, and if thousands of American planes could have swept through the broken lines of the Hunnish air fleet, to scatter desolation and death beyond the Rhine?

It is interesting to note the change of tone that has

occurred in Hunland over aerial bombardments. When German Zeppelins and planes were bombarding English schools and orphanages and coast resorts, the Huns were chortling with glee. Their old German Gott was surely with them, every time. Every announcement of the killing of children and women and sick men in hospitals evoked a volley of "Hochs!" But now that Allied aviators have taken to dropping bombs upon German fortresses and camps and arsenal and railroad stations, the tune tremendously changes. This is savage. This is not cricket. And the Reichstag is implored to start a movement for an international agreement not to do such things. It does make a difference whose towns are bombarded. The answer to which is, of course, "A little more grape, Captain Bragg!" A few more, nay, a lot more bombs, Allied aviators, deftly deposited where they will do the most good, euphemism for most harm, on every German city and town within your cruising range.

Said William of Hohenzollern at Cambrai:

"What have I not done to preserve the world from these horrors!"

The damned hypocrite!

The arrival of the first German prisoners of war in this country is an earnest of the coming, no doubt, of myriads more; for our soldiers will be physically unable to kill them all, but will have to take some of them as "Kamerads." They are being humanely treated, which is all right, but to some extent appear to be coddled, which is all wrong. We do not understand why honest, clean, decent American sailors should be turned out of their quarters on shipboard in order that some of the litter of the Blond Beast might be more comfortably placed. We think that the British officer was quite correct when he remarked: "When you know these dogs as well as we do, you won't be so damned considerate of them."

The fact is, we have all along been too considerate—damned or otherwise—of our enemies. That is why in some places Americans have been flogging and tarring and feathering German propagandists, and why Senator Chamberlain has been advocating martial law for spies. It is because of the tenderness and the delay of the civil officials charged with the punishment of such miscreants. We don't approve, and no good American approves, violence and lynch law. Neither do we like the idea of military authority overriding civil authority. But still less do we approve and like the immunity which enemies, both alien and domestic, enjoy. German spies are busy, and German propagandists are busy, and we should hate to tell what happens, or what doesn't happen, sometimes, when the attention of the Secret Service and the Department of Justice is called to their pernicious doings. Some say that the Department is overburdened with more work than it can do. Others say that it is pursuing the policy of catching flies with molasses rather than with vinegar. We don't know which story is correct. But we do know that something prompt, decisive and inexorable ought to be done to suppress the enemy within our gates.

Speaking about spies, has the world ever known one possessing facilities comparable to those of the Bulgarian Minister to the United States, with access to the State Department and to all of the avenues of information which permeate a national capital like Washington? True, we are not at war technically with Bulgaria, but her soldiers are surely fighting the soldiers of our Allies and probably our own on the Western front—and so are the soldiers of Turkey. But have we ministers in Bulgaria and Turkey? Not at all. Germany would not permit it for an instant. And yet we continue to harbor as honorable guests their representatives precisely as we entertained and virtually took into our confidence Bernstorff and Dumba. A situation more anomalous or more shocking to our Allies cannot be

imagined. Wherefore we rejoice that Senator Brandegee finally lost patience and demanded to know why we do not declare a state of war, which everybody knows to exist, with the two rotten, subservient countries and give their representatives their sailing papers.

"We may," he said with stinging truth, "as well look right through this thing down to the bottom of it. Bulgaria cannot be friendly to the United States and to Germany at the same time. That is all there is to it. They are absolutely under the cloven hoof of Germany. They are dominated. Their life and death depend upon the favor with which the Kaiser looks upon Czar Ferdinand, and it is a travesty and a tragedy for us to be declaring war against one of several allied powers who are waging war against us and maintaining friendly relations with the others."

"The country, I can imagine, wonders why we should continue to entertain a Bulgarian minister," added Senator Knox. "Why should he have access to the Department of State? Why should he be received in the homes of American citizens, to pick up information that may be of great value to the Teutonic allies, with Bulgaria standing in the relation to the Kaiser that she does to-day? The people have a right to know why we maintain a minister from Bulgaria under such circumstances. We should have this information, and have it direct."

And yet nothing was done and probably nothing will be done because Senator King, after toddling up to and from the White House, reported that the President thought much might be gained from watchful waiting,—as, we assume, in the case of Austria, of which after a like experience he said to Congress on December 4:

One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her *allies*. I therefore very urgently recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Austria-Hungary is for the time being not her own mistress, but simply the *vassal* of the German government.

The same logic would lead also to a declaration of war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They also are the *tools* of Germany. But they are *mere tools*, and do not yet stand in the direct path of our necessary action.

That is to say, the very reason why we *should* and, in fact, thank God, did declare war upon Austria is urged for *not* declaring war upon Bulgaria and Turkey. But why, why? Can anybody tell? No wonder Mr. Brandegee declared with righteous indignation and in bitter disgust:

My God, Mr. President, and this is an era of "open diplomacy" and "pitiless publicity." The President is his own Foreign Relations Committee and his own Secretary of State. He is conducting this war himself, and the only one he takes into confidence is Colonel House, who comes tiptoeing down here from New York while the Senate is kept in ignorance.

To which we have to remark quite simply that nobody is in a better situation to demand, to get and to present the facts to an impatient and resentful people than the member of the Foreign Relations Committee who hails from the sturdy State of Connecticut.

What is the subtle significance of that phrase in the President's letter to Senator Overman denouncing the proposal to subject spies to martial law? He speaks of "the people we are fighting and *affecting* to despise." In the slangwhanging speech of a mere Senator or Representative the expression might pass unnoticed. But the President is so scrupulously precise and careful in his choice of words, even in off-hand speech, that such a phrase in a deliberately written letter of special importance cannot fail to command attention and to provoke wonderment as to its purport. To affect, according to the dictionary, is "To feign; to pretend; specially, to pretend to feel as one does not really feel; to be what one is not; or to be acting on one way whilst really doing so in another." Good old Roget, also, gives as synonyms "To invent, to fabricate, to forge, to lie." It is, of course, quite unthinkable that the President had any of these significations of the word in mind when he thus used it. He would be the last man in the world to suggest that

we are merely pretending to despise the ravishers and murderers of the Belgians, the pirates of the Lusitania tragedy, and in fact really respect and honor them. Yet why that careful and studied insertion of the word "affecting"? We must hope that the All-Informing Creel will make haste to elucidate a problem which at present seems as darkly insoluble as John Hay's memorable "Mystery of Gilgal."

Speaking, by the way, of the distinguished *Censor Censorum*, it is to be observed that he is at present very freely intimating that various American journalists and publicists, who have been "saying things" about the Administration, would if they were in Germany be promptly lined up before a firing squad. Yet a little while ago he was at least not giving his disapproval to the publication of a big display advertisement urging American citizens to sign a pledge, "I will not kill nor help kill my fellow men;" the purpose of the advertisement obviously being to dissuade men from entering the army. We venture to assume, then, that in the pacific kindness of his heart he is glad that the critics of Mr. Baker are not to be arrayed before a firing squad of soldiers with guns, but are to be reserved for citation by him, Mr. Creel himself, "before the moral firing squad of patriotic reprobation." What sort of an experience that is, he himself knows, ever since his memorable "proud of unpreparedness" oration.

When Major General Frederick Barton Maurice, the creel of the British War Office, simultaneously with his contemporary on this side of the water, injudiciously uttered sentiments that might better have been kept to himself, there was something doing instantly. What he said was that the British were bearing the strain, although the French army was the larger,—“an unpleasant business”,—and then he asked pointedly, "What is happening to Bluecher—what has become of the reserves?"—a gratuitous and unwarranted reflection in all conscience, though hardly more stupid, we should say, than rejoicing that we were not ready to fight when the time for action came. But there the similarity ended. Maurice was promptly "promoted", Uriah-like, to a place in the field, where utterances are not wholly unrestricted, while our own Public Informer got off with a snort of indignation from the people and a dignified rebuke, which probably he relished, from the House of Representatives. Other countries, other methods! They even hang spies in England.

The indescribably gallant performance of the British Navy at Zeebrugge is calculated to warm the cockles of the heart. It shows that the spirit of Nelson and Dundonald is still alive and regnant. It is the spirit, too, of Paul Jones and Decatur, of Farragut—yes, and of Cushing and Hobson. Of this latter the Huns seemed to have a notion, whence their dismayed yell of "It's the Americans!" when the British Jackies leaped upon the Zeebrugge Mole. We wish they had been Americans. But our chance will come, and when it does, our Blue Jackets and Marines will give the same good account of themselves as our British allies are doing.

For those "undesirable citizens" who have managed to amass a fortune and who contemplate leaving a competence to their descendants there is a modicum of comfort in the provisions of the Third Liberty Loan. Even the most vivid imagination will not serve to visualize the agonies of the wealthy as they read the enormities of the Federal inheritance tax which imposes on estates inheritance taxes varying from 4 to 25 per cent, the largest figure applying, of course, to possessors—whether "malefactors" or not—of very great wealth. But the terms of the Third Liberty Loan afford for their sufferings a certain measure of assuagement which does not appear to have been adequately exploited by the Reserve Bank Committees.

The bonds of the Third Liberty Loan, "bearing a higher rate of interest than four per centum per annum" is the language of the law, are made receivable at par and accrued interest "in payment of any estate or inheritance taxes imposed by the United States under or by virtue of any present or future law upon such estate or the inheritance thereof." In other words, purchase of the bonds of the Third Liberty Loan affords a means of investment guaranteed by the United States against depreciation, to the extent to which the investor's estate may be required to pay inheritance taxes to the Federal Government, and provides in the mean time a modest but by no means despicable interest on the investment, $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per annum.

Under the combined regular and war inheritance tax laws, even so modest an estate as \$60,000 will be subject to a tax of \$1,400. An estate of \$100,000 will be required to pay \$3,000; an estate of \$200,000 must pay \$5,500; an estate of \$300,000 must pay \$15,000; an estate of \$500,000 must pay \$32,000; an estate of \$1,000,000 must pay \$82,000; and estates of \$5,000,000 must pay \$682,000.

With these figures in view, and with the possibility that long continuance of the war may lead to even greater inheritance taxes, the advantages to be derived from the investment of a portion of a rich-man's fortune in $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent bonds which will be receivable at par in payment of inheritance taxes is obvious.

It is also noteworthy that the acceptability of the $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cents at par in payment of inheritance taxes applies equally to the $4\frac{1}{4}$ s obtained by conversion of earlier issues with those procured as an original purchase.

If to one man more than another be due the credit of placing this country in a position to defy those enemies who would have destroyed our commerce and made us forever economic vassals of our conquerors, that man is Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the United States Shipping Board and President of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.—*President Farrell, of the United States Steel Corporation.*

This is "the impossible Mr. Hurley" whom Col. Harvey and other chronic critics of the Administration are forever railing against.—*The World.*

Yes, indeed, the same Mr. Hurley whom the President virtually supplanted last week, when he appointed Mr. Schwab Director General of Shipbuilding and thereby won, as ever when he does the right thing, the unqualified approval of this "chronic critic", who holds an antidote to chronic bootlicking to be highly desirable. We are, moreover, in full accord with Mr. Farrell in ascribing to Mr. Hurley the entire responsibility for the existing shipbuilding condition which made Mr. Schwab's appointment imperative. We declare further that the same Mr. Hurley proved himself a good sport when he said to the reporters:

You know that the only goal for which we are striving is the rapid building of these ships. With us nothing else counts. Lincoln once said of one of his generals, "If he can win this war I would be willing to hold his horse." That is the way I feel about Mr. Schwab.

That is the kind of talk that is good to hear these days and we cheerfully hail the speaker as a square-shouldered, patriotic citizen, who might render valuable service if assigned to a job for which he is fitted. Our only objection to Mr. Hurley was that he didn't and apparently couldn't build ships, whereas Mr. Schwab's celerity in adopting our suggestion that he move the whole working outfit out of the political atmosphere of Washington indicates encouragingly that he can and will, even though he should have to hold or preferably whip up his own horses.

The information I went to France to get I got.—*Secretary Baker.*

Let us hope that what he went to get was what he needed,—even though a year late.

We Exonerate Mr. Creel

IN view of the fact that Mr. George Creel, Chairman of the Department of Public Misinformation, continues to publish articles and make speeches as of "the Government of the United States," with the authority of the executive branch thereof, the time may come when it will seem necessary to present a record of his peculiar performances, but so far we cannot refrain from hoping that the distasteful task may fall to the lot of someone else. Nevertheless, the bumptious young man's speech instructing the "National Conference of American Lecturers," whatever that may be, continues to evoke so much unfavorable comment that it cannot pass wholly unnoticed.

In the course of it Mr. Creel pronounced the Liberty motor "100 per cent perfect," declared that "not a life has been lost through negligence" in the camps, etc., etc., *ad nauseam*, but such falsehoods are so palpable that it is hardly worth while to present the overwhelming evidence in contradiction. It is rather interesting, however, to learn from the official spokesman of the President that "we did not go into this war in any bumptious way, but rather in a spirit somewhat of humility," that "within thirty days our airplane programme will be announced and it will deserve the confidence of the country," while simultaneously admitting that the announced "expectations" (of whom if not of the Administration?) tend only to "shame the country and destroy our own morale," and finally (we quote)

As I say, this is not pacifism or pro-Germanism entirely, but due to the fact that we are a very patient people, and rather a people who always thought very highly of ourselves. By persistent reiteration we have come to believe that we are the greatest people in the world. We do not ask anybody to prove it; we admit it.

We are pleased, of course, to hear from an official source that all this is "not pacifism or pro-Germanism entirely"—that is to say, only partially—and we are not sure that Mr. Creel should be scolded as severely as he has been for uttering the declaration which has made him famous, to wit:

There was a question, when we went to war, of preparation. We had not prepared, and I shall always be proud, to my dying day, that there was no rush of preparation in this country prior to the day the President went before Congress and said: "We are driven to accept a state of war by the aggressions of the German Government." For to have prepared, to have held out offers of peace with one hand and attempted a conciliation with the other, and all the while have been preparing for war, would have been to give the lie to what we said; namely, that we would not engage in war unless we had exhausted every resource at our command.

Considering that hundreds of thousands of lives are now being sacrificed needlessly because of our refusal to make any sort of preparation, it follows inevitably that Mr. Creel is proud, first, of criminal neglect and, secondly, of being a damned fool. But there is nothing new in that. Secretary Baker, one of the most efficient public servants the President ever met, said the same thing twice in New York, to our certain knowledge, and a third time in a speech to the Boston Chamber of Commerce on October 24, 1917, when he spoke these words:

Our entrance into the war naturally imposed upon our country an unaccustomed task. It is not uncommon to hear men say that we were not prepared. We were not prepared; we are not yet prepared. But whether or not that involves a criticism, or whether it shows that we really believed in our own ideals to such an extent that we believed it impossible for any sane and just man to disbelieve in them, is a question. I take a certain sort of joy in the knowledge that we believed in them and in the reality of civilization, and it is a virtue to feel an incredulity towards the thing which has come to pass.

President Wilson himself, moreover, prepared for publication on January 1 of the present year a long statement, in which he said:

"Our war progress has been as remarkable as it is inspiring . . . It is now nine months since this Republic

was driven to accept the aggressions of the Teutonic allies as constituting a state of war. . . . In order that our acts might not give the lie to our words we necessarily avoided even the appearance of hostile measures while we offered them peace. We waited until . . . peace was impossible before we reluctantly began to prepare to defend ourselves."

There is no dissimilarity here; indeed, as statements of policy they are as alike as peas (or should we spell it peace?) in a pod. The only difference in the emotions of Mr. Baker and Mr. Creel is that the former's was one of "a certain sort of joy" while the latter's was one of pride, bound to animate and elevate his spirit so long at least as he shall live. It is easy to see, too, where Mr. Creel got the idea that efforts at preparedness "would have been to give the lie to what we said," when we read from Mr. Wilson's own pen, "In order that our acts might not give the lie to our words we necessarily avoided even the appearance of hostile measures while we offered them peace," and consequently we "waited until peace was impossible before we reluctantly began to prepare to defend ourselves."

If further evidence of the accuracy of Mr. Creel's interpretation of the Administration's attitude upon preparedness be required, it is afforded by Colonel House, who says frankly and plainly in his authorized auto-obituary that "he (the President) refused resolutely to make advance military preparations, although many of his advisers urged him to take some steps to put the army on a war footing."

True, this acknowledged position is somewhat at variance with the declaration of the President on November 4, 1915, when he said:

I would not feel that I was discharging the solemn obligation I owe the country were I not to speak in terms of deepest solemnity of the urgency and necessity of preparing ourselves.

Again on January 27, 1916:

We must see to it that a sufficient body of citizens is given the kind of training which will make them efficient now if called into the field in case of necessity. It is discreditable to this country, for this is a country full of intelligent men, that we should have exhibited to the world the example we have sometimes exhibited to it, of stupid and brutal waste of force. Think of asking men who can be easily trained to come into the field crude, ignorant, inexperienced and merely furnishing the stuff for camp fever and the bullets of the enemy.

And again on January 29, 1916:

We are interested in making certain that there are men all over the United States prepared, equipped, and ready to go out at the call of the National Government upon the shortest possible notice . . . let me tell you very solemnly you cannot afford to postpone this thing. I do not know what a single day may bring forth.

But the facts as bearing upon Mr. Creel's severely criticized observation are as stated and the completeness of his exoneration becomes apparent upon realization that he voiced not only the exact thought of Secretary Baker but the very words, in the most important phase, of the President himself. There was no occasion whatever for him to try to lie out of it, only to get caught in the act. All he had to do to avert widespread condemnation, the injustice of which, we trust, we have now made clear to our heedless contemporaries, was to speak the truth and thus confound all those in and out of Congress who, in the words of the truly Independent *New York Herald*, are "afraid to place the responsibility where it belongs—upon the 'highers-up'."

"God Save Ireland!"

PARADOXES prevail in Ireland. A fighting race demurs to fighting. The principle is propounded that while the millions of Irishmen in other countries may be conscripted for military service, the Irishmen in Ireland itself must be exempt. The Catholic Church in Ireland gives aid and comfort to that power which persecuted Cardinal Mercier, which murdered priests and ravished nuns, which bombarded Catholic worshipers on Good Friday,

and which one of the most distinguished Catholic laymen has recently declared to be "the greatest enemy of the Catholic Church and of Christianity in Europe." Fifty-five Irish Members of Parliament declare that the imposition of conscription "constitutes one of the most brutal acts of tyranny and oppression of which any government can be guilty;" unmindful of the fact that while they say that in Dublin with impunity, if they said something corresponding with it in New York they would be very likely to suffer the penalty of sedition.

These paradoxes, we say, prevail; but they cannot permanently prevail. So contradictory a policy cannot endure. Reason forbids it; to say nothing of considerations of patriotism and morals. While nearly a score of nations are joining eagerly in the war for the defense of humanity against the common foe, it is simply impossible that Ireland, the land of saints and heroes, can lag behind. We are not unmindful of the wrongs which Ireland has suffered, or of the blunders and worse which the British Government has committed in the past. We suppose that there is not an Irishman in Dublin or in Cork who realizes them all more keenly, regrets them more deeply, or condemns them more frankly, than that very Prime Minister of the United Kingdom who has just ordered conscription to be applied—and who at the same time pledges the very existence of his Government to the doing of justice to Ireland in the granting of Home Rule. But we regard the issues and the immediate and imperative needs of the war as so transcendent as to minimize everything else and to justify the taking of any orderly and lawful measures for raising to the maximum the man-power of the Allies.

Whether they realize it or not, the fact is that the war against the Blond Beast is being waged for Ireland's protection as much as for that of any other land. A German invasion of the British Isles would mean that Cardinal Logue would be treated no better than was Cardinal Mercier, that Irish priests would be murdered, Irish nuns ravished, Irish churches desecrated, Irish towns and cities destroyed, just as were those of Belgium and France. We cannot believe that the Irish people will blind themselves to these things, or that they will refuse to do their manful share toward averting such disaster.

Apologies Due

THERE is much merit in the attempt which the Chicago *Tribune* has been making during the last few weeks to expose that large and growing class of "heroes" who, in order to avoid the draft, have gone to Washington and mobilized sufficient political influence to have themselves commissioned in bullet-proof branches of the army. The *Tribune* has established beyond the shadow of a doubt that hundreds of men of draft age have dodged their duty in the field and have landed comfortable berths carrying all the emoluments of officers, through the assistance of politicians and the connivance of the War Department. Despite the assurances of Assistant Secretary Crowell that men of draft age have not been accepted for desk jobs unless they were disqualified for field service and had peculiar qualifications for staff work, the *Tribune* stated unqualifiedly that 778 youths who should be privates in the National Army are now commissioned in the Ordnance Department at Washington alone. Hundreds of others have commissions in the Signal Corps, the Quartermaster Corps and the Military Intelligence Corps. There is little doubt that the *Tribune's* campaign against this policy of disgraceful favoritism will compel the War Department to decline to commission thousands of others who have filed applications at Washington since the second draft was announced. It is to be hoped that Mr. Baker will not only put an end to the noxious system but that he will make a complete house-cleaning of the various branches which are now harboring men of draft age. It would be extremely simple to do so. Every officer of draft age now assigned to

one of the "safe branches" should be compelled to establish the peculiar qualifications which entitle him to his commission. Those who are not indispensable should be given the option of going through an officers' camp preparatory to service in the field or should be compelled to resign their commissions and take their places with the drafted men. If such a house-cleaning policy is adopted, we feel quite sure that about 90 per cent. of the men involved would lose their commissions and take their proper places in the field.

It is indeed unfortunate that Mr. Henning, the *Tribune's* Washington correspondent, who initiated this excellent campaign, was misled into including in the list of "slackers" two of the very best type of men who are now serving the government at Washington. We refer to John Hays Hammond, Jr. and Winthrop Murray Crane, Jr.

We quote from the *Tribune*:

"HAMMOND IS EXEMPTED"

"John Hays Hammond, Jr., son of the millionaire mining engineer, is in Washington engaged in work upon the radio torpedo, which he invented and which he believes can be made useful in this war. The device is to be given a test eventually, he says, by a War Department Board, headed by General Leonard Wood. Mr. Hammond was exempted from the draft at the request of Secretary of War Baker."

In referring to Mr. Crane, the *Tribune* says:

"Winthrop Murray Crane, Jr., son of a former Senator from Massachusetts, is a major in the Ordnance Supply Bureau here."

We find it extremely difficult to understand Mr. Henning's slur on Mr. Hammond. If the *Tribune's* ordinarily thoughtful and well-informed correspondent had taken the trouble to investigate he would have found that the invention which Mr. Hammond is perfecting has potentialities of the greatest value to our army. Indeed, if it justifies the expectations of the best informed officers in the army, the Hammond invention may revolutionize warfare to almost as great an extent as the submarine has done.

In addition to his electrically controlled torpedo device Mr. Hammond is experimenting on other vital war machinery. Instead of censuring the Secretary of War, at least by innuendo, for having exempted Mr. Hammond from the draft, the *Tribune* should have congratulated him upon calling this youthful genius to Washington, where he would be of infinitely greater value to the Government than he could ever be in the field. We regret that there are not a few hundred more men of the Hammond type working in the Government laboratories.

While Mr. Hammond's inclusion in the *Tribune's* list is based solely upon the fact that he is of draft age, we find possible excuse for naming Mr. Crane. This son of the former Senator from Massachusetts is well over the draft age and there is no possibility that he would have been called to the colors. Mr. Crane, at great personal sacrifice, put aside his lucrative business interests and accepted a commission, in the only place he could get it, at a salary which would not pay the rent of his apartment. He is working 16 hours a day at Washington, and his business experience is of very great value to the Government.

If this is not patriotism, then we need a new definition. We believe that the *Tribune* owes Mr. Hammond and Mr. Crane apologies, and we are satisfied that it is big enough and fair enough to make amends when the facts are brought to its attention.

Back to the Water Routes

BACK to the Water is a good companion cry to Back to the Land. There is need of diligent and intensive cultivation of every acre of available land, to produce food for ourselves and our Allies in the war against

the Huns. There is also need of efficient utilization of every mile of available waterway, to supplement the over-congested railroad systems. And, thank goodness, there is now a prospect that this will to some extent be done.

It is a hopeful, an encouraging and a grateful thing that Mr. McAdoo has announced the taking over by the Government of a number of important canal lines, and is preparing to equip them with fleets of boats and barges, for operation in conjunction with the railroads. How far this taking of canals will extend does not yet appear, but we must hope that it will include practically all of any importance which are capable of being rehabilitated from the neglect and disuse into which they have been permitted to fall, or into which, in some cases, they have been purposely forced.

Let us consider what this should mean to the fuel supply of the great Eastern cities and industrial works. Years ago five important canals brought the great bulk of anthracite coal from the Pennsylvania mines to the Atlantic seaboard. They were the Schuylkill and the Lehigh canals in Pennsylvania; the Morris Canal and the Delaware and Raritan Canal across New Jersey; and the Delaware and Hudson Canal across New York State. Now they are practically all abandoned. The Delaware and Hudson is entirely abandoned. Yet it used to carry more than two million tons of coal a year to the New York market. There was a time last winter when two million tons of coal would have been uncommonly welcome in this city. The Morris Canal has been abandoned for several years, and the State has been trying desperately to have it filled up or in some way completely obliterated. Yet it too used to carry a million or two tons of coal every year, and could do so again with a little repairing and suitable equipment. Much the same is to be said of the Delaware and Raritan, which used to be enormously profitable, has been purposely neglected until for years it has been kept open at a considerable loss. Operated in the old fashioned way, by mule power, these canals could readily bring five or six million tons of coal to New York every summer, thus relieving the railroads to that extent and thus facilitating the handling of other freight needing more rapid transportation. The two canals in Pennsylvania have similarly fallen into neglect. Formerly they each carried approximately a million tons of coal a year. Now the Lehigh carries only from 60,000 to 70,000 tons, and the Schuylkill not more than 16,000 or 17,000 tons.

There are those who believe that these and other canals could be operated with great profit and advantage at all times, not in competition with but in complementary co-operation with the railroads; as canals are operated in almost every other enterprising and progressive country.

However that may be, it surely goes without saying that in the present time of unprecedented war-stress, with railroad lines congested almost—at times fully—to the point of complete blockade, every canal that is capable of serving a useful purpose should immediately be put to the fullest possible use. Whatever may be the merits of wooden and concrete ships for ocean traffic, there is no question of their suitability for canal navigation; nor is there any of the practicability of motor traction or propulsion in place of the much objurgated mule.

It will be a wise thing to utilize these neglected transportation routes to their fullest capacity, and to do so at the earliest possible moment. Despite the dilapidated condition of the old canals, it should be possible to get them into shape in time to bring some millions of tons of coal to tidewater before the season closes. If that should be done, the danger of another week of "Garfield Days" would be to that extent decreased.

Silence Enemy Aliens

ENEMY Alien speech must go. That is the popular dictum of the day, which offenders will do well to heed. At least one prominent German-printed newspaper of New York has already gone out of existence, not waiting for compulsion. Others everywhere will be wise to follow its example, or to transform themselves into English-printed sheets. There is no room in America for the Hunnish tongue.

The rising temper of the American people has been unmistakably disclosed in various communities. They are orderly and law-abiding, and they are also, naturally enough, patriotic. They seek equity and reason rather than technicalities. So they have banned the German-printed press. Some have done it by municipal enactment; which may or may not be constitutional. Some have done it through somewhat strenuous moral suasion. Perhaps there have been other methods. The point is that they have been successful. Sheets in the Hunnish tongue no longer defile their news-stands.

The reason, the equity, and the patriotic necessity, of this should be patent to everybody who is not as stupid as Heine said Prussians naturally are. For these German-printed sheets either are or are not vehicles of pro-German propaganda. If they are, their suppression is, of course, required by law. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to say that the prima facie presumption is that they are such vehicles; at least to such an extent as to make it incumbent upon them to prove the contrary. In this case we must substitute the continental for the American and English rule, and regard them as guilty until they have proved their innocence.

But take the alternative. Grant they are able, as some of course are, to prove their entire loyalty to our government and their freedom from even the suspicion of Hunnish taint. What then? It is obvious that their effect, if not their purpose, is to perpetuate if not actually to extend the use of the German language in America, and to discourage the acquisition of the English language by German immigrants; and that we must hold to be a most pernicious thing.

It is a bad thing to encourage the continued use of any alien tongue, since it makes against national unity. The *New Yorker Deutsches Journal* in announcing its own demise protested that "Its efforts in behalf of American unity have been wholehearted and untiring;" which, as Euclid says, is absurd. The only real effort it ever made for American unity was its act of suicide. Its whole life, like the whole life of every German-printed paper in this country, was an untiring effort to prevent American unity, by keeping German immigrants from becoming Americanized. A Nation cannot be completely unified unless it has a universal common language. Note the antagonisms, estrangements and conflicts which have prevailed in Austria-Hungary over the diversity of tongues. Note the controversies over language between Fleming and Walloon in Belgium, and between British and French in Canada. Note how confusion of tongues in Russia has facilitated the dissolution of that empire. We want no such conflicts here.

At all times, therefore, and on general principles, the use of alien languages here should be discouraged rather than encouraged. There is no doubt that uncounted thousands of immigrants have refused or neglected to learn English, simply because they could so readily get newspapers and hear sermons and what not else in their own native tongues. That is why we have such numerous non-English speaking colonies. It ought not to be, and it would be perfectly legitimate and commendable to prevent it by so handicapping, in some way, the use of foreign tongues as to discourage it and to constrain immigrants to learn and to use the English language.

But apart from that, it should be quite obvious that in time of war the free use of the enemy alien tongue is an anomaly that must become intolerable. We have only to imagine what would happen to an English-printed paper in

Germany, or what would happen to a man who should speak English in public. It is not necessary for us to go to Hunnish extremes. But without doing that we can and should insist that the public exploitation of the enemy alien tongue shall cease, excepting in cases where it can be proved that a praiseworthy patriotic purpose will be served by using it. Would it not relieve to some extent the congestion of the mails which is so vexing Mr. Burleson's righteous soul to debar therefrom publications in the German language? If the government will discourage Hun-speech to that extent, the general public will take care of the rest of the problem.

Our Demoralized Postal Service

SO Congress has finally been asked to find out how Albert Burleson wrecked a perfectly good postal system. Good. Let the probe sink. The deeper it sinks the better. All of us who are compelled to rely upon the mail service for the conduct of business have watched with growing concern and alarm the break-down of the system. Since Mr. Burleson was given charge of the Department a progressive demoralization has been evident. It was extremely bad in the year immediately preceding the war, but during the last twelve months it has fallen to a state probably unequalled since the stage coach passed before the locomotive.

Until the last few weeks Mr. Burleson used "rail congestion" as an excuse for delayed deliveries. In this he simply borrowed the excuses made by Dr. Garfield and Mr. Hurley. With the exception of a few weeks in the middle of the winter there was never a valid reason for charging mail delays on the railroads. This has been proven to us by sad experience. At Washington we find it takes from three to seven days to receive a letter mailed within a dozen blocks. Our unhappy experience in having this journal delivered is attested by scores of complaints from readers throughout the country.

If there were any good excuse, occasioned by the war, for the demoralization of the mail service we might bear it and grin, but when we are informed that our boys in France are denied the satisfaction of an occasional letter from home it is indeed fitting that Congress should take a hand in the business. We are indebted to Representative John J. Rogers of Massachusetts for having presented, through the *World*, the following facts concerning the delivery or non-delivery of mails to the troops:

"Among the proofs of a faulty system are two envelopes just received by Mr. Rogers. They were addressed to a Major General in France. One was postmarked in Washington December 13 and the other December 31. Both were delivered in France February 24, requiring seventy-three and fifty-two days respectively in transit. They were returned to Mr. Rogers ten days ago.

"Typical illustrations of the delays during the fall and winter, when a comparatively small number of our troops were in France, were given to Mr. Rogers in France on December 11 by five officers whom he found in a group.

"Gen. A. had received but five letters from his wife. He sailed for France September 25, and his wife wrote to him daily. No letters had reached him in forty-seven days.

Lieut. B. sailed August 25. Five copies of daily newspapers and five letters were all he had received.

"Lieut. C. sailed September 26. Although his mother wrote twice each week only four letters had reached him.

"Capt. D. got to France June 1. His wife wrote him every week, but only one letter reached him.

"Col. E. sailed on September 20. His wife's letters were numbered. No. 1, dated September 23, reached him November 30. No. 15 was brought over by a friend on November 11. Only one other letter had reached him."

The attempt made by Assistant Postmaster General Otto Praeger to excuse the delays in deliveries in France, on the ground that the War Department declined to divulge the whereabouts of units is too absurd to warrant serious con-

sideration. We wonder if such a refusal accounts for the fact that mail addressed to American troops in France has been shipped to Chicago and side tracked there for a month or two, as we are reliably informed is the case, or that a letter sent from the War Department to a Washington residence was seven days in transit?

We are quite convinced that the postal demoralization may be traced to an inordinate desire on the part of Mr. Burleson to make "a record" for himself by holding down expenses and keeping hack politicians in office.

The *World*, which may be relied upon to present the best side of all things connected with the Administration, has almost gone to the extent of censuring Mr. Burleson as a result of the findings of its own investigations.

Pending the result of a House investigation we are quite willing to accept, as correct, this estimate of the situation, made by the faithful *World*:

1. Economy in the administration of the postal service based on fictitious values.

2. The dependence placed by the department on Government operated motor trucks for the transportation of mails.

3. The decrease in the railway Post Office car service and the consequent establishment of terminal stations where mail is deposited without an attempt having been made to sort and distribute.

In connection with the general investigation of the affairs of the department it would be interesting to ascertain also just what publications carry the magic little tag which insures them preferential deliveries over their competitors. From time to time we have been grieved to hear that the Postmaster General has so far forgotten his rights and duties as to clear the way for certain lickspittle publications, while those less favored, which insist upon telling the whole truth, or as much of it as they can pry from the government, are sent by freight.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1918.

State of New York, N. Y., County of New York, N. Y., ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared George M. Gottfried, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the North American Review's War Weekly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

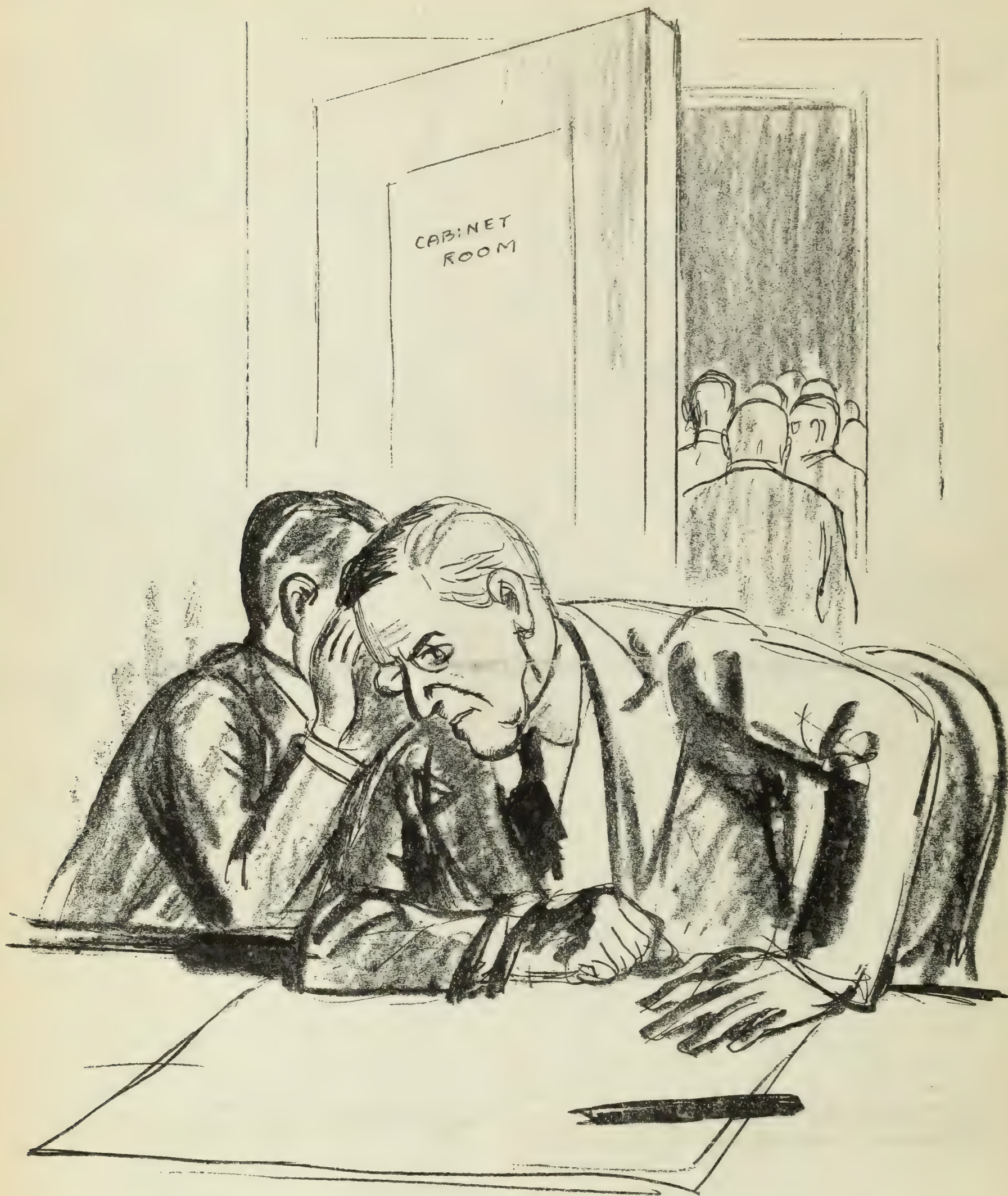
1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business manager are: Publisher, North American Review Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Editor, George Harvey, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, none; Business Manager, George M. Gottfried, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: George Harvey, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him. George M. Gottfried.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of April, 1918. (Seal) Herbert E. Bowen, Notary Public, Kings Co., N. Y. (Certificate filed in New York Co.) (My commission expires March 31, 1919.)



"FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EAR ALONE"

—Secretary Baker

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING MAY 4, 1918

NO. 18

MR. BAKER

Our Pacifist Secretary of WAR

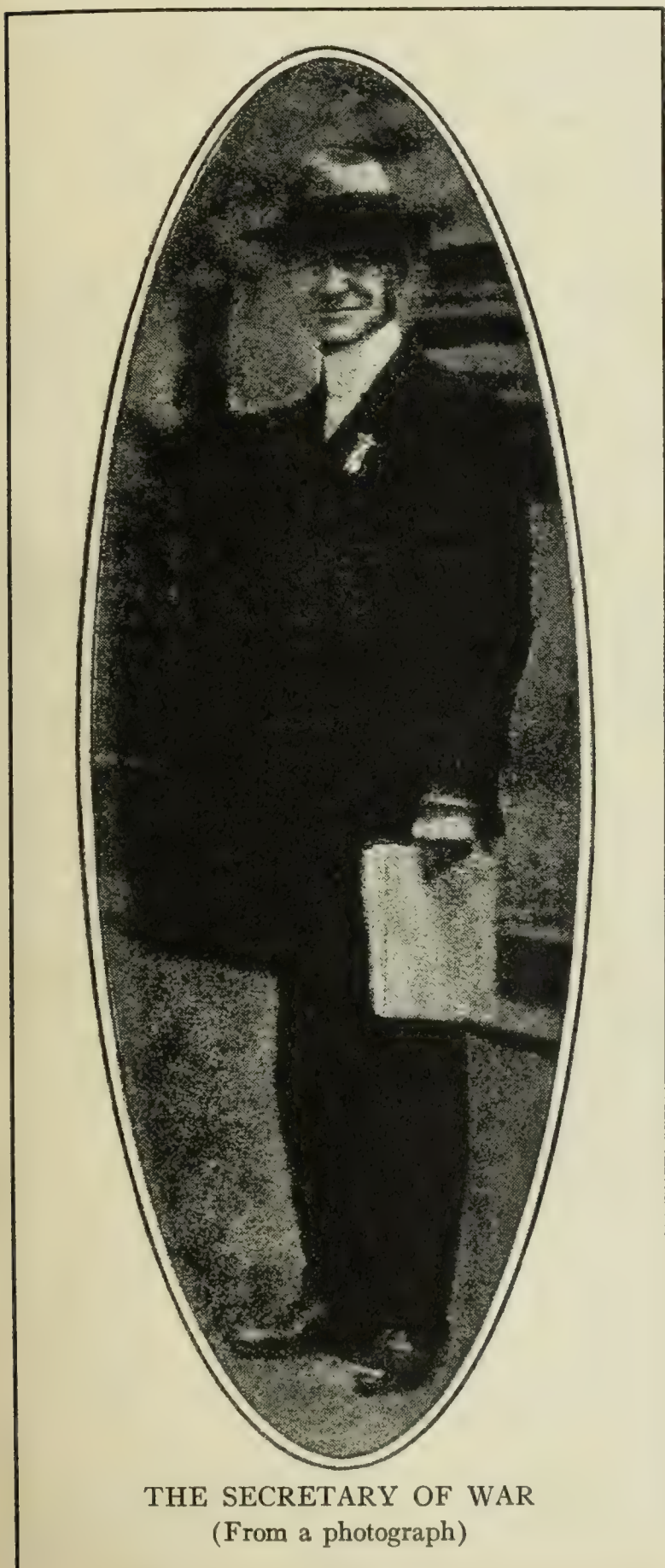
WASHINGTON, May 3, 1918.

WE have to confess that, when Secretary of War Baker reached home safely and walked in sprightly fashion down the gangplank and greeted the reporters cheerily and told them that there was no occasion for worry because everything was all right and secure abroad and that he could not understand why there should be any pessimism here, our first sensation was one little short of utter dismay. But in consideration of his assurance that he had "got what he went to get" it seemed only fair and right to await further utterance, in the hope that he might be able to show that he really knew what he went for and to indicate some basis for the "glowing optimism" which, in the words of one of the members, he manifested subsequently before the House Military Committee.

We have waited in vain and in growing despair. By both his words and deeds Mr. Baker has shown that he had not when he arrived and that he has not now any clearer comprehension of the real condition of the world's affairs than he had when he went away. He is still a Pacifist waging academic warfare in a lackadaisical way. What he told the President we do not know and probably ought not to inquire, even though we have been informed repeatedly that this is a people's, not a personal, war; but what we do know is that Mr. Baker is not fighting but twittering, twittering day in and day out about things past and things to come, with as little heed for the horrifying present as a grasshopper.

Take his speech to the publishers in New York. He began, says the friendly *Times* which recently lauded him to the skies, "with a tribute to the Navy, under whose protection he had lately crossed the Atlantic,"—a suitable acknowledgment, no doubt, of what Mr. Baker naturally regards as the most important service yet rendered by our overworked cruisers and destroyers. He spoke highly of our soldiers, too,—“men prepared to make the supreme sacrifice in order that we who remain behind and those who come after us may be free from a philosophy too hateful to govern the world.”

Free from the domination of the royal murderer and his unspeakable brutes, some would put it; but not our gentle,



THE SECRETARY OF WAR
(From a photograph)

propitiatory Secretary of War. To his mind and in his words the Huns are not even our enemies; the infamous scoundrels are "our adversaries."

The people of England, France and Italy he found "confident that our civilization is far too beautiful a thing to be built up only to perish," knowing full well that "when this war is over there will have been vindicated a great truth, the truth that mere force unassociated with moral purpose cannot govern the spirits of men."

There was more about "the eternity of moral principles in the world," etc., which we shall take the liberty of skipping lest the reader gag; the important thing was that there was no real danger anyhow. Listen to this! "Even if the line were broken," Mr. Baker complacently continued, "so long as the people of Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States remain true to the moral foundations upon which they have built their respective civilizations the victory cannot go against us." This was the message of reassurance and comfort and satisfaction from the Secretary of War, *our* Secretary of War, *America's* Secretary of War to the sons of France who were about to give their lives to the last man in defense of Kemmel Hill and to the desperately worn sons of Britain who, with their backs to the wall of the sea, are being shot and gassed and poisoned to death by the tens of thousands. As to our own country:

"Long live the United States," Mr. Baker continued. "Not a place on the map, not a system of political institutions hemmed in by the seas, but a living moral influence in the world, liberating the spirits of men and preserving the freedom of opportunity for the children of men."

Mr. Baker concluded with an impressive and characteristically deceptive reference to the magnitude of our task as indicated by the alleged fact that the warehouses planned for American use, "now in France and *projected* to be there," would cover a tract of land fifty feet wide and 250 miles long. How many hundreds of millions of square feet of lumber, how many billions of nails, how many hammers, how many workmen and how many years would be required to achieve this marvelous performance we leave to more patient mathematicians whose imaginations have yet to be subdued by time. As an anticipation, it is unrivalled, we should say, except possibly by the actual production of *one* airplane, whose arrival in France is yet to be heralded, when *twenty thousand* were promised.

That is substantially all that Mr. Baker had to say,—the same old slush about things too beautiful to perish; the lulling of our people to sleep upon the theory that the French and British can win without our aid; the virtual intimation that we should be most careful not to tread upon German toes; the plain declaration that we are in the war only to keep free from a hateful "philosophy;" the easy putting aside as of slight importance the breaking of the vital battle line; the inferential but no less certain loading of the whole burden upon our stricken Allies; the cautious avoidance of distinguishing between the causes for which the two forces are striving with might and main and the very hearts' blood of millions of men, women and children who are perishing, bleeding and suffering no less for us and our children than for their own; and finally, as always, the painting, in the sweetness and light of a common brotherhood, of the glories of socialistic communing with friend and foe alike "when

this war is over" and "a great truth" has been vindicated.

Not a word about the war itself; not a suggestion of warning; not a shadow of appeal for help from the people in hurrying forward, "for God's sake," the work of succor and relief; not a syllable of denunciation of the barbarians; not a sound above a whisper in praise and appreciation of our brothers in arms; not a hint of peril to the mother and sister countries and to our own; not one clear bugle note to rouse and thrill a mighty people into overpowering action; nothing, nothing under heaven but piffle, piddling, pacifist piffle from an *American* Secretary of War, basking in the sunlight of his chief while hundreds of thousands of those left at home, no less surely than the best of our manhood who have gone and are going, sit in the shadow of death.

Can one wonder that, after having seen and heard such a representative of our great and fearless Nation, our Allies begin to look askance at America and even to murmur their doubts and misgivings? For more than a year they have held their breath in suspense, in hope, in unparalleled generosity and considerateness, and for policy's sake. How they have felt during the past few months, many of us, to our humiliation and shame, know only too well, but it took their own death agonies, accentuated by the smiling smugness of our Secretary of War, to fetch utterance of their disappointment and despair.

When the war began Lord Northcliffe issued a peremptory order that no word in criticism of anything that President Wilson might do should be published in any of his papers and that direction was heeded scrupulously for nearly four years. But the pressure from the public finally became too strong to withstand and on April 24 the *London Times* admitted to its columns the following communication from Sir Sidney Low:

We rejoice in the moral support and resolution of the American people. We hope that in the end their immense resources and invincible energy may make our victory decisive. But we should understand that for months to come the burden of checking and defeating the German attack must continue to be borne by France and England. America may eventually "save democracy," but to save our own liberties, our own existence, we must for the present rely upon ourselves, our own valiant armies, our own mobilized industries and our own man power.

"For the present," the *Daily Mail* commented tersely, "we shall act for ourselves," while the *Evening News* cartooned America as having fallen down on her promises. The *Times* itself reluctantly admitted "a tendency to question the value of American assistance or at least its arrival in time to prove of real value before the crisis of the present tussle is past," but added most considerately that "if we have been dissatisfied with our own rate of progress we may be very sure that our American friends have been equally dissatisfied with theirs, and that, true to their national character, they have been even less sparing in criticism," and concluded with strained hopefulness that "the suggestion that America has failed to fulfil her promises up to the hilt cannot fail to arouse her."

Even the *World's* correspondent could not refrain from noting that "while Low's ostensible object is to preach self-reliance to Britain and the editorial comment is of like character, the effect produced on the English mind is that America has done nothing but fail."

Simultaneously Mr. Baker was vaingloriously telling the people of Baltimore that he had just seen "hundreds of thousands of American soldiers in France," in the face of the

official announcement that only *one* hundred thousand had been assigned for active service on the line, and depicting in eloquent phrase the magnificent struggle at Kemmel which ended in the death of every French soldier, while making no reference naturally to the undoubted fact that the assistance of two or three regiments or possibly of a single American regiment would have saved both the hill and the lives of many of the brave men who perished.

But we hear incessantly the apologetic cry, "We couldn't get them there,"—meaning, of course, that *Mr. Baker* couldn't and didn't get them there, just as he couldn't and didn't get a single airplane there, although Mr. William A. Morgan of the Curtiss Company declares that his concern alone could have had at least one thousand there and could now have been shipping five hundred a month but for the constant officially directed changes in design and "inability from the beginning to get a definite 'go-ahead' order."

The horror of that fateful experience, let us hope, has passed with the appointment of a capable director endowed with independent powers, but the horror of Mr. Baker as Secretary of *War* is still with us. While he was away there was a marked improvement. We got a real Chief of Staff in General March, though only "acting" and probably not now for long; the War College was strengthened by the calling of Major Sargeant from a mere training school, and we still live in hope that Colonel Feiberger will be summoned from West Point; we got Schwab and Stettinius and Ryan and Mr. Taft and (with mental reservations) McRoberts and Baruch.

We seemed really to be going ahead at last intelligently and determinedly and then—lo! smiling Mr. Baker descends upon Washington like a cloud of poison gas and the wheels begin to slacken. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft had roused the public to the need of raising an army of five millions at least, the President himself was yielding to the lesson of the great drive that the five hundred thousand which he thought adequate a year ago would hardly suffice, and General Crowder, with his usual foresight and precision, had made draft plans to conform. But the Secretary of *War*, after depicting the rosy condition of affairs in Flanders to the House Military Committee, calmly remarked, according to a Washington dispatch, that "it was useless for us to send men to training camps when we had no way of transporting a vast number of soldiers to France," and added that the problem "and other matters" were "being studied." So, too, was the grossly inadequate artillery programme, although the steel makers were warned by the Department while he was away to make immediate preparations for an expansion, which cannot possibly be achieved now before the end of 1919; and so with everything else,—as Mr. Gilbert truly says in the *Tribune*, "Of substance, nothing; all 'being studied,'" and as he indignantly demands, "Is Mr. Baker himself the cause of the sudden slowing down of the war machine, which was running at unprecedented speed while he was away?"

We assume that, before these words appear in print, the Secretary will have recommended enlargement of the army, but we regard it as no less certain that the increase which he will call for will be as small as he will dare to suggest, in the face of the peremptory public demand now finding vigorous expression through the Senate. And when Congress shall have acted, as we have no doubt it will act promptly,

the execution of the plan adopted will lag and lag and lag unless, as we hope and pray, the President shall avail himself of his increased authority to give General Crowder a free hand.

Even the considerate and prudent New York *Times* cannot refrain from asking "Does Mr. Baker realize that he takes a great responsibility when he advises Congress to go slow in authorizing expansion of the land forces?"—to which we reply that the obvious fact that he learned nothing abroad is proof conclusive that he does not. And we declare further that shipping is no longer a part of his business; he may not know it, but one Charles M. Schwab is now in full charge and responsible for ultimate results, while the British, at the risk of starving themselves, are even now transporting our troops as rapidly as they can be supplied. Truly, as the *Times* says, and as everybody possessing a grain of sense must realize:

If Secretary Baker's hope of dispatching the remainder of our present land forces to France by January 1, 1919, is to be realized, no time, not a day, should be lost in preparing to send new levies to evacuated camps and cantonments. And it would be the part of wisdom to build more cantonments for the accommodation of drafted men. The United States should plan its armies on the theory that the war will go on until the Teutonic Powers are overwhelmed by fighting men, most of them American fighting men. When Germany sees that the United States is determined to put 5,000,000 men, and even more, into the field, to win this war, and is making its preparations rapidly, but with method, peace will not be long deferred if the Allies in France are holding their lines intact, or if there is a base port where American reinforcements can be landed.

"It is hoped", flatly remarks the fearless New York *Herald*, "that the War Department is confining its study to the only phase of the problem that merits consideration—that is, the country's capacity to train its men. The men are needed; any thought of getting through with this business with less than 5,000,000 fighters should be dismissed from the official mind, if it is there, and so should any thought that the United States is in a position to indulge itself in 'watchful waiting.'"

The intimation is plain enough. Mr. Baker is responsible to the President and the President is responsible for Mr. Baker—and Mr. Baker is shockingly and dangerously unfit for his job. What, in the name of the fathers and mothers of America who are giving their sons, is the answer,—the answer that *ought* at any rate to be forthcoming, *at once*?

After recounting his worriments in the 1912 campaign, Colonel House remarks complacently in his auto-obituary:

But Roosevelt stood by us, and he (Wilson) won.

This is an amazing statement. The plain implication, of course, is that Mr. Roosevelt not only connived at the election of Mr. Wilson but that he did so in conformity with a secret agreement or understanding with Colonel House or somebody else representing the Democratic candidate; he "stood by us." Can this be true? Mr. Roosevelt himself has always maintained that he accepted the Progressive nomination because he had been robbed of the Republican nomination and could not refuse to stand without betraying his great constituency and what he sincerely regarded as a worthy cause. Whether or not this conclusion was justified was and perhaps still is a matter of opinion, but the fact remains that more than four millions of his countrymen con-

firmed it at the polls and gave to him exactly eleven times as many electoral votes as the Republican candidate received. In view of this result, there surely was reasonable basis for expectation on Mr. Roosevelt's part that he might be elected. In any case, no suggestion to the contrary, so far as we can recall, has ever been made and we have never before heard his conduct characterized even by implication as dishonorable, as of course it was if he deliberately deceived his great body of trusting followers by acting surreptitiously in the interest of Mr. Wilson under some such understanding as Colonel House suggests. It may be, of course, that Colonel House designed his reflection upon Mr. Roosevelt's good faith less as an accusation which he could not possibly justify by facts than as a sneer springing from a peculiar meanness which we should have expected to find last in the disposition of one whom we have always regarded as no less a gentleman than the President himself.

The Test of Dictatorship

"IN seasons of great peril," quoth the Elder Consul, who was "an ancient man and wise,"

"In seasons of great peril, 'tis well that one bear sway;

Then choose we a Dictator, whom all men shall obey."

It was done, we are told, and the result was highly satisfactory. Incidentally it may be observed that the Dictator was chosen "for six months and no more." That, however, by the way. We are not inclined to minimize the seriousness, even the peril, of the present situation. If ever in the history of the United States there was need of extraordinary measures, even of a Dictatorship, that time is now. Wherefore, if the Overman bill is essential to the safety of the Republic, by all means let us have it. Only, we really cannot understand why there should have been a *viva voce* rejection of the eminently pertinent amendment offered by one of the Senators from the Land of Steady Habits, to the effect that "if any power, constitutional or not, has been inadvertently omitted from this bill, it is hereby granted in full." Why not "go the whole hog"?

Never before, we should say, has a President of the United States, not even "Old Hickory" Jackson, so imperiously impressed his personal will and his personal theories of government upon Congress as Mr. Wilson has done in this case. Long ago he foreshadowed the achievement. He described the Presidential chair as having originally been "the real throne of administration and the frequent source of politics," from which high estate it had been degraded by the rising power of Congress; and he intimated the desirability of restoring it to the status for which, as he believed, the founders of the government designed it. Now it has fallen to his happy lot himself thus to invest the Presidency anew with its pris-authority, not to say autocracy. Doubtless this is exceedingly gratifying to him. It must also be a matter of much interest, and of more than academic interest, to all who are concerned with the constitutional system of the United States.

It will, of course, occur to all thoughtful minds, and probably most of all to the President himself, that power and responsibility are inseparable, and that therefore in acquiring the extraordinary and quite unprecedented power which this act will bestow upon him, the President will

assume an equally extraordinary and unique responsibility. Hitherto it has been possible to lay the blame for inefficient administration upon Congress, upon some law, or upon the "system"; but that will be possible no longer. The President has demanded the power, and his must be the responsibility.

In the words of a homely saying, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. The vindication of the Dictatorship will be in its success in attaining the ends for which it has been established and for the sake of which Congress and the American people have acquiesced in what must be regarded as nothing short of a revolutionary—a beneficently revolutionary—measure. There has been, for some reason not altogether apparent, earnest and almost impassioned opposition to any limiting of the duration of the autocracy to the period of the war, or its scope to matters relating to the prosecution of the war. We must assume, however, that such a limitation of it is in the President's mind and will be scrupulously observed by him, even though it be not "nominated in the bond." It would be a surprising and an unwelcome thing to have so radical a change made in civil administration under the temporary pressure of a great military need.

A year ago if men like Charles M. Schwab, John D. Ryan and Edward R. Stettinius had been put in charge of great war activities of the United States Government and vested with powers equal to those of members of the Cabinet the country would have been rocked with protests.—*The World*.

Then why not have waited another year, to make assurance doubly sure?

Criminal Loss of Ships!

THAT the United States Shipping Board is persistently and successfully opposing a reform which is costing this country thousands of tons of shipping, and that at a time when President Wilson is admonishing every loyal American to conserve food, to save fuel, to bend every energy to produce munitions of war and to "help 'till it hurts" to lend money to the Government, is a fact which appears to have escaped public attention. Even Mr. Wilson's administration, which cannot be ignorant of the facts, has so steadfastly ignored them as almost to suggest that political expediency is being permitted to stand in the way of a reform which would have saved at least fifteen per cent of the total losses by submarines. This reform is the manning of merchant vessels traversing the war-zone with naval crews, trained by competent naval officers and performing their labors under strict military discipline.

Many months ago the Secretary of the Navy took up this subject with the Shipping Board and, in a letter dated November 30, 1917, Mr. Daniels wrote Mr. Hurley, in part:

"Merchant vessels in the war zone are almost as vital a factor in naval operation as the regular vessels of the Navy, and it is of the highest importance that the officers and crews of these merchant ships have such training as will fit them for these military duties and be subject to naval control and discipline."

To this letter, although addressed to him by that member of the cabinet whose department has made a most enviable record for efficiency, Mr. Hurley, so far as can be ascertained, has vouchsafed no reply.

Clear and competent testimony regarding the consequences of Mr. Hurley's opposition to this reform is given by one of the ablest officers of the Navy, Rear Admiral Leigh C. Palmer, Chief of Navigation, who testified before the Naval Committee of the House, earnestly advocating the reform and presenting numerous concrete instances of ships and cargoes lost through the failure of civilian crews to do their duty in the war zone, or when under attack. Said Admiral Palmer to that committee:

"The outstanding fact apparent to everyone who goes thoroughly into the history of submarine sinkings is the great number of ships which have been literally thrown away by incompetent and ignorant management. Lloyd's investigations lead to the conclusion that of all the ships mined or torpedoed and subsequently lost, 15 per cent could have been saved had proper use been made of the means existing on ships to keep them afloat. The percentage of ships that ought never to have been captured or destroyed had they been manned by competent people who observed fundamental precautions must be much higher."

The Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, has given like testimony.

Summing up his testimony regarding civilian crews or merchant ships, Admiral Palmer said:

"They object to the language clause of the seamen's act and are to a large extent organized under the I. W. W. Comparatively few of them can speak any English, and they make no effort to learn. Merchant crews are shifted each trip. Many of the crew are untrained, not qualified, ignorant, degenerate, drunken, totally careless as to their own safety or that of the ship. Owing to the above reasons and the fact that they shift after each trip, it is impossible to bring them to any state of efficiency. A Navy crew would be permanent and would increase in efficiency with each trip, coal faster, load more quickly, and be handled more efficiently. Each additional knot in speed is not only a defense against the submarine, but a distinct gain for the allied armies, as it, with the cutting down of running time to port, operates to permit a greater number of round trips to be made and thereby increases the amount of tonnage carried to as appreciable an extent as though additional ships were added to the merchant marine. . . . the Army cannot under any circumstances place more men in France than it can be assured will be supplied. It is impossible to give any assurance under present conditions. A strike might occur at any time. Only with the crews of the vessels under military control can it be guaranteed that the vessels will be run properly. Military control may be Army, Navy, or some military organization established by the Shipping Board. Of the three, the Navy alone is equipped to handle the situation."

The Navy has in training at this time 95,000 men. Anyone who will visit any of the naval training stations will be impressed with the clean cut appearance, the zeal and the fine spirit of the young men and boys who are being trained there. They are proud to wear the uniform of the United States. They enlist for the period of the war and they stand ready to perform any service which may be required of them with the conviction that they are serving the flag. These are the men, the reservists, with whom Secretary Daniels, Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, Admiral Palmer and, indeed, every competent and sincere judge would man the merchant vessels which enter the war zone.

According to Sir Eric Geddes 6,600,000 tons of shipping was sunk during the year 1917. According to the calculations of Lloyd's and the testimony of Admiral Palmer, at least 15 per cent of this amount, or nearly 1,000,000 tons, could have been saved had the recommendation of Secretary Daniels and the officers of the Navy been heeded by Mr. Hurley and his associates. Still another evil involved in the continued employment of civilian crews in the war zone has been pointed out by another member of the cabinet, the Secretary of Commerce. This is the loss of time due to slower operation by civilian crews. Twice within the past few weeks the skipper of the Achilles, a vessel operated by

the Panama Railway Company, has flatly refused to permit his ship to be docked and coaled at night, each time occasioning a loss of twelve or more hours.

In view of the stultification of the administration, which on the one hand implores every loyal citizen to practise the utmost self-denial that our army and those of our allies may be provided with food and munitions and that the Treasury may be enabled to finance their and our military operations, and on the other, permits the continuance of a system so wasteful of shipping, of hard saved cargoes and even of human life, the question must naturally arise: What potent influence is at work to prevent the adoption of this highly important reform?

The answer to the question is simple. Andrew Feruseth, one of the most accomplished and effective lobbyists Washington has ever known, president of the International Seamen's Union and author of the notorious La Follette Seamen's bill, is the obstacle which thus far has prevented this reform.

Mr. Feruseth, and the political influence which the union he represents is supposed to exert, have thus far proved more potent than Secretary Daniels, Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, Admiral Palmer and all the host of naval officers who, putting military efficiency and loyalty to country before political expediency, have urged the reform in the strongest terms.

This is the same Andrew Feruseth at whose dictation Chairman Denman, of the Shipping Board, entered into a contract with the Seamen's Union guaranteeing for one year to ordinary seamen a wage of \$2 a day plus a bonus of \$1, in all \$90 a month—just three times the pay of seamen in the Naval Reserve—and further providing that the bonus cannot be touched by fines, so that when a seaman comes aboard drunk and unfit for duty for two days, the ship's master must pay him a dollar a day bonus for those two days and can fine him only \$4, or two days' pay.

And, incidentally, this is the same Andrew Feruseth who has always been the henchman and crony of Senator Robert M. La Follette, in whose committee-room at the Senate, Feruseth spends most of his time.

La Follette has always done Feruseth's bidding on the floor of the Senate, but today the Senator from Wisconsin can boast that his henchman has augmented the loss to shipping by submarines by at least 15 per cent and that he has occasioned a loss to shipping of weeks and months which, if Secretary Redfield's estimate may be accepted, have cost this country 1,500 of her sons and \$15,000,000 of her treasure for each day so lost.

No estimate of the potency and efficiency of Mr. Feruseth as a lobbyist would be accurate, however, which failed to take into consideration the extent to which he has enjoyed the co-operation of Mr. Denman and his successor, Mr. Hurley, and the supineness of the administration.

Does Captain Tardieu think it really helps, to exalt our inefficiency?

Why not, in the interest of the public service, commandeer Keith's theatre?

Aviation and Publicity

THE public is entitled to the truth and the whole truth concerning the aviation scandal. The sooner President Wilson divulges the contents of the reports locked in his desk at the White House the better it will be for the country. We are firmly convinced that the time has come when the President, in justice to himself, to his administration and to America should employ those processes of "pitiless publicity," which, once upon a time, he held to be absolutely essential to the conduct of an honest and efficient government.

When the deplorable failure of the aviation program was attested by innumerable evidences, we were not at all surprised because we knew well, through sad experience, that the misfits whom Secretary Baker entrusted with the tremendous problem were destined to fail. The Lord knows the situation was bad enough, but now come charges that the breakdown was not only the result of stupidity but of actual dishonesty. The country can tolerate inefficients probably, but it will not tolerate dishonesty when it affects the lives of our boys in France.

The entire aviation program presents one of the most remarkable chapters in our attempt to prepare for war. When Mr. Baker placed General Squier in charge of the Signal Corps he was warned that he had made the wrong choice because that officer was merely a scientist without administrative capacity or executive experience, but Mr. Baker persisted in keeping him in office despite innumerable evidences of impending failure. The continued employment of Mr. Coffin in the Aircraft Production Board after he had disgusted his associates with absurd utterances was merely another evidence of the hopelessness of allowing Mr. Baker to choose responsible officials.

After constantly recurring rumors satisfied Washington that the air program was going to pot, President Wilson authorized Mr. Gutzon Borglum to investigate the situation. We do not know what prompted the President to authorize Mr. Borglum to pry into the secret affairs of the War Department, but we must assume that the President had absolute faith in his integrity and judgment. Mr. Borglum handed the President a report indicating shocking conditions. The report was pigeonholed until finally the *Providence Journal* printed enough of its contents to arouse the public. Thereupon the President started another investigation, conducted by two Democratic politicians and a business man. The report of this committee has never been published but its contents caused the President to reorganize the aviation personnel one year after he should have placed competent men in charge.

We were delighted with the appointment of Mr. Ryan and we feel that from now on the program will be pushed forward as it should have been long ago. But now Mr. Borglum reappears and reasserts the most serious charges of graft, profiteering and criminal conspiracy during the early stages of the war. These charges were printed in the *New York Times* on Sunday and on the following day they were laid before the Senate by Senator Brandegee. Had they been loose statements made by an irresponsible person we might pass them by as little more than the idle ravings of a rumor monger. But consider the circumstances: they were made by a man of national reputation trusted by the President; they were printed in one of the great conservative

papers of the country, friendly to the President, and they were discussed at length in the Senate Chamber. We present herewith a portion of the Senate colloquy:

SENATOR BRANDEGEE: If the situation as to our aircraft production is anything like what is delineated in the blistering words of that article, it behooves this department of the Government—the legislative department of the Government—to take some step to ascertain the truth.

MR. PHELAN: What is the business or profession of Mr. Borglum?

MR. BRANDEGEE: He is a great sculptor, like St. Gaudens.

MR. PHELAN: Has he any qualifications to judge of flying machines?

MR. BRANDEGEE: I do not know. The President selected him, and, therefore, I think probably he did not have any qualifications. I do not know. Let the Senator from California go to his President and find out. I cannot find out anything.

MR. NORRIS: I am asking for information. I am informed that this gentleman is the president of some aviation society; at least that he has had a great deal of experience in aviation matters. I inquire of the Senator from Connecticut if that is true.

MR. BRANDEGEE: I do not know. It has been intimated to me that some aircraft association or board—whether or not it is the one with which H. D. Baker is connected I do not know—has made some sort of a charge against Mr. Borglum on the ground that he may possibly be interested in aircraft production. I know nothing about it, and I care nothing about it. I want the truth about this situation, and I think the Senate and the people are entitled to it.

MR. McCUMBER: May I ask the Senator from Connecticut a question?

MR. BRANDEGEE: Yes.

MR. McCUMBER: Without reference to the qualifications of this gentleman, the fact is certain that we appropriated \$640,000,000 to build aircraft; that there is now before us a bill to appropriate \$400,000,000 more; making more than a billion dollars—the entire cost of the Franco-Prussian War, as figured by Germany when she imposed that amount of indemnity upon France. We have used that much money, and are asked for this additional sum; and what have we got? That is what the American people now want to know. What has become of the money, and where are the assets that are to be placed against the \$640,000,000 which we have expended? I should like to have someone upon the Military Affairs or some one in the Senate give us information as to what has been done.

MR. BRANDEGEE: I should judge that we have "got it in the neck," Mr. President,—we have got "buncoed."

MR. McCUMBER: I think so.

MR. BRANDEGEE: If the Senator wants to know what I think about it; but I cannot prove it. I simply feel that way myself.

I am not going to introduce any formal resolution about this matter, for I should immediately be called a traitor or pro-German if I tried to find out anything; but I think, the Committee on Military Affairs, knowing or having reason to believe on the authority of the *New York Times* that the President of the United States has a secret report in his pocket which divulges a situation such as is outlined by the *New York Times*, it would not be improper for the Committee on Military Affairs to investigate the matter, unless the President thinks it is incompatible with the public interest or the Democratic Party's interest; I think it would not be improper for us to know about it. Of course, if we cannot be trusted to know anything, we had better prorogue ourselves and put this Government in commission and go home; but I think the Committee on Military Affairs ought to take judicial notice of that article and ought to act accordingly.

These allegations, undoubtedly, have reached every section of the country. We do not pretend to know whether they are true or false, but we do know that official silence will not satisfy people who are giving their all, in men and money, to win this war.

If they are true, as alleged, let the villains receive their just punishment; if they are false, let the man responsible for making them pay the penalty.

The Future of The Railroads

THE Railway Control bill, as finally passed by Congress and approved by the President on March 21, embodied precisely the kind of provision for the termination of the period of Federal control which was from the beginning urged in these columns. The men who

hankered after getting the railroads permanently into the Government's hands without having to tackle the hard job of passing legislation avowedly directed to that end made a persistent fight for the original form of the bill, which provided that "the Federal control shall continue for and during the period of the war, *and until Congress shall thereafter order otherwise.*" The crux of the matter was that, so long as this remained in the bill, the railroad properties could never be restored to their owners until those who favored that restoration succeeded in getting a law for that purpose passed by both houses of Congress and approved by the President. Nobody knows what Congress will be like after the war, or who will be President, or how either Congress or the President will feel about Government ownership. The one thing certain was that the Government's grip would be on the roads, and that to shake it loose would require the enactment of new legislation.

This is precisely what suited the game of those who wished to grease the ways for a painless slide into Government ownership of railroads. Their first concession to the protest against this scheme was the insertion in the bill of a declaration that the act is "emergency legislation enacted to meet conditions growing out of war" and that nothing contained in it "is to be construed as prejudicing the future policy of the Federal Government concerning the ownership, control, or regulation of carriers or the method or basis of the capitalization thereof." This was very good in its way, and it is a satisfaction to know that it was embodied in the act as passed. But it was far from being sufficient. No disavowal by the Congress of 1918 of any intention of "prejudicing the future policy of the Federal Government" could operate to get the railroads out of Federal control in 1920 or 1930 or any other particular year.

The one effective way, and the only honest way, to deal with the matter was to fix a time limit for Federal control, and the proposal to make that limit six months or a year was open to the valid objection that we could not now tell how long a time might be required for the necessary readjustments. But the way out of that difficulty was plain enough. That was, as we pointed out, to fix a maximum time-limit, leaving it to the discretion of the President to terminate Federal control at an earlier date if expedient. To this plan no possible objection could be raised unless the bill aimed to accomplish precisely what the above quoted declaration disavows—to prejudice the future policy of the Government. It is accordingly a triumph not so much for the opposition to Government ownership as for the principles of honest legislation and of fair dealing, that the bill as passed limits Federal control to the period of the war and "a reasonable time thereafter, which shall not exceed one year and nine months"; the precise time, for the whole or any part of the railroad system, being left to the discretion of the President.

Meanwhile, the President could not do a more helpful thing than to utilize his new powers and wipe out of existence the ignorant, narrow-minded Interstate Commerce Commission which has done more than all other influences combined to impair the prosperity and check the growth of the country.

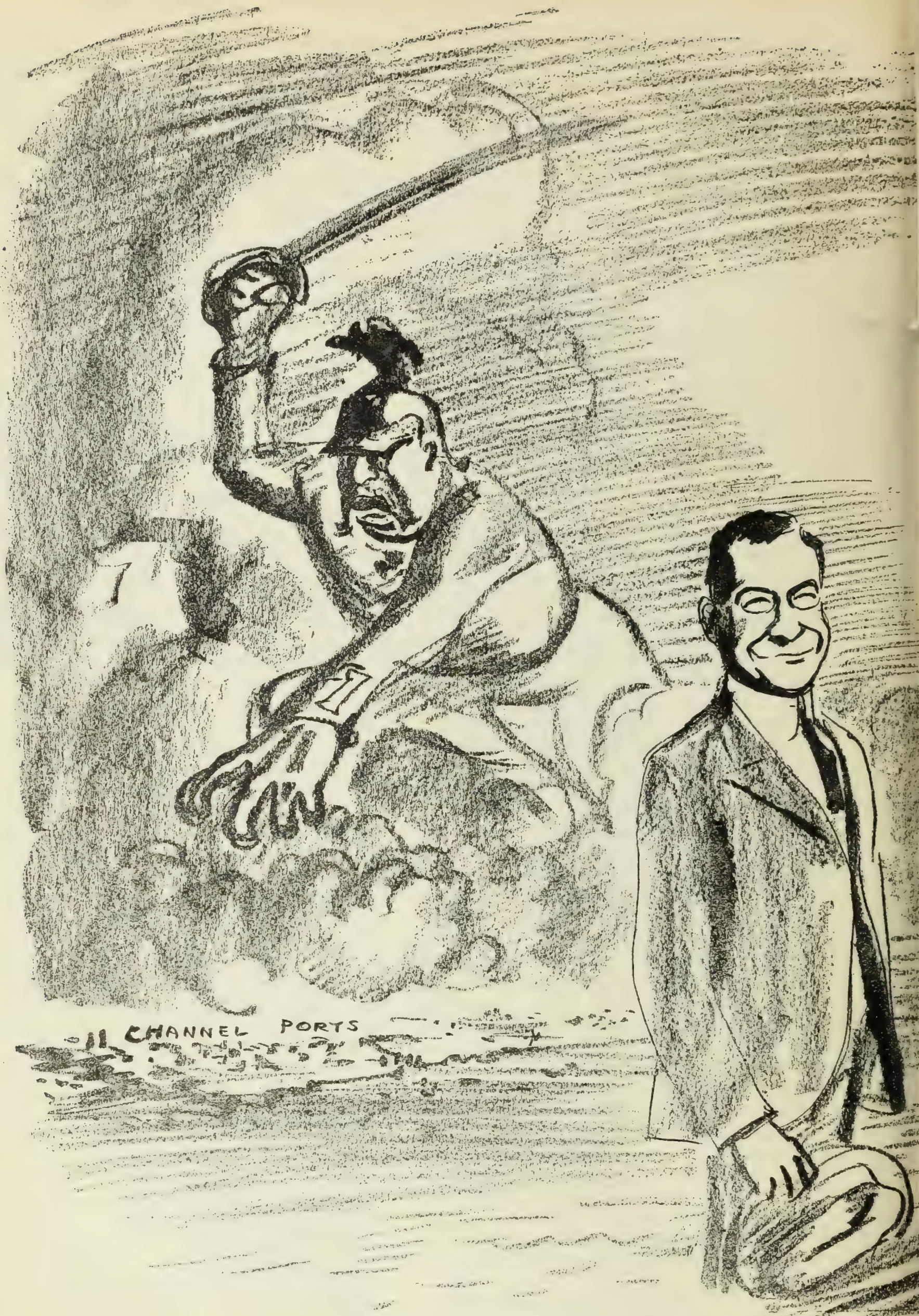
It now only remains to incorporate in formal agreements between the Government and the railroads the equitable and straightforward relations of the two parties established in the act. Nor is there any reason to doubt that this will be

done in good faith and in a spirit of whole-hearted co-operation. In order to assure this beyond peradventure, all that is necessary is that the agreements which, in pursuance of the provisions of the act, are to be made between the Government and the railroad corporations shall faithfully reflect the letter and spirit of the act as passed. They must scrupulously respect the declaration that it is not designed in any way to prejudice the permanent status of the railroads. They must therefore, in the first place, include no arrangements which unnecessarily increase the difficulties attendant upon a return to the old status; and secondly they must make definite provisions for effecting that return. In the interest of this policy, as well as in that of efficient management, they should provide for keeping the management of the various roads—subject, of course, to the control of the Federal director—as far as possible in the hands of the present officers. They should make as concrete and explicit as possible the methods of equitably determining the financial relations between the Government and the railroads in the vital matter of maintenance and depreciation of the property on the one hand, and improvements, extensions, etc., on the other. In view of the peculiar position of the Government as a party to such an agreement, one of the requirements of equity would be a provision for the arbitration of any dispute which may arise in the interpretation of it. The central idea of the whole thing must be that during the continuance of Federal control the interest of the corporations shall suffer no undue detriment, and that at the close of that period the property shall be returned to them upon a "square deal" basis—as good as it was when the Government took it, or, if better or worse, the difference to be fairly adjusted between the parties just as it would be between two honest individuals. That is what the act provides for in general terms, and that is what the agreements must make as certain as clear thinking and straight speaking can make it.

Such is the purpose of the law, and we have no doubt that it will be honestly fulfilled. It is constantly being asserted that the railroad system of the country will never return to its ante-bellum condition; and this is in all probability true and ought to be true. There ought to be more co-ordination, more co-operation, more unity of plan, less waste in haphazard competition. The deficiencies and misfits and waste that have existed have been due in part to lack of governmental regulation, in part to the unwisdom of much of the governmental regulation or restriction that did exist. There will doubtless be changes, salutary changes, in both respects. But these must be made deliberately in pursuance of legislation adopted for recognized and avowed purposes. The amendment of the Federal control bill which prevented the silent sliding of the railroad system of the country into the permanent possession of the Government does not in the slightest degree interfere with the enactment of such legislation. Scrupulous observance of the provisions of the act as passed will not so interfere.

Congress will have its hands perfectly free to extend and improve and strengthen peace-time railroad regulation just as much as it thinks proper. Only it will have to do so in a straightforward and legitimate way, instead of radically altering the permanent status of the greatest factor in our economic life under cover of an act professing to be solely a war measure.

Welcome to Washington, Mr. Taft!



"MR. BAKER" REPORTS

"Long live the United States," Mr. Baker continued. "Not a place in the map, but a living moral influence in the world, liberating the spirits of men and pres-



RTS PROGRESS

e map, not a system of political institutions hemmed in by the seas,
l preserving the freedom of opportunity for the children of men."

The Week

YPRES is again bracketed with Verdun. "They shall not pass." The miracle of France has been repeated. Holding her own long line unbroken, and even at points advancing it, she has spared strength to reinforce her hard-pressed ally. Thus the quintuple alliance holds firm. France, Britain, Belgium, Portugal and America, against the Hun; in a battle which is not a battle but a whole war. That is the story of the week. Of how many more weeks it is to be the story, in "damnable iteration," God only knows. Two things seem increasingly assured. One, that the Allies are holding and will continue to hold the line. The other, that the Huns on their side will also hold the line. That is to say, it is a drawn game until the decisive power of America is brought to bear upon it. When will that be?

The deadlock cannot endure indefinitely. The very splendor of our Allies' defence cries out to heaven for relief. France was long ago reputed to be "bled white." She has given 1,300,000 men killed in battle, and has spent \$20,000,000,000; in our defence as well as her own. It is impossible that we should expect her to continue such sacrifices. She is not "bled white," not yet; and we must not let her be. All that she asks us now is, men. We need not stop to arm them. She has artillery ready, at least for the first half million and more. But the men are needed. Think of it! She has mobilized for service twenty per cent not of her men but of her entire population. Of her entire population, men, women and children, one in every five has entered the service of the nation, and one in every six is or has been actually in the army, while one in every thirty-five has been killed in battle. What do you think of that, Americans who gasp and shudder at the suggestion that we may have to send two or three million men abroad? To equal France we should have to send seventeen millions to the trenches, and conscribe three millions for our munitions works; and spend fifty or sixty billion dollars. Are you up to the scratch, alongside poor, degenerate, "bled white" France?

The Liberty Loan does not show it. Frankly, the closing week of the campaign has not been inspiring. It has not been a week of spontaneous outpourings, such as a great nation should have hastened to make in such a cause, but of laborious pumping up and artificial effort. Doubtless by the time these printed lines reach their readers' eyes the whole loan will have been subscribed. At least the minimum will have been taken; for the maximum, we can only hope. We shall have to tell the world, the Huns, and our own boys in the trenches, that we just got it through by the skin of our teeth at the eleventh hour. How infinitely better it would have been, and how far more profitable to our cause, to tell them that the maximum amount asked for was considerably exceeded a week before the campaign closed!

Unhappily, the eleventh hour habit seems to be characteristic of us. We have pursued it all through our year of war. Month after month there was dawdling and delay; the Secretary of War himself thinking that there was no cause for hurry, with the war three thousand miles away. Arms were delayed. Ships were delayed. Airplanes were delayed. But when the eleventh hour struck, and it became evident that a tremendous crisis was upon us, there was a rush to make up for lost time. The lost time will be made up, so far as it can. We shall have the men, the arms, the ships, the air-

planes, and shall help our Allies to win the war. But how much better it would have been, and how much cost it would have spared, for us to have been ready long ago, and to have gone in effectively at the first or second instead of the eleventh hour!

The controversy between Holland and Germany has become less acute, apparently through a certain yielding of Holland to Germany's demands. It arose over Germany's insistence upon transporting sand, gravel and broken stone across Dutch territory, from Belgium into Germany. To this the Dutch objected, as a violation of neutrality, the material being, as they considered, used for warlike purposes. Failing to coax, cajole or bully Holland into acquiescing in a breach of neutrality, the Huns have now declared that the material is all to be used for purely peaceful purposes and has nothing whatever to do with the war; at which the Dutch have consented to let the traffic continue. There is every reason to assume that the Germans are lying about it, and that the material is used for military purposes. That fact will probably soon be disclosed, and then there will be more trouble.

It was a most unpleasant thing, no doubt, to arrest Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington for public speaking. The poor woman lost her husband through the crime of a lunatic, and cannot be expected to be particularly moderate in her feelings. Yet neither can we be expected to tolerate propaganda against ourselves or our Allies by an emissary of an organization confessedly working in behalf of our enemies and under the patronage of another organization which, if not seeking to aid our enemies, is certainly trying to hamper us in our defence of ourselves against them. Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington was in too bad company to go uncensored.

We have heard of "without benefit of clergy," but who on earth is responsible for the astounding proposal that anyone who incurs the austere disapproval of Mr. Burleson of Texas shall thereafter be without benefit of the post-office? That, in effect, is the provision which by some unexplained huggermugger has been injected into the Espionage bill; that the post-office shall refuse to deliver mail matter to any person or corporation whom the Postmaster General considers guilty of using the mails in a way offensive to some of the clauses of this act. Mark you, the mail matter itself may be perfectly innocent. It may be a copy of the *Congressional Record*, or even of Creel's bulletin of misinformation. Presumably it must be acceptable matter, since the postal authorities have long had the power to exclude improper matter from the mails. But just because the Postmaster General is personally persuaded that the person addressed has been misusing the mails in some way, the matter cannot be delivered to him, but must be returned to the sender—who may be a perfectly proper person and who may be much more injured by the non-delivery than the addressee. We should think that if the Postmaster General had proof that anybody was using the mails improperly, it would be his duty to have him prosecuted and punished. Simply to declare a personal boycott against him would be as clumsy and stupid as it would be liable to gross abuse and injustice.

Baruch retires as a speculator.—*The World*.

So soon?

The Coal Situation

WHEN, two weeks ago, we urged the President to insist that Mr. McAdoo and Dr. Garfield compose their differences immediately, we hoped and believed that action would be taken to discount the possibility of a coal famine next winter. It seemed incredible that the President would allow such a vital problem to continue in the controversial state after his tragic experience in the Denman-Goethals business. But the squabbling continues. It has been suggested that Mr. McAdoo's absence from Washington on the Liberty Loan tour is responsible for the delay in settling the controversy. This excuse is hardly tenable.

Mr. McAdoo's assistants in the office of the railroad administration are perfectly capable of representing him in disposing of this matter. It would be nonsensical to assume that he is carrying in his trunk all the facts and figures required as a basis for settling the dispute.

The controversy has developed into a question of facts pure and simple. Dr. Garfield insists that we will be subjected to a severe famine unless Mr. McAdoo supplies more cars. In support of this contention Dr. Garfield cites official figures and calculations based upon them to prove that it is impossible to mine or move sufficient coal for the country's winter needs with the available transportation facilities.

Mr. McAdoo, or at least persons connected with his office, reply that this is nonsense. They insist that more coal is being mined at present than ever before and that the "famine bogey" has been raised by operators who want to "gouge" the Government and the country. Finally they state in so many words that Dr. Garfield has "fallen" for the operators, that they are using him in their evil designs and that his judgment is valueless.

Of course, this situation cannot continue. Dr. Garfield already has indicated that he will resign unless the President supports him. If, after eight months' experience in his present position Dr. Garfield is as misinformed and as weak as Mr. McAdoo's friends imply, the sooner he gets out the better. If on the other hand Dr. Garfield is right in raising the distress signals, the President should immediately silence his accusers and compel the Railroad Director to furnish the necessary cars.

As we said before, it is all a question of facts, and the President can easily get at the bottom of the business if he will only call Mr. McAdoo, Dr. Garfield and the necessary experts to the White House and keep them there until the truth is threshed out of the present mess of contradictions and unpleasant allegations.

We believe that Dr. Garfield's position is correct, and if he is attempting to work out a margin of safety we do not blame him in the least considering the experience he had last year. The following statement of the National Coal Association sent broadcast several days ago merely confirms our belief:

"Another coal shortage more serious than that of last winter, and almost certain interference with the war programme, are inevitable throughout the East, in the opinion of bituminous coal operators in the chief producing sections of the country, unless there is a readjustment soon of traffic over Eastern railroads.

"The enormous demands of other war industries are crowding coal off the rails, and the resultant continued shortage of cars at the mines has cut production to the danger point.

"This is the season of the year when the mines should

be working at top speed, to produce stocks for storage against the needs of next fall and winter. The mines, however, are not working at top speed, nor at a rate even approaching top speed. In the face of the heaviest demand for coal in the country's history, the mines have been so hindered by insufficient car supply that they have made little, if any, headway over last year's record—a record which fell 50,000,000 tons short of meeting the Nation's demands."

If, of course, evidence can be adduced by Mr. McAdoo to prove that this statement is false, nothing would be simpler than to have the Department of Justice take cognizance of it and cause the officers to be indicted for conspiracy to defraud the Government as well as the public.

Marvelous times! We never expected to live to see the day when the *Times* and the *World* would say a good word for Champ Clark.

Unpleasant Retaliation Possibilities

HOW many of our soldiers are prisoners in Germany we do not know. The Huns say they took 183 in the Seicheprey engagement. In the first raid on our trenches they carried away about a dozen more. Perhaps outside the great war zone of the extreme west they may have made between 200 and 300 American prisoners. But we do not know. It is a censorship mystery.

What we do know is that American prisoners in not inconsiderable numbers are in the hands of the Huns and that circumstantial and disturbing reports of their being subjected to barbarous usage are coming in. From released British prisoners we hear of our boys clad in filthy rags and emaciated from hunger and sickness being paraded as a sort of a perambulatory menagerie before jeering throngs in the Hun civilian home corrals. Maybe it isn't so. Maybe only a part of it is so. Not, of course, that anything in the brutality line is beyond the Me und Gott field of savagery endeavor. There is just one boundary to that territory, and that is the retaliatory possibilities of victims' countries.

Hateful as is the very name of retaliation, it none the less is ever among the hideous possibilities lurking under the dark shadow of war. Even great-souled, magnanimous Washington, when he was fighting the hired Huns who in his day were invading our country, had to threaten it. The threat and the preliminary steps to execution thereof were very apt to be coincident with George, for he was not a man given to mere admonitory gestures. There was a good deal of bustle and hustle in the enemy camps when George's rapid but very thorough retaliatory measures were set on foot. The provocative cause usually was so speedily removed that he was spared the painful necessity.

But, as Mr. Baker so impressively puts it, this war "is three thousand miles off." Our possibilities of retaliation may be dimmed by distance in the Hun consciousness. Then, of course, there is among people infected with the decadent ordinary decencies of civilization a prejudice against head-hunter standards of warfare chivalry. This weakness on the part of their adversaries has been a distinct asset with the Huns from the time they started on their murder, arson and rape debauch. It has given them a sheltering impunity from retaliation in kinds of which they have gleefully taken advan-

tage to the limit. They may be counting on it in our case.

But of course there is such a thing as going too far, even for them. They should know, as we know, that we are far from being without retaliatory material, though Heaven send that we may never have to make use of it. So far as the Government is concerned, there is not the remotest danger of premature drastic measures. Not until every effort to secure decent treatment has been exhausted would there be any thought of exercising retaliatory pressure. The State Department has not ignored the stories of abuse which lately have appeared. That they are taken pretty seriously, too, is shown by the fact that the Spanish Ambassador has been formally requested to transmit our inquiries on the subject to the Hun Government. For the present that is all that could be done.

But it is impromptu, informal retaliatory action that is to be feared. We do not have to go far to find evidence that there is a dangerous spirit abroad in the country and that it needs only too little provocation in some localities to manifest itself in ways intolerable to law-abiding good citizenship. The daily records of tar and feather and obligatory flag-kissing episodes, and even of much more serious outbreaks, are sufficient indication of the temper Americans pretty generally are developing. It does not require much imagination to picture what might follow repeated publication of details about abuse of American prisoners in Germany, supplemented by a heavy casualty list from the front, and it is not a pleasant picture to contemplate even in imagination. A few more such stories as those in the *New York Times'* recent London cable dispatches about what the Huns are said to have done to our soldier prisoners, and there easily might be results in some parts of the country compared with which that showering of paving stone confetti on Hun shops and shopkeepers in London would be but a May day frolic.

In view of tension such as this throughout the country and which is liable to be increased to a snapping point at about any moment, it possibly will occur to our courts that the day for pussyfoot punishments of alien enemy offenders has gone by, and the alien enemies themselves will be rather more than well advised if they take note that never since the war broke out has there been a time when a very great restraint of utterance and action on their part was quite so advisable as it is right in the days in which they are now living.

Sources of German Man-Power

GERMAN man-power surprises the world; though it should not. There are estimates from serious and informed sources that from two million to three million Germans have been killed outright in the war, beside perhaps as many more who have been disabled for further military service. Yet there is no diminution in the numbers of the Hunnish hosts which are poured against the Allied barrier at the western battle front. There are also reports that the German soldiers now comprise old men and boys in their mid-teens, far inferior in efficiency to those who filled the ranks earlier in the war; which we must accept with skeptical reserve, seeing the tremendous striking power which those troops have shown in the present drive. Judging from what has happened around Ypres and the Messines Ridge, Fritz is still a pretty competent fighting man.

That this development and endurance of German man-

power surpasses expectations must be conceded. But to the thoughtful mind it should cause no surprise. It is indeed only logical and natural that Germany should show a proportionately greater man-power than perhaps any other nation; certainly much greater than the United States. And this is for three major reasons.

The first is, that Germany's system of universal military training has made a far larger proportion of her men fit for service than can be found in any country without such a system. To deny that, or to ignore it, would be to deny or to ignore the efficiency of education and training. We know that in a community or State in which compulsory universal education prevails, the average of literacy is much higher than in one where it does not prevail. So in a nation where all boys receive military discipline and are scientifically trained to be soldiers, the average of fitness—physical fitness—for military duty is much higher than in one where they are left untrained. If standards of selection were uniform, therefore, we should find a larger percentage of acceptable recruits in the population of Germany than in that of America or Great Britain.

But, in the second place, the standards are not uniform. The German authorities are not nearly as strict in their requirements as are our own. They accept and send into the ranks men whose slight physical defects would here cause rejection. Nor does that appear to militate against the efficiency of their forces. A man with only one finger left on his hand can sight a rifle as well and pull the trigger as well as one with a full complement of digits. There are those who regard our standards of physical condition as too exacting. Beyond doubt they keep our percentage of available recruits below that of Germany.

Finally, there is the matter of exemptions, on grounds of domestic dependence and what not; grounds which here are valid and effective, but which in Germany would be laughed out of court. In Germany duty to the Kaiser is superior to duty to wife and children. If the man is fit for army service, to the army he must go; leaving wife and children to shift for themselves as best they can. In consequence, women and children are compelled to engage in men's work to an extent of which we can scarcely dream in America. We do not admire that system. We should not like to see it adopted here to anything like the extent to which it prevails there. But it does prevail there, and that is one of the reasons why Germany has proportionally so enormous a man-power.

It is not yet too late for us to learn something here from this German example. We do not wish to see men dragged away from dependent families, though neither do we like to see arrant slackers use their families as pretexts for their own recreance and cowardice. In that direction, our own man-power might properly be somewhat increased. Still more might it be increased through a modification of the physical tests, without decreasing the splendid personal efficiency of our troops.

But above all, our available man-power could and should be increased through the adoption of a rational system of universal training, which would develop the fitness and efficiency of the individual to the highest possible degree. That would not only increase our numerical man-power, but also it would hasten its availability. To illustrate: Congress has just been voting to include in this year's conscription those who have come of age since last June when the registration was made. That is well. But not nearly so many of

the young men thus summoned will be found physically fit as would have been thus found if they had all been under military training for the last year or more. And those who are found acceptable will be without training, and will need to be sent to camp for months before going abroad. Universal training would have given us more available men, and it would have given them to us more promptly at a time when every day is of almost crucial importance.

This last consideration is to be the more earnestly urged, for the reason that if the war lasts another year or two—and he would be rash who said that it would not—it will be of practical importance to us. It is now too late to give training in advance of conscription to those who have come of age since last June and who are now to be called; but there is yet time to give a year's training to those who are now under age but who will come of age and be called next year. Will it not be better then to conscribe trained men than untrained men?

Moreover,—and this is a point of which even pacifists must feel the force,—if happily no further call should have to be made, and the youths of twenty whom we now begin to train were never conscribed, that training would not be wasted, for it would improve their general physical condition and make them more efficient and competent citizens for the industrial tasks of peace. There is not a shadow of doubt that such has been the case in Germany, and that her marvellous industrial efficiency has been in a large measure due to the physical capacity developed in her men by military training.

We recommend these German lessons in the development of man-power to our own publicists and legislators. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*; though indeed the lesson thus to be learned is one of our own principles, adopted by the founders of this Republic a century before the present German Empire was formed, though unhappily abandoned by their less wise successors.

More Officers Needed

THE War Department's policy, or lack of policy, in training officers for line duty in the National Armies is beyond all understanding. From the day that we entered this war our allies have repeatedly reminded us of the vital necessity of building up a corps of reserve officers who would be available for trench service at an hour's notice. The British and French missions which came here last spring constantly urged the War Department to give the greatest amount of attention to this part of our program.

General Pershing had scarcely set foot on French soil before he began to repeat the suggestions made by the British and French missions. All of the general officers sent abroad on observation tours reported that more officers, better trained officers and older officers were needed with General Pershing's troops. The official reports have been swelled by unofficial communications indicating that the War Department has failed to heed the requests made so frequently. The fact of the matter appears to be that the weakest point in our organization in France is to be found in a shortage of officers fit for field commands.

The deficiency could be remedied with ease if the War Department would change the methods it has been employing up to date. Last summer two sets of training camps for reserve officers were opened. At least 50,000 men of excel-

lent types offered their services and were not accepted because there was no immediate need for them. Many of the men who were allowed to take the courses were not commissioned because there were no commands available. Had these men been held together we would now have a large corps of reserve officers with a year's military experience. They might have been assigned to the various cantonments as student officers, or they might have been sent to France at once. Common sense dictated some such policy. But Mr. Baker would not have it so.

We are informed that the 13,000 officers who have recently been graduated from schools at the cantonments will be sent back to the ranks, because there are no troops for them to command. We are also informed that another series of camps for men of the draft age which were to have been opened on May 1st or thereabouts are still in the discussion stage.

The War Department has announced that the new camps to be opened on May 15th will be limited to the following classes:

(a) Graduates of the course prescribed for the Reserve Officers' Training Corps; (b) members of the advanced course, R. O. T. C., who have completed one year's course of same, and also have completed not less than 300 hours of military instruction and training since Jan. 1, 1917; (c) graduates other than those specified above who are between the ages of twenty years nine months and thirty-two years, and who have had at least one year of military instruction at an educational institution under the supervision of an officer of the Army while attending same.

It is extremely difficult to understand how any group of men with good military sense reached the conclusions which caused the camps to be for the exclusive training of the men specified.

There appear to be but two questions at issue. The first is whether or not a three months' course in a camp is sufficient to train a man fresh from civil life to lead troops under fire? The unanimous reply of military men is no. They should be kept in camp or with troops just as long as possible.

The second question is whether or not we shall rely hereafter upon men under draft age to lead the new armies? General Pershing, General Wood and every other ranking officer in the army says no, and yet Secretary Baker has evidenced no intention of calling thousands of men between thirty-two and forty who are ready and willing to prepare themselves for next year's campaign. The only conclusion that we can reach is that Mr. Baker has discovered that officers need less training than privates and that a man in the twenties is more capable of leadership than one in the thirties or early forties!

So again we find our Secretary of War at variance with all military men.

An Ultimatum to General Foch

THAT amateur strategist, General Foch, would do well to take note of a thing or two. He may not know it, but the piercing eye of our Jim Ham is on him. Jim Ham is not yet fully on the job. He has not at present taken full personal charge of the war. But he is openly mobilizing.

Furthermore, he has issued an ultimatum. He gives General Foch fair warning. He tells him just what must be done, but he gives him a wholly reasonable time in which to do it. He gives him just two months and three days in which to inflict "a serious defeat" on the German armies.

The boys must be out of the trenches by the Fourth of July. Then the allied fleets will sail in and blow the war out of the water while you wait. Presumably Jim Ham himself will assume personal command of the combined fleets. He will be Lord High Admiral over all. He will be right on the dreadnaught bridge and he will be in full uniform.

It is the popular impression that Jim Ham has never been photographed in the blue and gold glories of nautical warlike accoutrements. But we all know how he looks in the spirited, dashing uniform of the Washington state militia. Who has forgotten, who can ever forget the shudder which ran through the then peaceful country when this grim portent of war's horrors stood revealed by newspaper illustration! And yet it was in reality a lovely being who was thus portrayed—a pictorial poem in whiskers. As much of war's sternness as possible had been combed out of the whiskers to be sure, and they were curled and sweetly parted in the middle to allay unnecessary alarm in timid breasts. But the whiskers were there just the same and their latent possibilities of bristling were only too apparent. They could bristle and they could flame as well for that matter, for they were red whiskers. The startling fact did not appear under the camouflage of pictorial reproduction, but red the whiskers were.

And now are we to see the same Jim Ham in the cocked hat, gleaming golden epaulettes and the frogged and looped loveliness of high marine command? It seems to all rest with General Foch. In the language of the street, "it is up to him." He knows just what he has got to do to avert having his own particular glory obliterated by the scarlet blaze of this impending whiskered sunrise on the war horizon. Nobody would wish to seem to be pressing General Foch to premature action, but it is only fair to him that he should know that the martial shadow of our own Jim Ham is hovering over him.

Meanwhile "may we not" all cheer up a bit in the bedeviling worriments of the day? With Jim Ham with us there is ever a humorous kindly light to lead us in the encircling gloom. Time cannot wither nor custom stale his vast and varied capacities for making an entertaining ass of himself. They are inexhaustible, seemingly—inexhaustible and perennial.

Who's Who in Russia?

PROGRESSIVE complications in Russia suggest the possibility that we shall before long be subjected to the embarrassment of choosing for recognition one among a number and variety of governments. The reported movement toward the re-establishment of a monarchy, if not the monarchy, is not at all surprising. There has been provided in the last four or five months ample ground for disillusionment and disgust with the republico-democratico-socialistico-mobocratico concern known as Bolshevism, and for an indignant reaction against it. Indeed, we must regard such reaction as eminently desirable, if ever Russia is to amount to anything again.

That does not mean that a return to Czarism, or to monarchy of any kind, is desirable. We should certainly

regret to see it effected. The world has had enough and too much of Caesars, whether Romanoffs or Hapsburgs or Hohenzollerns.

We are, however, fighting for the right, among others, of self-determination. The right of peoples to choose their own form of government is as sacred to us as it was to our forefathers, and we are prepared to fight for it in 1918 as resolutely as they did in 1776. If the Russian people, therefore, should make it clear that they wanted the empire restored, in any form and under any head, we should be compelled to acquiesce. In that matter, their will, not ours, must be done. Our objection to the Bolsheviki is chiefly that there is no reason for supposing that they are the choice of the Russian people. They began their despotic career, in fact, by forcibly dismissing the elected representatives of the people and thus denying the popular will. The coup d'état of Louis Napoleon was not a more arbitrary and autocratic act than the dissolution of the Russian Constituent Assembly.

When and how it will be possible to have assurance of the real will of the Russian people, it would be rash to predict. All we can say is that we must wait for it before we can confidently enter into relations with any Russian government. The fundamental principle of our policy in such matters was well set forth by Jefferson in 1793, when he said:

"We surely cannot deny to any nation the right whereon our own Government is founded—that every one may govern itself according to whatever form it pleases, and change these forms at its own will; and that it may transact its business with foreign nations through whatever organ it thinks proper, whether king, convention, assembly, committee, president, or anything else it may choose. The will of the nation is the only essential thing to be regarded."

Those words of wisdom were uttered at the time when France seemed to be plunged into almost as much of a hell-broth as that in which Russia is submerged today. They may well be recalled today, as our rule of action.

But of this all may be well assured, that no recognition can ever be given by us or by our Allies to any pretended government imposed, set up, or in any way backed or suggested, by the Blond Beast of Berlin. To a Hunnish dynasty at Petrograd we should inflexibly and inexorably present the same attitude that we maintain toward the Huns at Berlin.

Perhaps Bulgaria will declare war on Senator Brandegee.

Mr. Warburg was not appointed on the Capital Issues Committee because, etc., etc.—*The World*.

Also because he would not have been confirmed.

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"We Shall Win"

BY HENRY CABOT LODGE

THE sacrifices of the war come from the entire people and must fall or be made to fall upon all according to their capacity. In other words, this is the war of the American people and unity of faith, of service and of sacrifice is the first condition of the victory which we must win and which we shall win.

We are all bound as Americans to sustain the President, as commander-in-chief, in every war measure and to give him an unreserved support when those measures are right and are strongly driven forward and rightly and swiftly executed. But it is not the President's war. If it was, we should not succeed. It is not the war of Congress. If it was, we should not win. It is not the war of the Republican party or of the Democratic party. If it was, defeat might well await us. It is the war of the American people and by them and in that way, and in that way only, can it be won.

Let us never forget that our highest allegiance is not to men but to principles; not to those in authority, either in the Administration or in Congress, but to the country and the cause. That allegiance requires that we should sustain our soldiers and our sailors by land and sea, our chosen representatives in Washington those who are carrying on the work of the Government in any part of the land. But Presidents and cabinets, generals and admirals, senators and congressmen, are alike our instruments and our servants, and if they fail—war is a relentless master—they must be set aside.

Party action on war measures is unknown and has been unknown for a year in Congress. No American lives, whether he is in Congress or the humblest citizen in the country, who would sacrifice the success of the American arms to party feeling. This rule must obtain everywhere. Personal friendships and party interests and affiliations must never be allowed to delay or stand in the way of the war work and of the prosecution of the war. The execution of the war measures passed by Congress must never be used to advance personal interests or political ambitions. If they should be they will be poisoned at the very roots and will dry up and wither. The American people, whose war it is, have the right to demand and must demand that no men shall be charged with great responsibilities who do not in this war perform their duties with a full sense not only of the gravity but of the deep solemnity of its meaning and its issues.

On the western front in France and Flanders is the theatre where the great drama to-day is concentrated. There is being enacted the most awful tragedy which the human race has ever faced, for whatever the issues of the war—and it must end in the victory of right and justice—the war itself, its very existence is a tragedy.

The man who does not feel this in the depths of the soul, but who chirps and twitters in the columns of the newspapers like a sparrow in the branches on a fine spring morning, is unfit for great responsibilities. He does not understand what the great tragedy means, and the man who does not understand its meaning cannot serve the cause as it must be served if victory is to come.

The American people have the right to demand—it is

their duty to demand—speed, the utmost speed, in the execution of all war measures. Time is the most precious possession we have and wasted time can never be recalled or atoned for. The American people cannot permit the terrible words "too late" to be written over their labors and their sacrifices in the war where freedom and civilization are struggling for existence. Party feeling, party associations, personal friendships, the nearest ties, must weigh for nothing if those chosen to lead in any office in our Government fail or delay or are spendthrifts of time and wasters of the money, the resources and the energies of the people. Such men must be ruthlessly swept aside, for no mouthings of patriotism, no frothing lip service, will take the place of what the country must have—the highest possible efficiency, by land and sea, in Congress or in the civil offices of government.

Let us have no more dealings in futures. When the Secretary of the Navy, which has preserved silence as to its intentions, tells us that we have 150 ships of all types in European waters we may rejoice, for that is work done and well done and not an empty promise of what is yet to be. We have been fed too long with brilliant descriptions of what will be. We have had too much of the future tense. Let us one and all do the work that it comes to us to do and say nothing about it until the work is done. No man has the right to make the people believe that what it is planned to do is already accomplished. Criticism which is false, unfounded, unduly pessimistic, without ground or reason, is wrong and harmful, but its shafts will fall harmlessly to the ground, for discovery is easy. But the criticism which reveals the truth, discloses faults and forces improvement is high service to the country, no matter from what source it emanates.

The cause of our Allies is our cause and our cause is theirs. We must be true to them, as they are true to us and as we all must be true to the principles for which we fight.

The American, native-born or naturalized, who attacks, or belittles, or denounces our Allies or any one of them—those Allies whose fleets and armies, whose splendid fighting have so long stood between us and the hideous tyranny of Germany is disloyal to our cause and to the United States.

No man can tell how long and how hard the road before us may be. No man can even guess the extent of the sacrifices which we may be called upon to make. But we can bear the sacrifices and win the victory only by never forgetting that it is the war of the American people, all striving together to win a complete victory which alone can make safe the principles upon which the Government of the United States was founded. That victory will be won.

"If it be now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now yet it will come; the readiness is all."

We shall win. It cannot be otherwise unless right and justice are to perish from the earth and the night of barbarism is to close down in utter darkness upon mankind.



“Up and At Him!”

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

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WEEK ENDING MAY 11, 1918

NO. 19

The Military Situation

WE pay no attention whatever to untrustworthy reports and intimations from London and Washington.

These are the facts which come to us direct from abroad:

Foch has 900,000 reserves of French, British and Americans, in perfect condition, who have not yet been put into action, but can be at any moment.

England has approximately 600,000 fully trained men, of whom at least 400,000 can be placed on the line within twenty hours.

While Mr. Baker was away, the United States, under the compelling force of General March, efficiently aided by General Goethals, dispatched to France 250,000 men in addition to the 150,000 already there, and will send 200,000 in May and 300,000 in June unless Mr. Baker intervenes. That will add nearly two millions of fresh fighting men to the Western front for the Allies, while the enemy has less than one million of reserves.

It all resolves to this: If the British and French can hold on for a few weeks, we have the enemy licked—*licked at least to a standstill* until America *can* and, the Administration permitting, *will* get her full force into action and, let us hope and pray, eventually—

WIN THE WAR.

Suffice it for the present:

They cannot pass!

A Real Army—To Be or Not To Be

WASHINGTON, May 10, 1918.

THE New York *World* which, despite an occasional lapse into independent journalism for which it was once famous, still maintains its high position as the chief Administration organ, said on Saturday:

Thursday, Secretary Baker appeared before the House Committee on Military Affairs and asked for an army "without limit." Friday, Col. Harvey appeared in print with a dehydrated attack on the Secretary of War, asserting that the increase that the Secretary would call for "will be as small as he will dare to suggest." All of which goes to show that it is still "better not to know so much than to know so many things that ain't so."

And we repeat that Secretary Baker, with characteristic cunning, did precisely what we predicted that he would do. He did not propose that provision be made for an army equal to the limit of the country's resources. Not at all. He simply asked Congress to transfer to the Administration its own Constitutional right to fix the size of the army and to vote, in advance of any commitment by the Administration respecting its intentions, an enormous appropriation which might or might not be used in full or in part,—just that and no more. "Without limit" meant nothing else than without limit to the authority of the Executive, without restraint, without acquiescence, without even suggestion from the representatives of the people,—a full disposal of absolute power, supplementing and rounding out to completion the unprecedented grants already made.

"I don't want to say anything in figures," said Secretary Baker when asked how large an army was contemplated, "because I don't want to be tied down to numbers. My objection to using numbers grows out of the facts that we want to raise just as large an army as will be needed, and I want the American people to feel confident that we are not going to be handicapped by numbers but intend to raise an army that will be large enough in every respect."

"Just as large a number as will be needed,"—that is to say, just as large a number as the Executive may think is needed, without the slightest heed to the opinion of Congress or of anybody else. It may be large, it may be small; nobody knows or will be permitted to know till a decision has been reached. A year ago the President thought 500,000

would be ample; later he increased his estimate; what is in his mind now is yet to be revealed.

Secretary Baker declined to enlighten the Committee, but "it became known at the Capitol," the newspapers report, "that the plan contemplates having a total of 2,298,000 officers and men in the field and in camps on July 1, 1918, and a force of not fewer than 3,160,000 on July 1, 1919," an addition of only 862,000 in the entire year, with all the draft machinery, cantonments and other essentials presumably in perfect working order. This at a time when our country and our Allies are crying for a minimum of five millions at the earliest possible moment, to supplement our small advance guard, to give the French and British a breathing spell and to crush the Germans by weight of numbers and grim determination! Mr. Baker's real response to the call of the world is no programme at all, not even the one suggested; it is only a permit to the credulous public to surmise, upon no official authority whatever, that some such inadequate attempt may be made, as and if "needed."

Mr. Cobb is right, though in a respect different from that which he intended. The increase which Secretary Baker suggested was not, in fact, the smallest that he dared to present to the public; it was, indeed, "without limit"; but it was solely and exclusively an increase in the power of the President, not in the slightest degree in the size of the army, except by vague indirection, to the extent that the President himself may determine. As a matter of fact, the President could have called three millions to the colors at any time since the original draft bill became a law—and ought to have done so long ago.

The Act now proposed is not a military measure at all. It is part financial and part political. Fifteen billions of dollars,—more, in fact; it will be nearer twenty billions when they get through! At last they mean business! So infers the public. Maybe so. Heaven knows we hope so. But the evidences, as we have shown, point the other way. The Government could not expend so vast a sum during the next year if it should try. With less than half as much to juggle, and with waste and extravagance such as was never dreamed of, there still remain hundreds of millions unexpended. But note this: that the Constitution specifically, though in negative form, provides that moneys appropriated for war may be used for a term not exceeding two years. Clearly, what the Administration is seeking now is an allowance so colossal that it can snap its fingers at the next Congress. While declining to acquiesce in the suggestion of avoidance of political strife so far as possible next autumn, upon the belief that the country will give the House to the Democrats by a great majority and so accord the President a "splendid vindication," it prefers to take no chances—and would have the money voted now, if you please, and voted in quantities so enormous that the next Congress, be it Republican or Democratic, after having yielded practically all of its authority, including that over the purse of the Nation, might as well never assemble at all.

We did not oppose the Overman bill because we could perceive no harm and possibly much help to spring from a rearrangement of the President's multitudinous bureaus; we frankly approved his taking over the railroads and the control of fuel and food; we like the way he is grabbing ships wherever he can find a shadow of a legal right to do; we do not particularly mind his latest demand for the privilege

to seize, offhand, private property for war purposes; whatever authority he wants or even mistakenly thinks would help him to discharge his personally assumed responsibility for winning the war we are in favor of granting to him.

We do not even object to the bill under consideration upon the common ground that it fails to fix a maximum army; we oppose it because it does not fix a minimum; if it should require absolutely the raising of a force of five, or better yet, seven millions, and the adoption of universal training, we would support it gladly. But we do not believe that the Administration has the slightest intention of doing any such thing; we are convinced that, conformably to its record and to its hinted programme, it means to continue to peck and peck at the mighty undertaking, in futile and disastrous anticipation of waking up some fine morning and finding that a miracle had happened. All this delusive talk about "without limit," therefore, means to our mind nothing but bakerized camouflage, under cloak of which the last vestige of legislative authority is to be seized by an autocracy far more concentrated than any we have denounced or are now fighting after a fashion.

When it comes to Congress abdicating entirely, we draw the line. It will do so if it passes this bill and it can do so, we hesitatingly suppose, technically, but it cannot do so without disavowing the most solemn obligation put upon it by the Constitution which its members have sworn to uphold and by betraying the country which they are bound in honor to serve.

As we have shown, the bill is dishonest. It is also unnecessary and uncalled-for except by the Administration for partisan and personal purposes. Congress has given and will continue to give all the money required in the prosecution of the war, but it ought to know where it is going and what for, and it must not hand a blank check, in the name of a tax-ridden people, to the group of incompetent officials who thus far have evidenced anything but administrative abilities and have wasted money like water running over a dam.

Nothing can be expected from the House of Representatives. Upon the eve of an election the House is a puppet. Our only hope lies in the Senate of the United States,—and we not only pray but honestly believe that in this instance it will be found well placed.

Two items printed on the same day:

Dr. Karl Buenz, managing director of the Hamburg-American Line, who was sentenced to serve eighteen months in the Atlanta penitentiary more than two years ago for issuing false manifests. Marshal McCarthy allowed his valet to join the party and make the trip.

On the trip to the Atlanta prison, Buenz will be allowed to occupy a parlor car and will be extended every courtesy. If he becomes ill the party will stop off until he has recovered sufficiently to proceed.

* * *

Mr. Gerard said that no one in this country could have any conception of the cruelty and beastliness with which war prisoners are treated by the Germans. He instanced the herding of French, British and Italian prisoners in Rouleben, healthy and strong, with Russians infected with typhus fever, offering as the only excuse that the British and French "must learn to know their allies."

Pretty, pretty! said little Rollo, clapping his hands.

There is only one thing, young man, worse than to go; that is, not to go.

The Week

THINGS are happening; both at home and abroad; chiefly good. Even when, as noted last week, a cloud of poison gas descends upon the capital, it is still possible to wear gas masks and to keep on working.

Two more investigations are afoot; both much needed; which we may hope will prove of practical service comparable with that which even the New York *Evening Post* is now compelled to credit those of last winter which at the time were regarded by the hot gospeller adulators of Things As They Are as the Abomination of Desolation. One is ordered by the President himself, to be conducted by the Department of Justice; to find out why we have no fighting airplanes after the expenditure of \$640,000,000 and the lapse of a year. Incidentally General Squier, who was until recently at the head of the aviation business, asks for a military court of inquiry. Seeing that he is not a spy, propagandist or enemy alien of any of the fifty-seven varieties, he may be entitled to a military tribunal without danger of violating the Constitution so flagrantly as there was danger of doing under the lately proposed Court Martial for Spies bill. But whether by the sorely overworked Department of Justice or by court martial, or by both, let us by all means have a thorough, impartial and fearless investigation.

Curiously enough, some of the current commentators upon the subject who are generally staunch supporters of the Administration, have been diagnosing all sorts of graft, conspiracy and treason, a vast German plot to paralyze aircraft production, which should be dealt with by a Federal grand jury, if not by a summary firing squad; while others, politically hostile to the Administration, hold that there has been nothing of that sort in the case, and that in view of the extensive plants constructed and other work done, the aircraft administration has been guilty of nothing worse than failure to fulfil in time promises which never should have been made. To which of these two extremes the golden mean of ascertained truth will prove to be, remains to be seen; with just this certainty: That the sooner and the more indisputably the truth is ascertained, the better it will be for the nation and its cause.

The Ordnance Bureau is the other scene of investigation. Apparently the nine little Browning guns of which our pacifist War Secretary so smugly boasted months ago were in fact little ones; to wit, light guns. The heavy Browning guns are not even nine. Although deliveries of them in quantity were under the contract to have begun last month, none are now likely to be furnished until next year. How serious a lapse this is may be estimated from these data: That our troops have been looking to the British to supply them with such guns until our own output was sufficient, and that the British have in these last few weeks lost so many to the Germans that they have scarcely enough left for their own use. In these circumstances it is not surprising to learn that our War Department, headed by the most efficient pacifist that ever filled the place, has ordered 70,000 more of those Lewis guns which were to be altogether discarded in favor of the Brownings. No wonder that the War Department anxiously asks that the Ordnance Bureau may be permitted itself to investigate the matter before Congress does so.

We shall particularly enjoy reading the report of the re-

sult of the investigation which we have no doubt Mr. George Creel will hasten to prepare and publish in his justly renowned Messages to the American People. It was only the other day that he assured the American People that we were "making good on guns", and that "all the accusations against the Ordnance Bureau are accusations that are based on appearances, not on evidence."

We are at last, it is said, to have a daily communiqué on the war, such as our Allies have been issuing right along. That we have hitherto had none is one of the discreditable anomalies of our military administration. There were, to be sure, those quaint and perky little talks which the pacifist Secretary of War used to give every week; embodying merely his own distinguished views and interpretations of the news which he had gleaned from the newspapers. But they were recently discontinued; for which relief, much thanks. They had grown far more tiresome than amusing. Now it is hoped that we shall have each day a digest of direct official information from the front. There is no respectable reason why we should not have such reports, and should not have had them from the beginning of our troops' active participation in the war. The suggestion that they might give the enemy information which would be of value to him and detrimental to us is a baby act plea unworthy of consideration. It would mean that we are so inefficient that we must keep ourselves in ignorance of what we ought to know, because we are not able to keep the news from getting across the ocean to our foes. If somebody would pay as much attention to suppressing German spies and propagandists as is paid to keeping legitimate information from loyal Americans, we should be immeasurably better off.

Perhaps the most remarkable tribute of all paid to the concern at Camden, N. J., which is turning out the steamship Tuckahoe in such quick time, was implied in the construction of the President's note of congratulation. He began it by saying plumply, "I want to congratulate you," etc. On any other occasion he would, of course, have written, "May I not offer you my congratulations?" That change from his habitual style to the style of common mortals, indicates how great an impression that really extraordinary performance at Camden produced upon his mind.

In Flanders and Picardy the struggle of the giants continues in the fashion pictured by Macaulay, "And backward now, and forward, rocked furiously the fray." All that can be said is that the Allies are holding their line unbroken, and seem day by day more certain of doing so to the end; that our troops are doing their little part in fine fashion; and that the Germans are suffering by far the greater losses in men. There is talk of a Hunnish offensive in Italy, which would not be at all surprising. The oestrus-goings of the Kaiser in that direction, to treat Venice as he treated Louvain and Rheims, must be all but intolerable. If the attempt is made, we shall expect to see the Italian line hold good. The lesson of last fall has been thoroughly learned and will not have to be repeated.

With Hunnish peace drivers, otherwise camouflage, we need not concern ourselves. Some events of the week have, however, seriously suggested the possibility of a radical trans-

formation of the war. Germany has been vigorously extending and confirming her conquests in the east. The autonomous government of the Ukraine has been as summarily swept away by German troops as were the remains of the Convention by Napoleon's historic "whiff of grape", and in its place a purely German government has been established. More, the people of the Ukraine have been reduced to serfdom under German taskmasters. In brief, the Ukraine, which Germany pretended to recognize and to make a treaty with as an independent power, has been conquered by Germany and annexed as a subject province. At the same time, confirmation of the German suzerainty of all the Baltic coast provinces of Russia proceeds, and the German attempt at the conquest of Finland is savagely maintained. That is to say, all that is left of Russia is being completely shut away from the Baltic and from the Black Sea; a condition which is calculated to make it the easy prey of Germany.

Now what is the logic of that strategy? Lord Robert Cecil shrewdly pointed out the other day that Germany, in full possession of Russia, would be all but impregnable. For more than three years without the aid of Russia she has been holding her line on the western front. She could surely do so still more effectively with the backing of Russia's vast resources, exploited by German efficiency. From the east she could draw abundant supplies of food of the best kind, of iron and platinum, of oil and cotton. She could make herself sufficient unto herself. In addition, she could replenish her ranks with "cannon fodder" from the more than hundred millions of Russia's teeming population. To secure the assent of Europe to such a status, as terms of peace, she could well afford to relinquish all hopes of gain in the west, even to the giving up of Alsace-Lorraine; especially since in Russia she would have iron mines amply compensating her for the surrender of those of Lorraine, which were the chief cause of her theft of the Provinces.

That the Allies would assent to peacemaking on any such terms is doubtless unthinkable. They would be making of themselves, if they did, the most infernal fools that history has ever recorded, because they would simply be assenting to Germany's aggrandizement of herself into a power against which they might not and probably would not be able to stand in the next war. But if they do not assent to it, and Germany acts upon it, not as a plan of peace but as a new plan of war, what then? If Germany should withdraw to her own frontiers in the west, and fortify herself there, and should devote her further aggressions to confirming and cultivating her conquest of Russia, the Allies would be confronted with a problem of singular magnitude and difficulty.

We should not to the extent of the proverbial row of pins rely upon the prospects of a Bohemian revolt which would take Austria-Hungary out of the war. The accomplished facts are, however, that there is an exceptional degree of unrest and disaffection among the Czechs, that large numbers of Czechs have deserted the Austro-Hungarian army for the forces of the Allies, and that a great and influential Bohemian propaganda is in progress in this country. In view of these facts, it is well to remember that in what he described as "the only possible programme of the world's peace," the President of the United States said: "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see

safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development."

Sir Edward Carson has emitted a few more indications of his pious intention of raising the devil, if he can, in Ireland. If his fulminations can be ignored, we can scarcely pass over so lightly the surprising appointment of Field-Marshal Lord French to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. There are many fears among informed and thoughtful men that it will be regarded by the Irish as a warning of impending coercion; which would be most unfortunate. Of course there are some elements in Ireland which deserve and need coercion—as there are in every country; we having our I. W. W. here. But it is scarcely conceivable that the British Government would resort to coercion at this time as a general settlement of the whole "Irish problem." Mr. George has shown himself so fine a master of tactics and strategy on former occasions, however, that we have faith in the correctness of his designs in this case. If Lord French is a precursor of coercion, can it be that it is to Sir Edward Carson that it is to be applied? But perhaps there is no thought of coercion at all.

Not the least of the many unhappy and rather shocking phases of the airplane scandal is the suspicion openly declared by senators that the Department of Justice cannot be relied upon to make a thorough investigation and might even join the War Department in the latter's attempt to cover up misdeeds. It is, if we mistake not, the first time such an imputation has been cast upon the legal department of our Government; nor do we regard it as warranted despite even the failure so far to get results from the Hog Island investigation; but there it is and we fear a good many people share the distrust. The President could quickly restore full confidence and resolve all doubts by drafting Charles E. Hughes or James M. Beck to make the inquiry and, if found necessary, to conduct the prosecution. Why not do it?

To the Editor of The Baltimore Sun:—

SIR: It may be that Mr. Watterson's advice to President Wilson to shun the allurements of a third term has been forestalled.

Mr. Arthur D. Howden Smith's "The Real Mr. House" has all the earmarks that characterized Colonel Harvey's articles, which drew the attention of the country upon the Princeton professor.

Many of us who are heart and soul with President Wilson, and nevertheless oppose a third term, are heartened, believing that a worthy successor in the person of Mr. House looms large in the not distant future.

WILLIAM ELLINGER.

Baltimore, April 20.

This is the last straw.

Asked if the Republicans of the West were talking about 1920 politics, Chairman Hays said:

"Perhaps they are, but I am not. The business in hand is to keep the patriotic fires burning bright, to the end that everybody does his best to help the nation in its hour of stress. Nineteen-twenty can take care of itself till we come to it."

Hats off to Mr. Hays!

Trouble began to brew instantly in France when the poilus called our boys "bakers", but it subsided quickly when the information forthcame that it was because they ate white bread.

The President and Mr. Borglum

TECHNICALLY the *Sun* may be within the letter of the fact when it applauds President Wilson for repudiating Mr. Borglum as the "official representative of the Administration" in the aircraft investigation. Whether, as the *Sun* characterizes it, the President's "almost harsh" reminder to Mr. Borglum that he has grotesquely misapprehended his status, is within the ethics and equities of the case may be more open to question.

Unfortunately, we are without exact definition of what constitutes an official representative of the Administration. The President himself in the varied and multifarious assignments he has given—to Col. House, for instance—has rather added to than clarified the obscurity. The question in a measure seems to turn on whether designation as the President's "personal representative" does or does not create an official status. With this point left in uncertainty, the status of Col. House himself in some of his peripatetic investigations would seem to be almost, if not quite, as nebulous as that of Mr. Borglum in the aircraft inquiry. And, that being the case, we may very safely agree with the *Sun* that the President's repudiation of Mr. Borglum as an official representative was "almost harsh", an agreement, however, with reserve of opinion as to whether the brusque Presidential harshness was ethically justifiable.

The President's letter of April 15th, in which this harsh repudiation occurs, when taken in connection with the White House letter of January 2, on the strength of which Mr. Borglum began his task, leaves the ethics and the equities of the matter even more involved in uncertainty. In the harsh repudiation letter, the President says:

I never at any time constituted you an official investigator. I merely gave you the right to look into the matter of your own motion.

But in the 2d of January letter the President seems to have rather more than given Mr. Borglum the right of inquiry. In fact, he seems to have pressed the inquiry upon him as in the nature of an imperative duty. He urged Mr. Borglum to "come at once to Washington, lay the whole matter before the Secretary (of War) and by your own investigation discover the facts in this business." And the President furthermore assured Mr. Borglum that he should be clothed with full authority to conduct his inquiries. The President wished the facts in the case to be discovered by Mr. Borglum's own and not by somebody else's investigation. Whatever latently equivocal meaning there may be in this limitation, is open to conjecture, and if that conjecture leads to assumption of lack of confidence in somebody's investigations that somebody surely was not Mr. Borglum.

Now urging a man "to come at once" and do something the Administration wants done and at the same time effusively promising that there shall be a full clothing with administrative authority in the conduct of the work, is rather a different thing from that mere giving the right to "look into the matter of your own motion", as the President now describes it. So far as the correspondence discloses, the investigation was made of the Administration's motion and not of Mr. Borglum's. Through some preliminary correspondence, beginning with a letter from Mr. Borglum to Mr. Tumulty on the 22d of November, 1917, Mr. Borglum made certain statements regarding the aircraft situation which were

shown to the President. In a letter to Mr. Borglum, written on the 5th of December, 1917, the President said the matters referred to "disturbed" him and he asked Mr. Borglum to do him the "very great favor" of indicating as specifically as possible the weaknesses which he, Borglum, saw in the aircraft production organization.

Mr. Borglum specified as desired, and was then urged by the President to "come at once to Washington and be clothed by the Administration with full authority to get to the bottom of the situation." This urging was from the President of the United States, from whom a mere invitation is more or less a command, let alone a pressing invitation to "come at once." If Mr. Borglum interpreted all this as an appointment of "official" investigator no doubt he went too far. We do not know that he did so interpret it. There is nothing in the record to show that he did, or, for that matter, to quite justify the President in assuming that he did and harshly repudiating him accordingly. The President says Mr. Borglum was under a serious misapprehension in this respect. Maybe he was. But if so it must have been entirely a subjective misapprehension, for so far as the record shows it never revealed itself in any outward manifestation. Yet, when Mr. Borglum had been virtually commanded to come at once to Washington and begin an investigation under full administrative authority, that he may have had some vague notion that his status had at least some sort of official endorsement and guarantee is neither incredible nor, indeed, unreasonable. To begin with, there were the House precedents to confuse him just as they have so often from time to time confused and even amazed the rest of us.

But even more confusing than this is yet another phrase in the President's letter of April 15th to Mr. Borglum. The President writes:

We have wished at every point to assist you and to make possible for you what you wished to do, but we have at no time regarded you as the official representative of the Administration in making the investigation. If I had so regarded you, I would, of course, have supplied you with such assistance as you feel you lacked.

This is simply bewildering. Apparently the position of the President is about this: We wished at every point to assist you and to make possible for you to do what we urged you in our letter of January 2 to come at once and undertake, with full assurance that every facility of inquiry would be put at your disposal and that you would be clothed with full authority to get at the bottom of every situation. Now if you complain that we have not kept our promise in all this, the answer is that you are not an official representative of the Administration. Had we regarded you as an official representative of the Administration, of course we would have furnished you with what you lack. But you can see you are not an official representative of the Administration.

And there the muddle of the Administration-Borglum controversy is, with a free for all chance for everybody or anybody to untangle the snarl who can.

Mr. Baker got into the matter at a very early stage of the proceedings. He was "delighted", as the President assured Mr. Borglum he would be, to furnish all assistance, to put a member of his own staff at Mr. Borglum's command and to throw open every avenue of information. Mr. Borglum says in his last very severe letter to the President that instead of being helped he was blocked; that his witnesses were tampered with and even threatened, and that finally he

was forced by these embarrassments to abandon the War Department room to which he had been assigned and seek quarters elsewhere. Notwithstanding the handicaps of which he complains, he went on with his investigation. On the 21st of January he turned in a preliminary report to the President and with it went a letter telling of the obstacles that had been thrown in the way of inquiry instead of the assistance which Mr. Baker had "delightedly" promised to give. The full report followed. It was not made public. One reason, unofficial, that has been given for pigeon-holing it was that it was 'scandalous'. Probably it was. From what we know now of the aircraft disgrace it is pretty hard to imagine how it could have been otherwise and have remained approximately truthful. It reached Mr. Baker on the 1st of February. On the 20th of February Mr. Baker was joyously making the statement that the aviation programme was five months ahead of schedule and that "the first American built airplanes are to-day en route to the battle-fields of France." Mr. Baker added that the shipment was not large. It was not. It consisted of two machines. As for the aircraft programme being five months ahead of schedule, there practically wasn't any aircraft construction programme. It had collapsed.

Then after having the Borglum report before him for about six weeks, Mr. Baker went to Europe. There he remained six weeks and he has been back about two weeks. Last week, three months after receipt of the preliminary report, we were informed that he had the Borglum report "before him."

The Baker Brothers Again

EVIDENCES of the disastrous, complete and scandalous failure of the Administration's aviation programme continue to multiply. There is, furthermore, abundant proof of a determination on the part of those responsible for that programme to deceive the public, to lull it into fancied security by assurances of wonderful achievements, publication of the details of which "military expediency" forbade. Pre-eminent among those whose words have contributed to the deception alike of Congress and the public has been Mr. Baker, Mr. N. D. Baker, Secretary of War—not his brother, who received the contract for "spares" which was and was not cancelled.

As long ago as September 13, 1917, Secretary Baker announced that "the United States aviation engine has passed its final test." It is now learned, in May, 1918, on the authority of Senator Hitchcock, that the Liberty motor is "practically just emerging from the experimental stage." In October, 1917, Secretary Baker informed the public that "work is in progress on practically the entire number of airplanes and motors for which provision was made in the aviation bill passed by Congress in July." It is now learned that at that time practically no work was in progress on machines and that in numerous instances the buildings in which it was proposed to manufacture the machines had yet to be constructed.

Secretary Baker declared that, "the types of airplanes now in process of manufacture cover the entire range of training planes, light, high-speed fighting machines and powerful battle and bombing planes of the heaviest design."

And then Mr. Howard E. Coffin, of the Aircraft Board, testified that "no light, high-speed fighting machines have been or are to be manufactured in this country at any time"; nor were there either battle or bombing planes in process of manufacture when Mr. Baker made this statement. On February 20, 1918, Mr. Baker authorized the statement that "the first American built airplanes are today en route to the battlefields in France. This first shipment, although itself not large, marks the final overcoming of the many difficulties in building up this new and intricate industry." The fact is that the shipment consisted of only two planes and we have the word of Senator Hitchcock, with regard to combat planes, that we had in the year met with failure. Only two combat planes had been made and shipped to France.

Incidentally, we have the statement of Senator Hitchcock that the number of planes which this country has been able to purchase abroad is "distressingly small," that "they are of French manufacture and they are not first-rate combat machines at that, because France has need of her own combat planes over her own lines." Senator Hitchcock, replying to expressions of amazement from his colleagues at the extent to which they had been deceived, was compelled to say, "A great many of the publications that have been put out, I regret to say, by authorized authority, have been gross exaggerations, calculated utterly to mislead the American people, and for a long time they misled the Committee."

Senator Hitchcock has further called attention to the deception practised on the country with regard to the Liberty motor, the flamboyant description put out by the Committee on Public Information, with the approval of Mr. Baker, etc., in which connection Mr. Hitchcock says, "They conveyed to the public the idea that down in a hotel, here in Washington, they had created the motor," they "deliberately played a great confidence game on the country," and the Liberty motor is, in reality, merely a modified type of the Packard motor.

The New York *Times*, evidently forgetful of the complacent and fictional narrative of progress with which Mr. Baker undertook to cajole the Military Affairs Committee and forestall the effort of Senator Chamberlain to provide a Council of War, declines to hold Mr. Baker responsible for the deception so successfully and deliberately practised on the public and Congress, but, after enumerating the facts, it says:

These conditions plainly point to an organized conspiracy, bold, powerful, numerous, made up of men able to formulate a great and definite plan and embracing within their number men sufficiently high-placed and influential to have the ear and confidence of the Secretary of War. And the *Times* demands an investigation by a Federal Grand Jury which, it says, should be undertaken at the instance of Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War.

Senator Poindexter, however, displays less confidence in, or consideration for, the brother of Mr. H. D., saying flatly in debate:

The Senator from Utah (Mr. King) has just said that an officer of the Government expressed to him the opinion that somebody ought to be shot for this offense; and it seems to be a very general and widespread opinion in the country, judging from editorials in leading newspapers, that not only has there been a failure, but that there has been a wilful and intentional failure to produce airplanes. Now it is a well known principle of criminal law, with which the Senator from Nebraska is thoroughly familiar, that those who aid and abet a criminal are guilty. There is such a thing as being an accessory to a crime. I want to ask the Senator from Nebraska this question: When the official of

the Government who is responsible under the President for the aviation program and for the expenditure of over \$800,000,000 which Congress has appropriated for this purpose—when the failure has been pointed out to him, when it has become a matter of public scandal, of world-wide notoriety—goes before the committees of Congress and, instead of ordering these men to be shot defends them and denies that there has been any failure; when the Secretary of War says that we have done better than we expected to do, is not the Secretary of War himself an accomplice, and is not he himself the man who ought to be reached by the committees of Congress or others who are proceeding to hold someone responsible?

Referring to the flamboyant statements of the Secretary of War and the Committee on Public Information, Senator Hitchcock not only declared that the Aircraft Board had "perpetrated a gigantic confidence game on the whole country," but revealed the fact that the War Department, or that board, had agreed to pay to the Packard people for their three years' work in developing the Liberty motor between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000, approximately \$800,000.

Although President Wilson has described Secretary Baker as "one of the most efficient public servants I have ever known," it is evident that Senators, irrespective of party, either widely differ with Mr. Wilson, or regard his statement as a sad reflection upon such other public officials as he may have known.

The thick and thin supporters of the Administration are earnestly hoping that the latest report made to the President pursuant to the last investigation he has ordered, may reveal extenuating circumstances which will relieve Mr. Baker of some of the odium which attaches to him from the facts thus far established. They realize that his honor and his integrity are alike at stake, but they are looking to the publication of this report to mitigate, at least, his responsibility for the disgraceful conditions revealed and the deception he has practised, but for some reason or other the President, who has had the report for some time, seems indisposed to accede to Senator Brandegee's request that it be made public. But, believe us, the truth will out.

Meanwhile, where is Brother H. D.? We cannot find him anywhere. Can it be possible that he is taking a course in disinterestedness in Colonel Mouse's big Peace Academy in New York?

Three years ago the civilized world was stricken with horror at the announcement that a German submarine had sunk the *Lusitania* without warning and had murdered 1,150 helpless, non-combatants, men, women and children, in cold blood.—*The World*.

And one year and eleven months after the event we notified the Huns officially that it must not happen again.

The Voting Enemy Alien

FEELING is becoming very intense in some of the ten States wherein, under laws which they were so ill-advised as to pass in their happy-go-lucky immigrant-seeking days, enemy aliens will be permitted to vote at the Congressional and other elections this coming Fall. In some places people are getting so wrought up over the matter that threats are being made that law or no law no Hun votes shall go into the ballot boxes. In other words, that if an enemy alien whose naturalization is incomplete attempts to vote he will be prevented from so doing by force and intimidation if there is no other way of accomplishing the end.

The enemy voting privilege is bad enough, but it is to be hoped that it will not be made worse by methods so reprehensible. Yet there is undeniably a situation of such steadily increasing tension in some localities that fears for the stability of law and order during the election may be by no means imaginary. In such communities the normal anti-German bitterness incident to the war, and, unfortunately, much increased by a certain attitude of truculent insolence on the part of Germans in large centres of their population, has been in a great measure concentrated on this deplorable franchise privilege giving enemy aliens a power of which they are showing themselves only too self-conscious.

This is particularly the case in Nebraska, one of the worst German-ridden States in the Union. Nebraska is about as badly in the mess as it well could be. Furthermore, the recent extra session of the Legislature, called largely for the purpose of finding some way by which this enemy alien enemy grip on the ballot box might be shaken off, seems to have succeeded in leaving things rather worse off than they were at the outset, so far as allaying present public irritation is concerned.

The only way the existing franchise laws could be repealed was by amendment of the State Constitution. Under those laws any foreigner who had lived in the State six months and had formally declared his intention of becoming an American citizen, might vote at any and all elections. Under inquiries stimulated by war feeling, it has been revealed that thousands of Germans have been voting for years, some of them as long as forty years, on their declaration of intent record without attempting, or apparently desiring, to complete the process of renouncing their foreign allegiance and becoming citizens of the country whose privileges had been so generously thrown open to them.

And now the Legislature has passed a constitutional repeal measure covering the objectionable franchise laws which goes to the people for a vote next Fall. And the irony of the thing is that the very enemy aliens, the destruction of whose voting privilege is sought, will themselves vote on the amendment which, if approved, will deprive them of the ballot. There are thousands of such voters in the State, enough, in anything like a close election, to swing the decision. And, as if that were not sufficiently provocative of righteous anger, under German influence a clause was attached to the proposed amendment by which the enemy alien who has been voting for a quarter of a century or so by virtue of his declaration of intent privilege, has two years in which to complete his citizenship. In other words, even if the amendment is adopted, Nebraska's enemy aliens can go right on voting for two years from this Fall, covering, perhaps, the duration of the war and including the Presidential election of 1920.

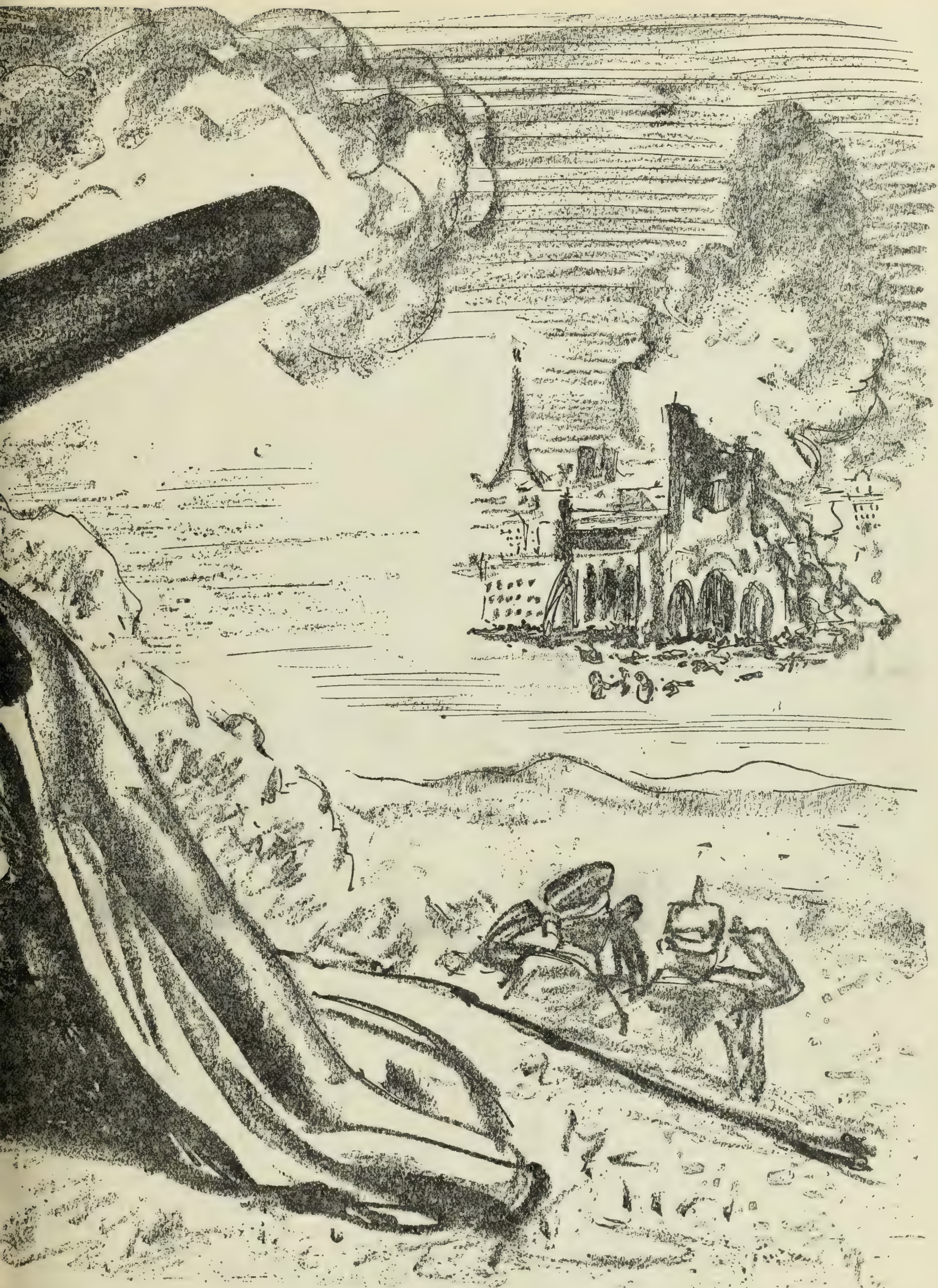
And that among other things is why the plain American citizens of that fine State of Nebraska are developing a temper which may or may not imperil their innate devotion to law and order at the coming elections, but of which, at all events, it well behooves the alien enemy on the threshold to take due note and govern his kultur enthusiasm accordingly.

We think Mr. McAdoo ought to stay in Washington.



"WELL HIT, MY SON-

"The Crown Prince frequently
Kaiser gathers violets to send to



ARCH OR HOSPITAL?"

great gun personally while the
liserin."—*German press report.*

A Hopeless Psychological Mystery

WE were to have had 3,000 of the heavier type of the Browning gun in the hands of our soldiers at the front by the end of April. The end of April has come and gone and we are headed well along towards the middle of May and instead of having 3,000 heavy Browning guns at the front we have just precisely none at all. How many, if any, of the lighter Brownings our soldiers in France have, we are not informed. All we know is how many they need and that is between 700 and 800 to a division of just under 30,000 men. Of the heavier Brownings the estimate is about 250 to a division. That makes a total of about a thousand Brownings to a division. Beyond the fact that the present supply of heavy Brownings is now not one per division we know nothing. Maybe there are half a dozen light Brownings for every 30,000 of our soldiers and maybe there are none. It seems to be about a toss-up, with the odds leaning strongly towards zero as the figure.

Probably we shall know more about it when the special sub-committee of the Senate Military Committee, which has been designated to investigate the matter, makes its report. To believe that that report is going to be pleasant reading demands an endowment of that radiantly optimistic superiority to facts which seems to be the particular gift of Secretary Baker. How short a time it seems since the Chamberlain committee sat stunned and bewildered under the War Secretary's rapid-fire flow of language, through the din and smudge of which all we could make out was that our flag was still there and that pretty much everything else, Brownings galore included, was going to be there so soon that to worry was to be absurd! He was circumstantial and he was specific. It was he or his own War Department, if we mistake not, which specifically indicated 3,000 as the minimum of April Browning deliveries. And here we are well on in May and there hasn't been one.

Maybe the Lord loveth a cheerful giver of promises and maybe he doesn't. We don't know. Potsdam has handed down no omniscient rulings on the subject. But if Potsdam does not love a Bakerian performance of a Bakerian promise, Potsdam is hard to please. But beyond a doubt Potsdam is pleased. Unquestionably it has cordially approved of our War Department from the start. It approved, heartily approved, our War Secretary's strong pacifist convictions. It agreed enthusiastically with the opinion handed down from high quarters that war preparedness was an academic question. For idiotic Yankees Potsdam regarded that sentiment as one to stand by.

But right here at home it is putting it mildly to say that there has grown up a very great weariness with that flow of cheering, inspiring, Bakerian facts which are not so. The Browning gun instance is only one of many. It is conspicuous now because it happens to be the last of a long line of heart-sickening predecessors to be dragged into pitiless publicity. It is just about a standard sample of what has gone before and gone before so many times and with such smothering volume of smooth flowing language that it has provoked not merely weariness but something very like nausea.

And why in the world does the Secretary of War do

it? Is it because he himself is as grossly deceived by his subordinates as his own utterances have grossly deceived the public? In that case what kind of a Secretary of War is he to permit himself to be periodically made to look so preposterous a fool by those over whom he has full authority? It may or may not be charitable to assume that he himself believes the grotesque yarns which he so often has made his own and with such staggering positiveness of assertion. That all depends on the point of view. If it be conceivable that he told the things he has told and made the promises he has made, knowing well that the facts would not bear out his assertions and that the promises were impossible of fulfillment; and that he did this by way of administering a sort of opiate to keep the patient public quiet, must he not have known that the doping could not go on forever, that there must come and come soon a waking up to a realization of things as they are and that with that awakening would come a reaction and just such a revolt against that kind of treatment as the one that is now under way?

What in the world could the man have been thinking about? What is the key to the riddle of the Bakerian mental processes? We may marvel at the mysteries of Hun psychology. Long ago the world abandoned them as past all fathoming. But as compared with the labyrinthian mazes of the Bakerian psychological mysteries they seem like sums in simple addition. Perhaps, in the words of the good old hymn, "some time we'll understand." But it will require a special revelation. Until that comes the conundrum is beyond us. We give it up.

Keep the Record Straight

KEEN and pitying realization of the difficulties and dilemmas which constantly beset the official apologist of this Administration, Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, ordinarily prompts us to ignore the fantasies emitted by that highly imaginative statesman. There are times, however, when the task set the unfortunate Illinoisian compels him to do such violence to the truth that kindly correction becomes imperative. The great mass of the people, having no acquaintance with Mr. Lewis and no knowledge of the herculean task he has been designated to perform, might easily be misled by his asseverations. Mr. Lewis' solemn declaration in the Senate that the unpardonable dilatoriness in sending American troops to the western front—a delay to which the success of the Germans in their current drive is wholly attributable—was due to the expressed wish of our Allies that this country send supplies and withhold troops in this category.

Nothing could be farther from the truth than this assertion of the official apologist. A year ago, when France sent to this country Marshal Joffre and M. Viviani, their constant and insistent plea was that the United States send men to augment the Allied armies without delay.

A hitherto unpublished incident throws a strong light on the respective attitudes of the French Mission and of the Administration at Washington. On April 29th (1917) Marshal Joffre received the Washington correspondents, in the residence which had been placed at the disposal of the Mission, and made to them an address remarkable for its

simplicity, fervor and eloquence. The Marshal spoke in French, one of his aides simultaneously translating. To all who understood French it was evident that the aide who was translating was materially altering the words of his chief, so that as done into English the address lost, not only most of its fire but most of the frankness and earnestness with which the old soldier described the war weary condition of his people, and the intensity with which he pled that America send immediate assistance. "Send us men, and send them quick. Do not wait. They can be well trained in France. There is no time to be lost," are literal translations of some of the expressions used by Marshal Joffre. During the course of his interview it was obvious that the frankness with which he spoke was occasioning concern to the American army officer, Colonel Cosby, who had been designated as his aide, and even he cautioned the translator not to be too literal in turning the old soldier's words into English.

At the conclusion of the interview, which had taken place in the forenoon, the correspondents were informed that type-written copies of the interview would be handed to them at 5 p. m. at the Department of State, where there were facilities for their reproduction in quantity. Promptly at the hour named the correspondents assembled at the State Department only to learn that there was an inexplicable delay. The delay continued until about 8 p. m., when they were handed a completely expurgated edition of even the English translation, a statement from which all of the spontaneous utterances of Marshal Joffre had been eliminated and which contained only modified replies he had made to several questions which had been put to him after he had concluded his address.

The Administration had been wholly unwilling that the Marshal's plea for immediate assistance, his insistence that troops should be sent to France at once, his declaration that there was no time to be lost and his fervent appeal for aid should reach the American public. After the translation had been mimeographed it had been suppressed and there had been substituted certain innocuous phrases to which the Administration did not actually object.

Appreciating that they came to this country as suppliants, the members of the French Mission realized that it would be a grave diplomatic *faux pas* to reveal the facts and consequently they have not heretofore come to light.

One or two sentences, selected from the expurgated edition of the Marshal's interview, however, will serve to show how completely at variance with the facts is Senator Lewis' contention and how futile it is to attempt to transfer from the shoulders of the Administration at Washington to those of the Allied Governments the full responsibility for the disastrous delay in sending soldiers to France.

"Marshal Joffre thinks that now that the battle is raging that every energy must be added to forces already on the French front," says the expurgated edition in one place, and in another, "If a large army completely equipped had to be transported at one time, the transportation would be a tremendous problem. He would, therefore, consider it better to send unit by unit over at a time." How much more clearly the Marshal of France foresaw the transportation difficulties than did the President or his Secretary of War is shown by that single statement.

Replying to a question, Marshal Joffre had declared that in view of the transportation difficulties men should be rushed

to Europe as fast as ships were available and that their training could be completed there just as rapidly and probably more effectively than if held here, while he assumed that the camps here could be utilized advantageously by calling out additional increments of the draft and providing them with their equipment and initial training, but this statement was carefully eliminated from his interview as approved by the Administration, as was all of his eloquent and convincing word picture of the gravity of the situation and the dire necessity of the Allied, and especially the French, troops for immediate reinforcements.

In the light of these facts, Senator Lewis' contention that "if there has been delay, causing inconvenience or any other result, it was not that initiated by America, but at the specific instance of those called the Allies" stands revealed as merely the frothy camouflage by which the apologists of the Administration seek to conceal the facts whenever they endeavor to dodge responsibility.

Preparing for Peace

CHAIRMAN HAYS, of the Republican National Committee, has returned from a political fence inspection tour of wide extent and he brings information back with him. He tells us that "we are as unprepared for peace as we were for war", and he seems to think we should be a good deal disturbed about it.

But why should we be disturbed? Taking his statement in the literal sense, why should not his information that we are unprepared for peace come under the head of joyful tidings? There are some kinds of peace we ought to thank God we are unprepared for as heartily as Mr. Creel thanked God that we went unprepared into a fight for our lives.

If Mr. Hays had told us, for instance, that, as the result of his travel observations, he found us prepared instead of unprepared for a Potsdam, Deutschland Ueber Alles peace, for a Pacifist, without-victory peace in other words, for a peace that in any one of its four, fourteen or forty plans and specifications left room for the continued survival of that Potsdam, Me und Gott, rape, murder and arson League of the Withered Arm, whose royally consecrated mission it is to turn the world into a shambles and a wallowing Hun stile, then might we well be not merely disturbed but despairing. That is a peace we may indeed thank God we are unprepared for, a peace compared with which the peace of death itself would be welcomed as happiness supreme.

But of course Mr. Hays had post bellum commercial, industrial and kindred problems in mind when he thus generalized on our peace unpreparedness. Yet even as to such matters there would seem to be no pressing reason for anxiety. Unhappily it will be a long time before the war's cessation will precipitate problems of this kind upon us. And in the meantime who is to prepare plans and solutions flexible enough to adjust themselves to the ever varying upheavals and social convulsions through which for years to come we must continue to live before the time for their application to stabilized conditions arrives?

Undoubtedly certain broad general facts are even now looming in shadowy outline through all the smoke and uproar with sufficient clearness for us to apply to them some tentative study and reasonings. We know, for instance, that we are very likely to emerge from the conflict with a large

mercantile marine—the largest perhaps of any country in the world. We know that before we can make use of it to any advantage commensurate with its size and the country's commercial importance, that humiliating muddle of demagogue shipping legislation which handicapped us down to merchant marine impotence long before the war began has got to be swept away. We know that sundry self-crippling trade restriction shackles with which we have loaded ourselves must be broken. We know that we are probably in for a whirling dervish outbreak of bolshevik socialism and, incidentally, a government ownership bedlamite orgy. And then, of course, there are the now utterly befogged tariff problems to be solved.

But it will be an entirely new world into which we shall be ushered when the Hun debauch is ended. Mr. Hays says that our course after the war lies over an uncharted sea. And that seems just about to tell the story—an uncharted sea without landmarks or bearings, a sea which is going to make navigation based on preliminary speculative calculations a very uncertain, not to say perilous, undertaking.

And since we probably have years in which to make and unmake, refit and readjust these calculations to the swiftly changing conditions as they arise, it seems hardly worth while to let that particular form of unpreparedness add to our already rather copious supply of immediate and more or less critically urgent worries. In other words, our unpreparedness to wage the war which is right here and now upon us should give us about all we can profitably think about, without wasting much time bothering about our unpreparedness for a peace which isn't even in sight.

And are we really so unprepared for peace as Mr. Hays thinks? Can it be possible that he has quite forgotten the existence of that Board of Mediation and Peace Data Assembly of which Mr. House and several of his relatives by marriage are the chief brooding Boodhas, with the nimble fingered Paderewski and that soulful songster of rainbow poesy, Mr. Le Gallienne, as able assistants? To be sure, the Board has not been heard from of late, but it ought to be now no further back in the dim corridors of time than the Jenghiz Khan era of war psychology and war map evolution, and, wherever it is, loaded to the scuppers beyond doubt with thoughts and data. Perilously near to lese majeste, Mr. Hays, to ignore a Board of that magnitude and that pedigree!

When Settlement Time Comes

OUR Allies are still a long way from the end of their fighting, and we are barely at the beginning of ours. Yet the question of how we shall bear ourselves, when the day of settlement arrives, not only towards the common enemy, but also towards our comrades in arms, already obtrudes itself from time to time. What Mr. James M. Beck had to say about this in an after-dinner speech a few nights ago is of keen interest in itself, and commands special attention on account of the unique part played by Mr. Beck in the awakening of the public conscience to the tremendous issues of the war.

The thing that caught the eye of the head-line writers in Mr. Beck's speech was his declaration in regard to what we shall do, when the war is over and won, about the \$7,000,000,000 which we are advancing to our Allies. "If

I do not mistake the character of this country," he said, "it will hand over the obligations to our Allies receipted in full, saying 'You have paid this debt.' They will ask 'How?' and our reply will be: 'By the blood of your sons, shed somewhere in France. All our billions cannot compensate for your sacrifice. The debt is paid.'" Everyone must recognize the fine spirit which prompts this proposal, whether or not he may regard it wise to broach it at this time. Financial relations, even when connected with such soul-stirring events as those of to-day, are ticklish things. It may not be wise to raise, in the minds of our trans-Atlantic friends, expectations which it may turn out that the constituted authorities will not be willing to substantiate; and perhaps it is somewhat dangerous to raise questions here at home as to the real status of our national debts and credits.

But in fact it was not this burst of generous sentiment that constituted the essential purport of Mr. Beck's speech. What he said about cancelling the debt was merely an incident in his attack upon a view as sordid and contemptible as Mr. Beck's is generous and honorable. That view is that, because our aid has become essential to the winning of the war, we are entitled to assume the right "to dictate, not as an ally, but as a dictator, the terms of peace which England, France and Italy should accept." The scorn with which Mr. Beck resented this counsel of preposterous egotism was no more than it deserves. The only possible basis upon which we could assume an attitude of dictation would be that of our power to destroy the common cause by deserting it. For Russia's desertion there was at least the excuse that she was paralyzed by anarchic agitation and exhausted by three years of slaughter and hunger under a corrupt government; our desertion, or the threat of it, would rest not on our weakness, but on our strength—we should tell our comrades, worn out and bleeding from the sacrifices they had borne while we were resting in safety and wallowing in prosperity, that they must suffer the consequences of their heroism by accepting without a murmur whatever, in our superior strength, we may choose to decree. The idea is abhorrent to every instinct of justice and manhood.

How, then, can there be any danger of such a course being pursued by this country? The American people are incapable of acting, toward those with whom they have been fighting shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy, in a spirit either of deliberate bad faith or of selfish arrogance. If there be any danger of our assuming such an attitude as that against which Mr. Beck was protesting, it springs from the circumstance that for the dictation contemplated there would be claimed the justification of the highest of moral purposes. Our assertion of the right to lay down the law to Britain and France and Italy would be supported by the plea not of superior power, but of superior wisdom and disinterestedness. So far as disinterestedness is concerned, the plea might be entirely sound; certainly our country has no such specific objects at stake as those which affect the vital interests of our European Allies. But as to the infallibility of our wisdom, that is another matter. The foresight that our country has thus far shown in its dealings with the greatest convulsion the world has ever known has not been such as to make our claim to pre-eminent sagacity very impressive. Our will may be as sweet as you please, but sweetness of will alone will no more suffice to dispose of the German terror at the end of the war than it did to prevent

frightfulness within bounds during the course of it. In view of our painful slowness in recognizing the realities of the situation in the past, it would be a preposterous pretension for us to assert an exclusive right to determine how those realities are to be dealt with in the future.

When the war has been won and the time comes for the Allied nations to get together on definite terms of peace, America will have a clear right to a potent voice in the council. There is every reason to believe that before that time comes our country will not only have made a vast material contribution to the result, but will have laid upon the altar a great sacrifice of precious lives. She will be fairly entitled to a certain peculiar deference as the one great nation which had at no stage of the struggle entertained any thought of territorial acquisition or other special advantage to herself. And all this will, we may be sure, be cheerfully granted to her. But she must not press the point too far. She must not presume that her remoteness from the difficulties with which the situation bristles gives her the right to ignore such of those difficulties as may run counter to some formula of easy-going idealism which she may choose to present as a universal solvent. We must count as one of many, not as the arbiter of the fate of all. Our conduct must bear not even a remote resemblance to that of the Bolsheviks in their Hobson's-choice invitation to the Entente Allies to join them in negotiating their kind of a peace with Germany. We may stand out against chauvinism or vindictiveness, but we must not brand as chauvinism or vindictiveness every measure that may offend against some sophomoric formula, like that of "no annexations and no indemnities" in whose talismanic virtue the Russian ideologues placed such pathetic reliance. The settlement of the terms of peace will be a big human problem and will have to be met in a big human way. It may be well that we pile up mountains of information, and classify it in scores of card-catalogues, and pass upon it by a set of cut-and-dried formulas. It may be helpful to have the results of this process ready for use when the hour arrives. But the vital thing is the spirit in which we act. If we work in the hope of using with the utmost effectiveness our opportunity to help in the shaping of a satisfactory and lasting peace, well and good. But nothing could be more pernicious than the notion that it is to be the privilege of the Government at Washington to "dictate" the terms of peace, while our Allies, after having borne the brunt of the battle, are to stand aside and humbly accept our decisions.

The Threatened Trade War

WE must profess ourselves to be considerably more concerned with winning the military war against the Blond Beast of Berlin than with planning for a post bellum trade war against German industry and commerce. The one is the world's most urgent need at the present moment. The other is a matter of future expediency. We have no objection to consideration of the latter, provided it be kept within bounds. It is a perfectly sound principle, that in time of war we should prepare for peace. But just as our preparations for war in time of peace—which we hold to be eminently wise, sane and desirable—are not permitted

to impair the benevolent efficiency of peace, so our preparations for peace in time of war must not be permitted to lessen our belligerent potency and aggressive zeal. If we do not win this war, nothing that comes afterward will be of interest to us.

Concerning the proposed trade war, discrimination, embargo, boycott, or whatever it may be, it is only human nature to feel inclined toward it. That is partly because all red-blooded men feel that Germany deserves such punishment, and partly because of the revulsion which all must have against Germany and all things German. We used to get vast quantities of toys from Germany; but hereafter what parents could purchase German toys for their children, remembering the slaughter of the innocents, immeasurably worse than Herod's, which Germany has committed? So, indeed, with all else. Covetous as we may be of life, we hope never to live to see the day when "Made in Germany" will not be a damning brand of infamy for any article of merchandise to bear.

It should be remembered, too, that just as Germany herself deliberately and wantonly began this military war, so she too has been first and foremost in planning for a succeeding trade war. The utterances of her chief statesmen and publicists, both before the war and since its beginning, down to this very present moment, have been vocal with threats of a trade war against all states which refused to support her in belligerence. Vast organizations have been formed, under government sanction, intended to compass the industrial and commercial ruin of all the Allies and also of all neutrals suspected of greater sympathy with the Allies than with Germany. For Americans and others to form a league opposed to trade with Germany is therefore nothing but to turn against Germany the weapon which she herself first threatened to use against us.

Nor must it be forgotten that for many years Germany has been in commerce probably the most dishonorable and dishonest of all nations. She has been notorious for the forging of trade marks and all manner of corrupt practices. She has been notorious, too, for spurious goods. The proverbial "Brummagem" wares have long had to give place to the shams and counterfeits of German artificers. Germany in the course of forty years achieved an industrial and commercial expansion scarcely rivalled in history; but she did so largely through outlaw methods. We do not say, of course, that all her wares were spurious; but we believe that a larger proportion of them was than of those of any other country. A trade war against her would be largely a war against dishonesty and crooked ways.

The attitude of the civilized world toward Germany in trade matters after the war should, we should say, depend upon the feelings and the direct interests of the other nations. We shall not be called upon to take into account in the least degree the wishes or the welfare of Germany itself; or of what is then left of Germany. That savage power has shown itself too arrogant, too treacherous, too cruel, too much an enemy of the human race, to deserve any consideration on its own account. It will be for the victors in the war to prescribe, entirely according to their own will and wish, the terms on which peace shall be made and the conditions on which it shall be maintained.

Whatever the outcome, in our own small way, we have the outbreak of its fury at the beginning, or to keep its

registered a faithful vow never again to put foot on German soil or buy anything "made in Germany" or have anything whatsoever to do with any member of the detestable race, "so long as we both shall live",—so help us God!

PHILADELPHIA, April 30.—George Creel told the American Academy of Political Science that the Committee on Public Information has expended more than \$30,000,000 in advertising for the benefit of the national service. Among this was propaganda dropped into German territory by airplane scouts.

Mr. Creel said there are two classes of newspapers in this country, one that publishes legitimate news and the other that caters only to vulgar, idle curiosity.

"To say that censored news refuses to reveal actual conditions in France, Russia, and Great Britain," he declared, "appeals only to the minds of the vulgar. Government experts from those countries have been giving us the fundamental facts about economic, social, and political conditions over there, and not one out of 100 newspapers has printed it."—*Press dispatch.*

What, only thirty millions? Goodness, gracious, goodness! And but one nice paper out of a hundred? La, la!

Neglected Opportunities

CONSCRIPTION of various sorts for the sake of winning the war continues apace; "and damned be he who first cries, 'Hold! enough!'" We refer, of course, to necessary conscription, judiciously applied. The thing could be made odious by applying it oppressively in some directions while other equally available objects were permitted to go scot free. Thus far such odium has not been incurred, though there is ground for raising the question whether some desirable objects of conscription have not been overlooked.

The potential commandeering of steel is not altogether surprising, though we had hoped that the supply was sufficient to make such action unnecessary. That metal is basic, elemental, in importance. It is to industries, military as well as pacific, what wheat and meat are to the food supply. We must hope still that the government will not find it necessary to exercise the power of seizure. But if it should be necessary, we should ungrudgingly acquiesce, just as we did in the government control of the wheat harvest.

The prescribed reduction of use of sugar, particularly for candy, must also be accepted as a necessary war measure. It will be a hardship, seeing how freely we have been accustomed to use sugar, and how essential abundant quantities of sugar are to our gastronomic satisfaction. But we can bear it.

A sweeping reduction in the output of automobiles is also in prospect. If effected, doubtless much inconvenience would be caused, and prices of cars would rise. Yet by taking good care of the old cars, we fancy that we could worry along for a few years with fewer new ones. If there should seem to be not enough to go around, perhaps some of those who own several cars would be willing to reduce the number to only one or two, and to sell the rest to those who have none.

And this brings us to the suggestion of a not unimportant quarter in which conscription might well be applied, or in which at any rate a material saving of man-power might be effected. That is, the trade of the chauffeur. The average chauffeur looks like a pretty husky and physically competent citizen; he probably has some knowledge of mechanics, and is presumably able to drive an automobile. In the present scarcity of labor it certainly seems to be questionable economy to have so many such men riding about the city streets and on the favorite high roads of the country. In not a few cases

two such men are required to run my lady's car, or at least to occupy seats thereon and to lend to the *tout ensemble* of the equipage the pulchritude of their liveried presence.

We would suggest that in no case should it be necessary to have more than one driver on a car, who should certainly be able to perform the functions not alone of driver but also of footman, mechanic, and what not else. We would further suggest that in a very large proportion of cases even the one might advantageously be dispensed with, leaving the owner to be his own driver. We understand that such is generally if not universally the rule in Canada, and we consider that we are just as much interested in winning the war and are just as ready to make sacrifices of show and luxury, and of comfort and convenience, too, if necessary, as our northern neighbors.

So far as it is necessary—really necessary—to have chauffeurs, their places could certainly be filled either by women or by men whose physical infirmities unfit them for military service or for work in munitions plants, ship yards, or other industrial establishments. It may seem like a little thing, though in fact the number of men now serving as chauffeurs who appear to be capable of more important and war-winning service is by no means inconsiderable. But it is just one of a number of cases in which it would seem that war conditions and requirements might be enforced with profit.

Encouraging the Enemy Press!

THE psychology of an Administration which encourages enemy language publications defies comprehension.

Yet this is precisely what Mr. Burleson is doing. In the office of the Solicitor of the Post Office Department he has established a division, equipped with a corps of translators, stenographers and clerks, whose function is to assist editors of foreign language papers "in complying with the law."

This division was the outgrowth, ostensibly at least, of the Act of Congress which provided that all foreign language papers should submit to censorship or go out of business.

The law, if we understand it aright, was conceived with the intention of ridding the country of these pests, but for political or other considerations our legislators purposed to allow the proprietors sufficient opportunity to liquidate their properties rather than to force them out of business overnight. The Act provided that any foreign language publication which violated its stipulations should be denied the use of the mails forthwith. This, of course, would be tantamount to suppression. The Post Office Department was allowed no option. It was empowered and directed to act upon proof of an offense.

But the tender heart of Mr. Burleson appears to have rebelled against the use of such drastic methods. He conceived a plan of conversion rather than suppression. By some original mental operations he came to the conclusion that these papers could render a highly valuable service today and hereafter. He appears to have satisfied himself that the country could ill afford to lose them. He decided to reform the editors—by gentle processes to convince them of the errors of their ways and to supplant in their minds and hearts inherent love for Prussianism with a simon pure admiration for Democracy.

So, instead of using the iron heel of the law upon them, Mr. Burleson instructed Solicitor Lamar to call the erring editors to Washington and, after warning them that they were preaching sedition, to show them how they could redeem themselves by changing their policies.

Faithful to the instructions of his chief, Mr. Lamar, by letter and word of mouth, is seeing to it that the German and Austrian editors are guided around the pitfalls which would cause their suppression. We are told, in all seriousness, that the scheme is working well, that the editors are "coming around," and that they are beginning to serve a useful purpose by teaching Democracy to large numbers of non-English speaking enemies in our midst.

Thus Mr. Burleson is keeping alive a press that for more than a generation took its orders from Berlin in the hope of undermining our institutions. It is the press of Bernstorff, Dumba, Boy-Ed and Von Papen; the press that justified the murder of Edith Cavell; that glorified the sinking of the Lusitania; that sought to blackmail our Government into playing the part of the craven and to set La Follette up as our national hero.

Can such a press be reformed? Is it worth reforming? Can we conscientiously send our boys to death in France while we nurture these spokesmen of the Kaiser that they may begin anew to undermine our institutions when this war shall have been won by American lives?

Have we not yet learned that German type is as dangerous to our institutions as German bullets are to our troops, or must we learn the terrible lesson by the frightful experience of France and England? Has the time not come when the English language shall be the badge of American citizenship, or shall we continue to encourage German communities to live apart from us and act as outposts for the doctrinaires of Pan Germanism?

Either all of our experience has come to nought, else Mr. Burleson has discovered a method whereby the Leopard shall change its spots!

Tar and Feathers

AT the pace things have been going of late, so many of our friends the enemy aliens will be so conspicuously marked for identification with tar and feathers that general registration of them may become more or less superfluous.

And at the best, it is not a method of surveillance to be commended. Anyway, the thing should not be carried to the point of extravagance. There might at least be tar and featherless days for the inimical aliens. Moreover, the mere fact of being an enemy alien does not *per se* carry with it title to free tar and feathers decoration. On this point there seems to be some confusion of thought in certain localities. Too many casual Austrians and Germans apparently have been tarred and feathered on sight and on general principles. This is reprehensible. If there is an impression abroad that an open tar and feather season is now on for all enemy aliens, and the news columns of the daily papers would seem to suggest that there is some such impression prevalent, it is a very grave error. Unaccompanied by any overt act, either conversational or physical, the mere fact of being an enemy alien is wholly insufficient ground for the bestowal of tar and feather attentions.

And even in the case of an overt act, there is latitude for the exercise of discretion. For instance, out in the Pennsylvania anthracite region there have been several instances of enemy aliens being tarred and feathered for failure to buy liberty bonds. This is unqualifiedly unfair. Even as strong as might be the claims of a naturalized or native American, who did not buy a liberty bond when he could, to a copious tar and feather douche, even such as he may not legally be supplied with the same. Why should there be a favored nation tar and feather clause for the benefit of a non-purchasing enemy alien when a non-purchasing substantial American slacker can not so much as get a coat of whitewash to cover his conscience?

It will not do. Tar and feathers, whether contributed as a testimonial of popular personal esteem or as a feature of the liberty loan campaign, are barred out. It is a messy and mussy form of appeal to begin with. Besides it is unconstitutional.

Viscount French Appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—
Headline.

Why not Sir Edward Carson?

The one redeeming light in the whole ordnance business is the production of rifles and cartridges—the best in the world—away ahead of time and in such quantities that manufacturing is now being checked, to release skilled labor for other pressing war needs. To Colonel John T. Thompson, who quietly achieved the whole thing, the whole country, no less than the Government, owes a debt of everlasting appreciation and gratitude.

What a strange people our British cousins are after all? They actually become excited, and talk of changing governments simply because a cabinet minister is charged with making misleading statements to the House concerning conditions of their army in France.

WASHINGTON, May 2.—Secretary of State Lansing tonight denied that there was any basis for the story printed in an afternoon newspaper in New York that he was going to Europe to serve as representative of the United States Government in the Interallied War Council at Versailles. He said he had never heard of the matter.

According to the story as printed, Secretary of War Baker was to succeed Mr. Lansing as Secretary of State and Assistant Secretary of War Stettinius was to become Secretary of War. —*New York Times*.

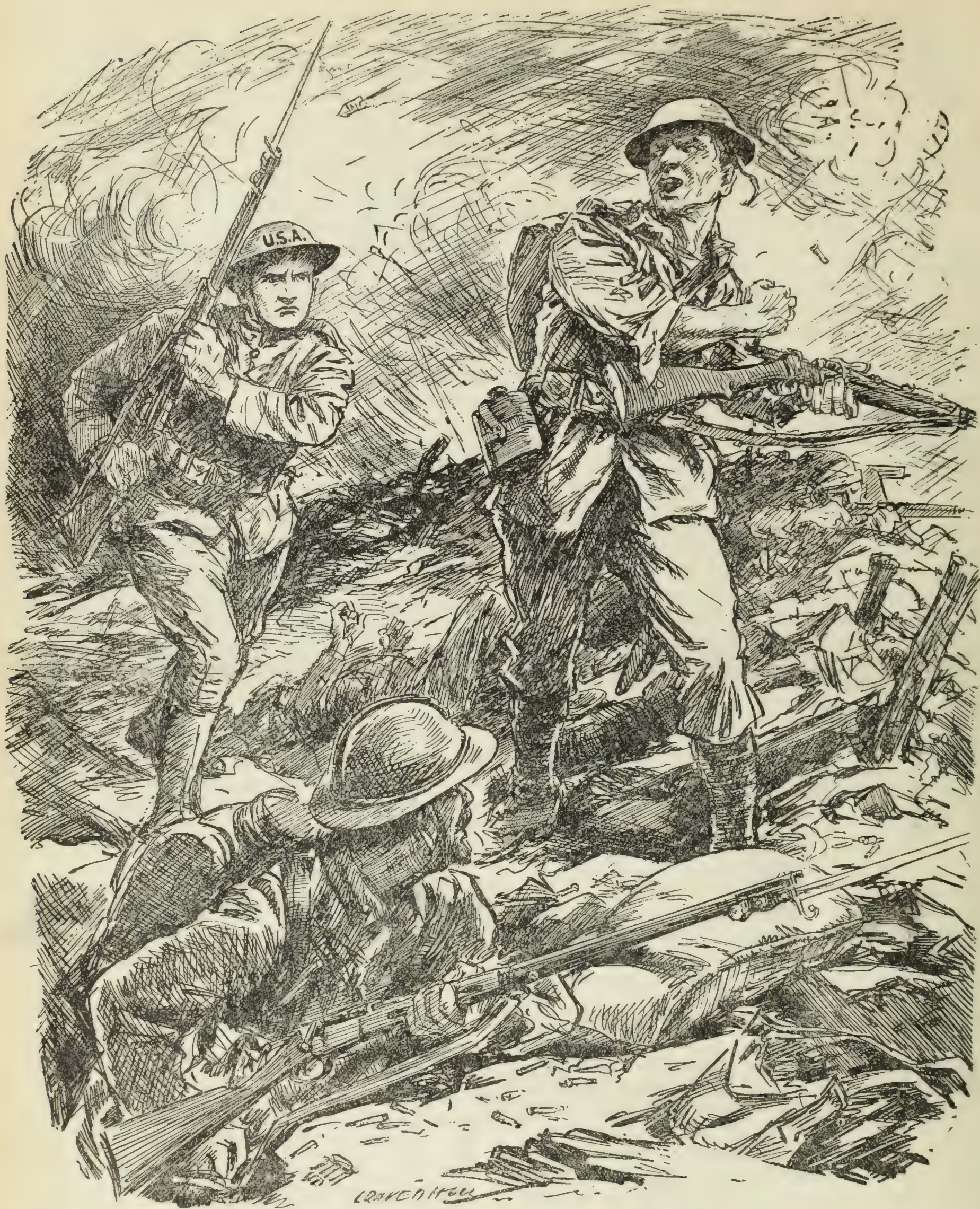
Obviously Mr. Lansing does not read the **WAR WEEKLY**. Our suggestion was purely tentative anyhow. Even now we are only thinking it over. Mr. Lansing ought to be sent to Versailles and Mr. Polk ought to take his place at home. But what on earth are we going to do with the most efficient public official we ever knew? There is the real hitch.

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AMERICA TO THE FRONT

(Reproduced from *Punch*)

"Gigantic daughter of the West,
We drink to thee across the flood;
We know thee and we love thee best,
For art thou not of British blood?

"Should war's mad blast again be blown,
Permit not thou the tyrant powers
To fight thy mother here alone,
But let thy broadsides roar with ours."

—Tennyson.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

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Pitiless Publicity to Aid the President

WASHINGTON, May 17, 1918.

PUBLICITY in our preparation for war, said Senator Lenroot in his address before the New York National Security League, is one of the best aids President Wilson can have. Which is very true. Only, of course, a great deal depends on the kind of publicity. The publicity which covers rank failure with roseate assurances of success; which deals in statements grotesquely at variance with the facts; which recklessly showers us with promises quite beyond possibility of fulfillment; which systematically conceals what is true and exploits what is false—of this kind of publicity we have had a surfeit from which we are now suffering a reaction as inevitable as was inevitable the ultimate exposure of the imposition.

Imposition seems a pretty harsh word with which to characterize it, but imposition it was—an imposition upon the President of the United States and an imposition upon the confidence of the people of the country. The only persons who were not imposed upon were the impostors themselves, the enemy and a few troubled groups here and there who knew the disturbing truth and were loyally silent about it up to the point where silence itself became something akin to disloyalty.

Now the time has come when that sort of publicity will be no longer tolerated. Mr. Lenroot did not go a whit beyond the fact when he said that the official Committee on Public Information, as it is now constituted, cannot be relied upon and that it no longer enjoys public confidence as a vehicle for the diffusion of trustworthy information concerning our war preparations. He might even have gone further; he might have gone up to the War Department and to the Secretary of War himself as the source of a large part of the misinformation which the Public Information Committee has disseminated and by which the public at a critical moment has been imposed upon. Whether the imposition was deliberate, whether it was based on reports of untruthful or incompetent subordinates, or whether it was due to temperamental tendencies towards a preposterous optimism—all this is beside the question. The essential fact is that either wilfully or through all but criminal incompetence, quarters from which we had the right to expect information that was

founded on fact flooded us with information that was founded on falsehood. Probably Mr. Creel's discredited organization will continue to function and continue its vast output of printed language, and possibly, too, the Secretary of War will continue to supply us with his roseate hasheesh reveries. Whether they do or whether they do not so continue is of no earthly consequence.

The fiction that mystery should envelop our war preparation activities is exploded. Thanks to the wholesome exposures which Senator Chamberlain did so much to bring about, there is every reason why those activities from now on should be of such a nature that the more the enemy knows about them the worse it will be for his morale and the better it will be for the morale of our own people whose confidence has been so badly shaken by discovery of the misrepresentations and impostures by which they were long deceived and lulled into a fool's paradise security that was bristling with dangers. And to nobody should this glare of pitiless publicity on our war preparation achievements or failures be more welcome than to the President.

For these reasons the announcement that the scope of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs was to be so enlarged as to enable it to sit continuously, either as a single body or as four sub-committees, was generally welcomed, and we regard it as most unfortunate that the President should have felt impelled to oppose the plan upon the ground that it was "nothing else than an attempt to take over the conduct of the war." We cannot perceive any warrant whatever for his somewhat savage pronouncement that "the passage of this resolution" would constitute "a direct vote of want of confidence in the Administration," although we do recognize and could set forth many reasons why doubt of the *administrative abilities* of the Administration might justly be entertained.

The Senate Committee does not propose to "take over," or even to participate in, the "conduct of the war," but it does demand its right to continue its admirable work, which has already resulted in reformation of many practices which were heading our country straight to disaster.

Is this in fact the President's war or is it, as the President himself has declared, the People's war?

That is the whole question.

The Airplane Autopsy

SENATOR HITCHCOCK very concisely summarized the aircraft situation, so far as the public is concerned, when he said:

Mr. Borglum is not the issue. The Senate will not even consider his criticisms. The real issue and what we are trying to get at is why we have practically no airplanes in return for more than \$640,000,000 appropriated by Congress. Nothing should be allowed to obscure that.

And Mr. Borglum himself in his last formal statement with reference to the Mix charges takes very much the same view as that of Senator Hitchcock, when he says:

I am not of the remotest consequence in this matter. The nation demands to know why a billion dollars in eleven months has provided us with no airplanes. Next it demands to know who is responsible.

Precisely. Mr. Borglum may be a very much abused man. He may be a number of things he ought not to be. There may have been grafting in the horrible aircraft hash. There may have been merely blundering, floundering incompetence and stupidity. We know already that there was either one or the other, or both, complicated moreover with periodical statements from the War Department which were widely distant from the truth.

And the mere details as to this are all that can come of the Senate investigation. In these details there will be comparatively moderate public interest. We know that the whole aircraft building programme which was ushered in with such a blare of trumpets was a failure, we know that it was a colossal failure, we know that it was a disgraceful failure. That is about enough to know. Mr. Borglum's preliminary report revealed the deplorable situation to the President back in January. Mr. Baker knew it by the same document on the first day of February. It was confirmed by Mr. Borglum's amplified report which was before Mr. Baker long before he went to Europe and when he was telling the Chamberlain committee the aircraft programme was being carried out satisfactorily and that battle planes were even then being shipped to Europe. That was on the 20th of February, three weeks after he had received Mr. Borglum's report and at a time when the aircraft programme had hopelessly collapsed and when, after the expenditure of hundreds of millions and the squandering of well on towards a year of time, just two battle planes had been shipped abroad, and when the Liberty motor was a demonstrated failure.

If the investigation shall reveal on what untrustworthy data from incompetent and untrustworthy subordinates Mr. Baker made these deceptive statements; if it shall reveal why he ignored the Borglum reports and why, as early as the middle of January, the Mix charges against Borglum were being assembled, not to be made public until just on the eve of an investigation on which Mr. Borglum insisted; if it shall reveal who the grafters are, if there be any grafters, and who the incompetents are, about whose existence there is not the remotest doubt—if the investigation shall do these things the public certainly will be interested, but interested only very moderately as compared with its intense interest in the much more vital question of whether the wretched exposure has resulted in such a clearing out of the whole raft of incompetents, or worse, as will ensure our new departure in aircraft construction from another such collapse as the one on which the Senate autopsy is now being held.

Just about there begins and ends public interest in the Borglum-Baker controversy, in the adventures of Mr. Mix and his enterprising manufacturing concern, in the entire

gang of grafters, incompetents or what not who are involved. And when all of these have been disposed of and the Senatorial coroner's jury has rendered its verdict and the Department of Justice secured the proper award of acquittals or punishments all around, then we venture to say that the American public will joyfully welcome the funeral services that will bury the whole disgusting mess so deep under ground that we shall hear of it no more while the war lasts.

And in the meantime, passing a sponge over all the past save in so far as it serves as a lesson and a warning for the future, the thing to do is to begin all over again from the ground up and set about building aircraft with the same snap and vim and "get there" go with which Charles M. Schwab has set about building seacraft.

We usually can think of something to say about almost anything that comes up, but when William Randolph Hearst calls Theodore Roosevelt "disloyal" and "unpatriotic," we simply don't know where to get off; we are stumped.

Now As to Guns

THE total inability of Secretary of War Baker to deal truthfully with the American public is forcefully illustrated by his recent statement with regard to the production of machine guns. The War Department has completely fallen down in the production of the heavy type of Browning guns. This fact was disclosed through questions addressed to army officers by members of the House Committee on Military Affairs.

Shortly thereafter, on May 8, Secretary Baker issued a statement obviously designed to deceive the public. So "optimistic" was his statement that it led the Associated Press to say of it, "Had this statement been made on Monday or on Tuesday, it would have had great weight and saved several million Americans from the discouragement incidental to reading the reports of a total collapse of the heavy Browning gun program." Mr. Baker's statement was as follows:

I have inquired into the question of the production of light and heavy Browning guns. No question seems to have been raised as to the production of the light type which is coming through in quantity. Early manufacturers' estimates as to the heavy type were perhaps more optimistic than were justified. The estimate of the Ordnance Department, however, in January has been met and is being met by the production figure. Some of the heavy Browning guns have actually been produced, and there is every indication that they will be forthcoming in increasing and substantial numbers. In the meantime, there is no present shortage of light or heavy machine guns either in France or America and no shortage is in prospect.

Carefully analyzed, Mr. Baker's statement says practically nothing, except in the last paragraph, for the reason that "the estimate of the Ordnance Department, in January" is not known. The fact is that the production of heavy Browning guns, in the words of Representative Kahn, who cross-examined the army officers in committee, "has been ridiculously small." Brigadier General Tracy Dickson, among others, gave the exact figures to the committee, and he and other officers admitted that the War Department's program had collapsed completely. These officers further told the committee that they believed an ordnance officer should be sent to the Colt factory to ascertain the reason for the "ridiculously small" production, which they deplored but were wholly unprepared to explain, and Colonel Triplett, of the Ordnance Department, has been sent to the Colt plant to conduct an investigation of the failure.

When Secretary Baker says "there is no present shortage of light or heavy machine guns," etc., he seeks to deceive the public, and he conceals the fact that in order to remedy the serious existing shortage the War Department is buying Hotchkiss and Vickers machine guns, two types which the Department rejected a year ago and which it still claims are not the equal of the Browning, water-cooled, heavy machine gun, for thousands of which they have contracted and the program for the production of which, in the words of General Dickson, "has completely collapsed."

If Secretary Baker's statement, which the Associated Press believes should have "great weight" and relieve several millions of Americans from "discouragement incidental to reading of a total collapse of the heavy Browning gun program" were truthful, then General Dickson and the other officers who testified before the Military committee should have been immediately court-martialed and dismissed from the army for the good of the service.

The War Department wasted a year perfecting the Browning gun, instead of devoting the major portion of its energies to producing Lewis guns while the efforts to perfect the Browning type were being simultaneously carried on. Then, the Browning type having been perfected, contracts were placed and military supervision of their execution was undertaken, with the result that the light type of Browning is now being manufactured in sufficient quantity ultimately to meet the requirements of the army of occupation and that the number of heavy Brownings produced is "ridiculously small"; that the War Department's program has "completely collapsed"; and that Secretary Baker is still trying to deceive the public as to the facts.

And more discouraging to millions of Americans than all the rest is the last named fact. For it proves conclusively that Mr. Newton D. Baker does not, and cannot, learn; that repeated exposures of mendacity and duplicity on his part teach him nothing; that his conception of his important duties is to devote his energies and ingenuity to camouflaging and deceiving the American public, rather than to making the performance of his department conform to the expectations of the people and the necessities of war.

Colonel Harvey's great non-partisan election plan just died a-bornin'.—*Seattle Intelligencer*.

Don't be so sure, young gentleman.

Mr. Creel's Insult to Congress

MR. GEORGE CREEL is chairman of the Committee on Public Information. He is at the head of a Government organization the object of which is educational and instructions in all that pertains to our participation in the war. He is an official of the Administration.

On Sunday evening last he appeared in Ascension Church, New York, in his official capacity as a representative of the Government and in the performance of his duties as an interpreter of the attitude of the Administration in matters pertaining to the guidance and enlightenment of public opinion in the critical times in which we live. The speaker's official position and the fact that he spoke as the authorized mouth-piece of the Administration attracted a very large audience. The venerable sacred edifice was crowded to its utmost capacity. The aisles, the space before the altar rail, and the vestibule were filled, while the overflow even extended to the outer steps of the church.

In these impressive surroundings this official representative of the Executive branch of the Government compared the Congress of the United States with the slums of a great city. He by implication direct and unequivocal classed the hearts of our Senators and Members of the House of Representatives with the hearts of the sodden, degraded criminal population of our vile city slums.

"I don't like slumming," he said, "so I won't explore into the heart of Congress."

The Century Dictionary's definition of the world slum is "a dirty back street of a city, especially such a street inhabited by a squalid and criminal population; a low and dangerous neighborhood."

And "slumming" the same authority defines as "the practice of visiting slums, often for mere curiosity or as an amusement."

So, according to this official representative of the Administration, speaking with the restraint which the solemnity of a consecrated church on a peaceful Sabbath evening naturally would inspire, slumming in Washington is visiting the low and dangerous neighborhood of the United States Senate and House of Representatives when the squalid and criminal populations thereof are in session and may be examined either from idle curiosity or as an amusement. Mr. Creel neither commends nor condemns Congress slumming. If others have a taste for exploring such a low and dangerous neighborhood as the Congress of the United States, and can derive any amusement or gratify any curiosity by examining the squalid and criminal populations therein corralled, he, Mr. Creel, enters no protest. He leaves it as a matter of taste. Mr. Creel's taste does not happen to run that way, that's all.

Now if some crack-brained soap-box mouther, if some I. W. W. apostle of torch and dynamite sabotage, if some pro-enemy sedition monger had compared American Senators and Congressmen with the squalid and dangerous criminal populations of vile city slums, it would have been a case of quick arrest, followed by a heavy fine and a long term of years in a penitentiary, always provided the police got the orator alive out of the hands of the mob. But the soap-box mouther would not have been speaking in the capacity of an official representative of the Administration. In that particular Mr. Creel was at a distinct advantage. He was not mobbed. He was not arrested. The awful circle of Executive authority was about him. Whether the casual ass whose question prompted Mr. Creel's astounding reply is so exempt is another matter. But he has not been caught and identified. Even if he were caught and arraigned he possibly might plead plain imbecility in extenuation and escape.

But, as to Mr. Creel, whether the Senators and Representatives whom he has so coarsely and brutally insulted will regard his official status as rendering him immune from the stern severities to which he seems so clearly to have laid himself open, remains to be seen. It remains also to be seen whether the Administration itself will see fit to shield him in this last of a long series of fantastic publicity exhibitions he has made of himself. And lastly it remains to be seen whether words so grossly calculated to bring into contempt the legislative authority of the United States Government do or do not bring the utterer of them within the operation of the recently passed espionage laws, even though the offender be an Administration official, a status which to many minds might well be considered a grave aggravation of the offense.

Perhaps if Mr. Creel had no official status his words might possibly suggest some degree of toleration, as being merely the fool answer of one irresponsible ass to the fool question of another irresponsible ass. But Mr. Creel is not an irresponsible ass. He is official. His official status carries official responsibility. It wholly cancels whatever congenial grounds he may have for cap and bells immunity. His offense is a serious one, and if we correctly estimate the self-respect of Congress, it will receive very serious attention.

And yet it is not the House of Representatives upon whom the real obligation rests to punish the impudent young person according to his deserts.

Playing Politics in England

THE vote of 293 to 106 by which the House of Commons last week sustained Lloyd George against the charges of malversation and betrayal of the interests of the country brought by Major General Sir Frederick Barton Maurice, the former director of military operations of the War Office, not only strengthens the Prime Minister's hold on the country but, in all probability, insures his retention in office until the war is fought to a successful conclusion and the treaty of peace is signed. And if this is the outcome of the affair—perhaps the most disgraceful that has shamed the politics of any country engaged in the war against Germany during the last four years—General Maurice, disgraced and broken, the unconscious instrument of good, has won the thanks of the fighting men of all the Allied ranks and their people behind the lines now showing such splendid self sacrifice, to whom the petty schemes of petty politicians are abomination.

Only with the most extreme reluctance do we venture to touch upon the domestic politics of one of our Allies—and especially of the English, whose troops have fought with such magnificent courage and devotion, and whose men and women of all classes have consecrated themselves to the winning of the war—and were it not that we are Allies, that what affects England affects us, we should not be guilty of the impropriety of discussing the internal affairs of another country. But the Maurice incident is not only a warning, but has its moral; a moral we should be fatuous if we did not heed. It is the culmination of what we have seen in France and Italy; it is to guard against what may happen in our own country that we speak. The Allies have not won the war—and when Germany was unable to win the war before the end of 1914 the Allies, with their superior resources in men and material and wealth, ought to have won it in 1916, or at the latest in 1917. They have not won it, and the cause of failure no man can dispute.

England, France and Italy have made war, but they have not silenced the guns of domestic politics. The politicians have sniped at Governments, dragging down a Cabinet or driving out a Minister, not with the hope of bringing more competent men into office, but simply with the contemptible purpose of forcing their own party chiefs into power. This may sound harsh, but it is true. England and France and Italy have been the victims of intrigue, of chicanery, of political huckstering, of the sordid tricks of the professional politician, but the people have remained sound to the core; but for the unbreakable will of the people the war would have been lost by the politicians.

A certain section of the English press, fostering the ambi-

tions of its political supporters, and certain of the highest officers of the army, have always bitterly opposed the unification of the Allied military command. It was a reflection upon British military ability. Disaster after disaster, mistake piled upon mistake, magnificent opportunities wasted, victory wrecked by incompetence, could not budge their pragmatism. Better defeat, better useless sacrifice of life, than the confession of failure; and failure could always be redeemed if the Government was thrown out and another set of party hacks given control. With the courage and vision that have distinguished him, Lloyd George defied the politicians both of his own party and the opposition, defied the political generals, defied the press, defied English vanity and assented to a unified command under General Foch. And from that day his enemies and opponents were more determined than ever to destroy him.

What induced General Maurice to lend himself to a scheme so base we do not know, but either Maurice is irresponsible, mentally incapable by strain and overwork, or else he deliberately entered into a shameful conspiracy. There is no alternative and no escape. Maurice charged the Prime Minister with having lied to the House of Commons, with having distorted the facts in regard to the number of troops on the western front and the number of white regiments in Palestine, and yet the figures used by the Prime Minister were the figures furnished by Maurice himself. They went unchallenged by Maurice after the publication of the Prime Minister's speech, and it was only several days later that Maurice, instead of calling the Prime Minister's attention to the error, if he erred, attacked him through the press.

Here, then, was the long-sought opportunity to unhorse the Government, and Mr. Asquith, itching for the office that once was his, eagerly seized upon it to move a vote of censure which, if carried, under English parliamentary practice would have caused the immediate resignation of Lloyd George and his colleagues, the return to power of Asquith, and Maurice, whose mighty pen pulled down the pillars of the temple, we may be sure, would not have gone empty of reward. The House of Commons spoiled the pretty plot. Not only does it by an overwhelming majority vote confidence in the Government, virtually granting it a new lease of life, and stamping disapproval on the men behind the attack, but it leaves Asquith discredited, and discloses that England is barren of statesmen. Had there been a commanding figure, a man to whom all parties could turn, a man who held the confidence of the country, that man by a spontaneous desire would have been swept into office. But the man is not. Asquith, Lansdowne, Arthur Henderson, Curzon, Milner—that is the choice or Lloyd George, and wisely the country retains the one man who, if not a statesman of the first rank, appeals to the imagination of his countrymen and has the priceless gift of vision.

Secretary Baker says there is no shortage in guns and that we have more than 500,000 men. Never mind the facts.—*The World*.

No fear; he never does.

Free Psychic Dispensaries

ONE of the curious mental by-products of the war is the abnormal development of faith in the occult.

This has been notably the case in Great Britain, where large numbers of people heretofore skeptically scornful of the revelations and investigations of so-called "psychic."

phenomena have now become either silent or openly confessed believers in communication between the dead and the living. Of course that hard-headed scientist, Sir Oliver Lodge, is the leader in England of those who in former days we used to call "Spiritualists" but who in these later years of more exigent scientific demonstration prefer being designated by some term more suggestive of critical inquiry and less of charlatanry. But Sir Oliver's faith long ante-dated the war. And now he is only one of many.

"Psychic" has become the accepted term for the plain old-fashioned, table-tipping "mejum", although to tell the truth even "psychic" is becoming a little shopworn and more or less tainted with unpleasant exposures of arrant knavery. But it all comes to much the same thing and "psychic" is still serviceable as a shibboleth with those who would rather balk at "Spiritualistic" or "mediumistic." It sounds more scientific for one thing and for "science" and the "scientific" we have become rather increasingly in awe of late years. Tag almost any absurdity with the term "scientific" and it stands a pretty good chance of at least a non-committal hearing, whereas on its plain merits it would perhaps be contemptuously kicked out of court without any hearing at all.

It was inevitable that the war emotions which in England so stimulated interest and developed absolute faith in the occult should have the same effect here. American sons, brothers, and husbands are dying in the trenches to defend us from the unspeakable Hun, just as are, and long have been, the sons, brothers and husbands of Great Britain. The same agonies of suspense, the same hopeless heartaches from the loss of loved ones stricken down in all the radiant promise of youth and hope which have spread a pall of mourning over homes abroad, are with every day becoming more and more prevalent here. Here, also, as in England, there is the same pitiful groping for consolation, the same grasping at any straw of faith in anything, no matter what, that will ease the torture of grief. The person, be he charlatan or mere half-cracked dreamer, who can bring to these sufferers the hope, still more the belief, that he who is gone forever is not really gone, is yet not beyond reach, that he can still communicate from the echoless shore, is blessed and thrice blessed in the eyes of these poor stricken ones. They cling to him with the fierce despairing grip of the drowning. His clumsiest trickeries or his craziest ravings are all submerged in the great wave of yearning and longing that goes out to meet them.

In other words it is the harvest season for the fakir and the fraud. And that season is on now right here at home. The District Attorney of New York has already begun a round-up of all sorts and conditions of swindlers of this sort. Anxious mothers, wives, and fiancées have been showering money upon scores of these frauds, who for a fee of five dollars more or less, according to the means of the victim, have been sending "waves of thought" to loved ones there in that Hun-made hell on the battlefield, diverting bullets from them, or conveying messages from those who already have paid the price of our freedom from savagery with their lives.

All things considered it is about the meanest form of thievery known to man. Stealing the cents off a dead man's eyes, robbing a blind peddler, burglarizing a child's savings bank, robbing a church poor box, all those unutterably deplorable things which have come to standardize about the

lowest depths of human vileness, really seem to rise to the dignity of honorable commercial transactions by comparison with this sordid exploitation of the torturing anxiety and grief of heart-broken women.

And yet there is another side of the question that perhaps is not to be ignored. Beyond doubt the victims derive a certain consolation from being swindled. Their grief is in a measure assuaged, their agony of anxiety in some degree soothed by this form of hypnotism. It is a "psychic" opiate not altogether without its value. But is a gang of blackguards to be allowed to thrive on it? If people *must* be lulled to partial oblivion to suffering by this form of imposition, why not put it under some sort of regulation? Why not have free dispensaries for psychic quackery? There are those of means whose faith in the queer doctrine is as strong as that of Sir Oliver Lodge. In what better way could they manifest that faith than by establishing psychic communication centres where sufferers for a nominal fee, or for no fee at all, would receive treatment from experts who at least would not be solely recruited from the sneak-thief group of the criminal classes?

Wisdom and Wage-Fixing

THE report of the Railroad Wage Commission, of which the Secretary of the Interior is the Chairman, bears the marks of Mr. Lane's handiwork, both in substance and in expression. It is a persuasive and readable document, and it embodies a thoroughly sensible solution of the problem with which it deals. To say that the solution will dispose of all difficulties would be going too far; it is not even certain that the schedule of wage-rates recommended by the Commission will be adopted without considerable modification, and protests against some parts of it are already in hand. But it takes hold of the subject in the right spirit, and it sets forth a simple and yet detailed and comprehensive plan which, in its main lines, will strike right-minded men as both just and practical.

But in order to be both just and practical it was essential that the justice aimed at be distinctly understood to be merely such justice as naturally belongs to an emergency measure designed to remedy the immediate pressure of unexpected hardship. This limitation Mr. Lane recognizes explicitly and perhaps even dwells upon more than was absolutely needful. He may possibly have remembered the story of what Carlyle said when somebody told him that Margaret Fuller accepted the universe. "Gad, she'd better!" was the dour Scotchman's comment. Mr. Lane accepts the economic universe as he finds it. The Commission, he says, has searched for no answer to the question of what wage a given kind of worker should in abstract justice receive. "Such recommendations as we make," says the report, "are the practical answers to an immediate and direct question: What does fair dealing at this time require shall be done for these people, who are rendering an essential service to the nation in the practical conduct of this industry?"

The quantitative basis of the recommendations is found solely in the consideration of the degree of hardship which the increased "cost of living"—that is, the increased number of dollars it takes to command a given amount of the ordinary necessities and comforts of life—has imposed upon the various classes of workers. With this as a starting point, it is natural enough that the solution should have turned out

to be what it is. Classes of employees whose wages on January 1, 1916, were barely sufficient for the most meagre living are raised 43 per cent. above the rate then existing, and the percentage is gradually reduced for the higher-paid employees until it comes down to nothing for those who were then earning at the rate of \$3,000 a year. It should be noted, by the way, that wherever the pay has actually been increased in the interval to a rate higher than that which this graduated schedule would provide, that higher rate will not be disturbed.

This is a modest, and yet we trust effective, handling of a vital question of war-time industrial adjustment. But the question inevitably thrusts itself upon the mind, How long would such modesty hold out if the railroads remained permanently in the hands of the Government? Even if Mr. Lane had not so plainly suggested the broader issues which good sense demanded should not be grappled with at this time, they would have suggested themselves to anyone looking ahead. The forces of supply and demand, together with those arising out of the processes of "collective bargaining," have thus far determined the classification of employments, in the railroad service as in other parts of the economic system of the world. "The proposal that a new classification should be attempted," says the report very wisely, "is one which, to say the least, may not be accepted now." But if we look away from the exigency of war, and contemplate a time when industrial and economic questions are again grappled with on their own merits, what will the Government be asked to do, and what will it sooner or later actually do, about the determination of the rates of pay of these two million railroad employees—supposing them to be the Government's employees? Will it ask these people to accept forever as their starting point the scale determined by supply and demand and by collective bargaining on January 1, 1916? Even in the improbable event that this would be permanently accepted as the basis, would the departures from that basis be limited to compensations related to the cost of living? Would there not be an insistent pressure for a reclassification which refused to acknowledge the various kinds of living attaching to the various classes of employees—the \$600 kind and the \$3,000 kind, for example—as ultimate and unchangeable realities? And what would the Government do about it?

It is doubtless to Mr. Lane that we owe the reference to Scripture which is so gracefully made in the report. The plan it recommends, he says, is an expression of a policy the reverse of that contained in the saying "to him that hath shall be given, but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." The reference, to be sure, is more graceful than accurate; for the comment that "this dictum as to the way of the world" should be regarded as "the recognition of a fact, not the indorsement of an ideal," hardly fits the parable of the talents, where the reward and the punishment were alike supposed to be the due recognition of faithful service on the one hand and slothfulness or neglect on the other. But let that pass. If we are going to act upon the "reverse policy," where are we going to stop? Surely adding 43 per cent. to \$600 a year is but a small installment in its application.

Well, what's the odds? This is probably the comment that will come to the mind of a large proportion of the easy-going American public. Why not have a more ideal distribution of reward among the railroad workers? Why should

the ones who do the most disagreeable work get the least pay? Isn't Uncle Sam big enough and rich enough to give them all a square deal? We do not propose to answer these questions. We simply wish to call attention to the fact that if Uncle Sam were to undertake to introduce a radical change in rates of railroad pay, one that would be frankly based on the thoroughgoing pursuit of an ideal "social justice," Uncle Sam's nephews and nieces would have to follow suit or else turn over *their* affairs also to his all-embracing care. You can't have two million workers compensated on principles of abstract justice and the rest satisfied to get what they can out of the rough and tumble of supply and demand. The factory workers and the mine workers and the street cleaners and the farm hands would want their share of the benefits of the new system. How all this would work out is another question; but that it would have to be worked out somehow if the railroads were once put on the basis of a socialistic paternalism seems about as plain as anything can be. In other words, before we go in for permanent Government ownership of railroads we had better consider very seriously two great questions. First, would Government wages and salaries be fixed upon the basis of outside rates as determined by supply and demand in similar occupations, or would they be fixed upon somebody's notion of the requirements of ideal justice? And, secondly, supposing the latter alternative, do we wish to usher in the all-round socialism which would be the inevitable consequence of the introduction of the socialistic régime in the railroads?

We have it upon the highest authority that all the Administration needs is more power.

The Harvest Promise

THE forecast of the harvest is good. What a day may bring forth we know not. But at the present moment the outlook is for an abundant crop of wheat, amounting, winter and spring, to perhaps a billion bushels. That would rival the "record harvest" of 1915, and would enable us to feed our army, to feed our Allies, and to win the war. The promise may not sound as martially stirring as that of twenty thousand airplanes, or that of two or three or five million men in the trenches, but it is not one whit less significant and important; and it may be even more certain of fulfilment than—some promises which have been made and which have depended for realization not upon the weather and the incidents of uncontrollable nature but upon the will and the efficiency of men.

This forecast, then, is tremendously reassuring. It is an omen of victory. Taken with the Liberty Loan, the speeding up of conscription, the acquisition of shipping, the placing at last of competent men at the heads of at least some affairs, and the superb work of our Allies and our own men in France and Belgium, it indicates that the forces of civilization are "striking their pace" in the war against Hunnish barbarism. It is not only reassuring, but it is also a mighty incentive. We are not, it is true, of the stuff that is discouraged by evil fortune. Americans, British and French alike, when things go their very worst against us, we simply grit our teeth and buckle down the harder to the task of conquering fate itself. Verdun and Ypres tell us that. Yet because we cannot be beaten through discouragement is no reason why we cannot be aided by encouragement; wherefore the outlook for a bumper harvest of grain should be as

inspiring to our hearts and our souls as it is to our bellies.

It should, it must, be also an incentive and an admonition in two other most necessary directions. One is, to hold us just as strictly as ever—if possible, even more strictly and more efficiently—to the utmost thrift and economy. It would be wickedness and madness if, just because things were coming our way, we should relax our efforts and our sacrifices in the slightest degree. To do that would be to show ourselves ungrateful for and unworthy of the favor which is shown to us. The great harvest comes to us not for luxurious indulgence, but for aid in winning the grimmest and sternest war in history. That war is not yet won. It is going to be won, but it is not yet won. And until it is won, completely won, in the slaying of the Blond Beast, to slacken our efforts would be treason to humanity and to God. The message of the teeming wheat fields is, then, to save more wheat and thus serve humanity.

The other admonition is, to redouble our vigilance against the enemy within our gates. Be sure that wherever there is a wheat field or a granary, there is some lurking spy, some I. W. W., some hypocritical pacifist, watching his chance to apply the torch. Our wheat supply requires as constant guarding as our munitions factories or our banks, and because of its distribution and its character the guarding of it is exceptionally difficult. We commend this consideration to the government with its secret service, to all agencies of law and order, and to all loyal citizens. Watch the wheat fields, the granaries, the elevators; and make every attempt against them a crime so odious and its penalty so terrible that few will be so mad as to incur the guilt. We believe that it is humane and merciful to put one spy to death rather than have a thousand men betrayed to death through him and his fellows. We believe that it would similarly be better to put one incendiary to death than to let hundreds and thousands perish through famine.

Destruction of our necessary supplies is giving aid and comfort to our enemies; and that is treason; and the penalty of treason should be death.

Universal Training

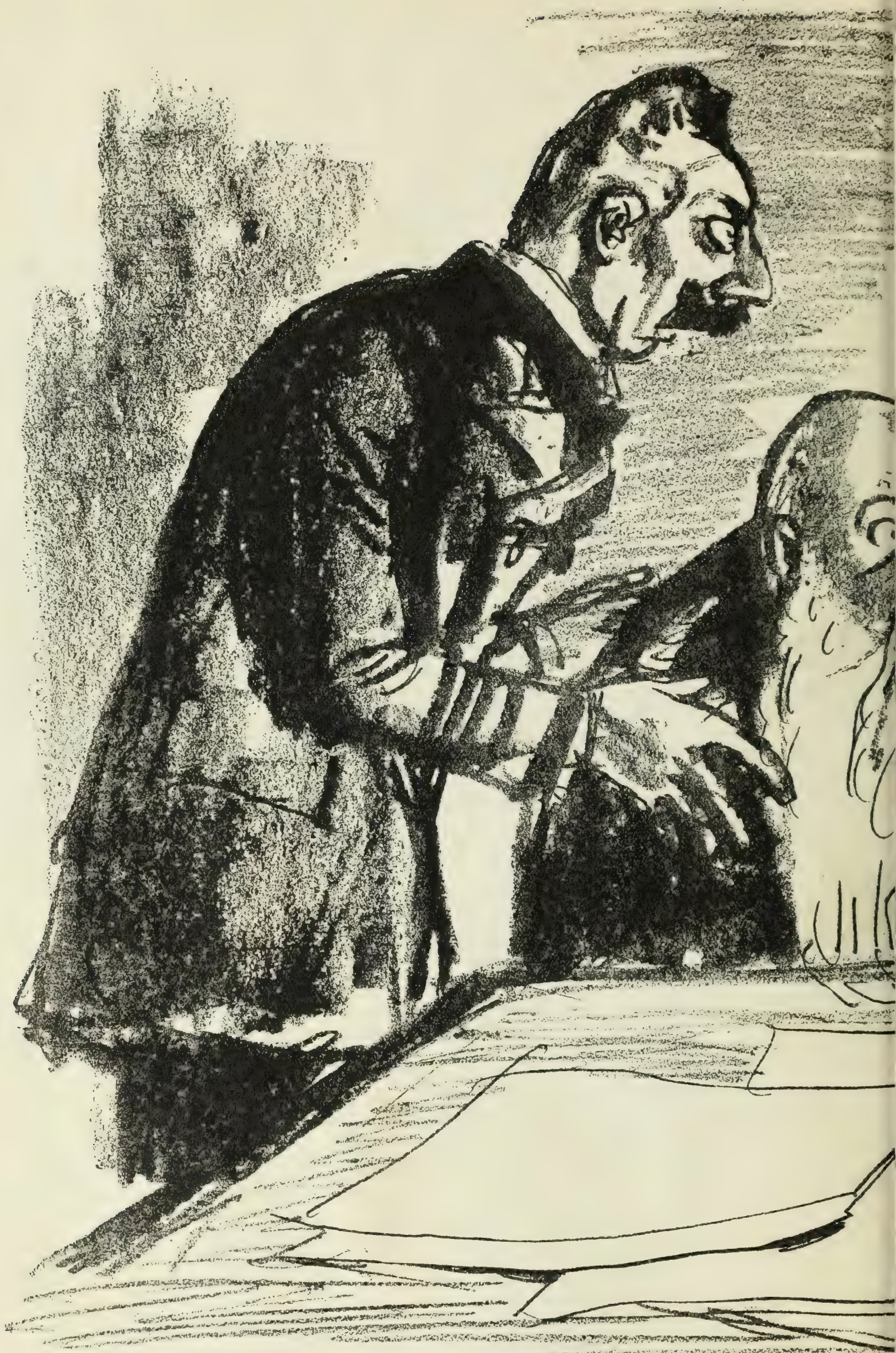
“**W**HAT is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?” Truly, we must think that something like a miracle has occurred, when our pacifist Secretary of War declares for military training in all the colleges of the land. Only a little while ago he was opposing anything like universal military training, at any rate until after the war, and was supposed to have influenced the President to support him in that attitude—or else to have been placed and confirmed therein by the President; it really did not matter which, the essential fact being that they were agreed in their anti-training policy. But now, following his visit to somewhere near the war which is three thousand miles away, the Secretary announces a plan, to be put into immediate operation, for creating a military training unit in every college and university in the land, and thus securing the enrollment of about 100,000 young men to be instructed and trained to be officers of the army. Unquestionably the President approves this policy—or perhaps was the originator of it; no matter which. The important point is that this significant step toward universal military training is being taken. Wherefore let us rejoice and be glad with exceeding great joy.

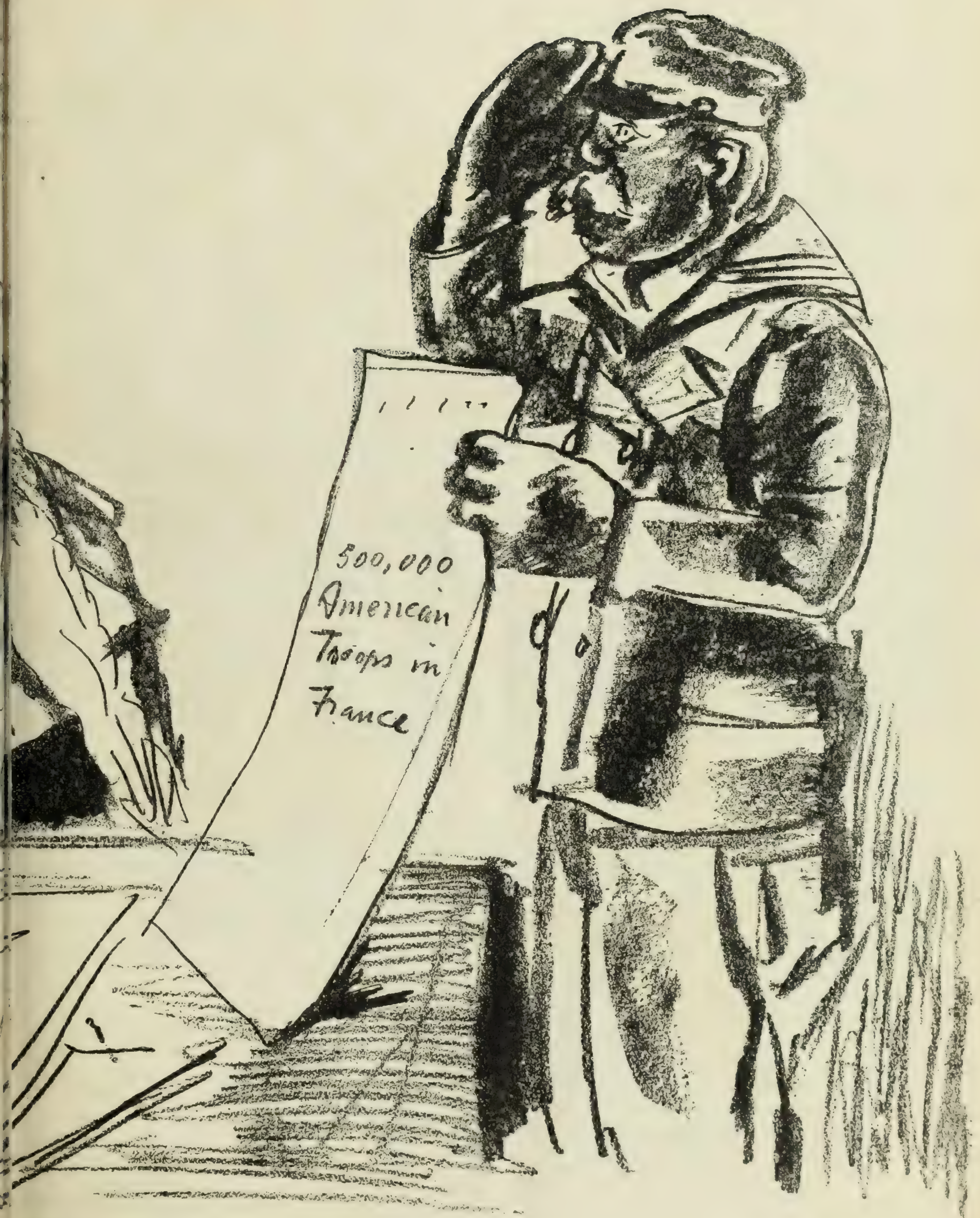
There are in the universities, colleges and schools of technology of the United States more than 175,000 young men students. We may reasonably estimate that of these fully 100,000 will volunteer for and be found physically fit for military service. As their numbers are renewed every four years, it follows that we shall have every year something like 25,000 young men fitted for officers' commissions, or at least fitted to enter short courses at training camps for such commissions. In this way, as the Secretary of War well says, we shall “develop as a great military asset the large body of young men in the colleges,” and we shall also “prevent unnecessary and wasteful depletion of the colleges through indiscriminate volunteering, by offering to the students a definite and immediate military status.” Both these points are well made. The collegiate young manhood of the nation is one of our very finest and most valuable assets. But it is at present being sadly wasted, partly by being neglected, and partly by depletion through indiscriminate volunteering. We cannot help honoring the young man who leaves college to enter the ranks; but we cannot, either, help thinking that it would be far better for him to remain in college and pursue a military course, so that when he comes out he will be not a raw recruit in the ranks, but a skilled officer.

This, we say, is a splendid undertaking, to which we have no doubt that the college youths of the nation will respond with eager zeal. But it is only a single step; leading, whither? The logical next step must be obvious. It would be almost as absurd to train a great corps of officers and to provide no army for them to command as it would be to raise a great army and to provide no officers to command it. What is needed, then, is to extend this same fine principle to schools of lower than collegiate rank, and to “develop as a great military asset” not for officers only but for the rank and file the vast body of boys in the schools. There is already an intimation that the system may be extended to the high schools. Well, there are in them more than 600,000 boys, of whom at least 500,000 should be available for enrollment. That would mean about 125,000 yearly added to our trained and prepared army. Under this scheme we should presently have, then, an army of high school graduates of 2,000,000 between ages of 18 and 35; a formidable body.

But there is a still further logical extension, to wit, to all the public schools of the land. How many boys there are in them fit for military training it would be difficult to determine with accuracy. But if there are twenty million pupils in the schools, and half of them are boys, and of the boys half are old enough and fit for military training, there are 5,000,000 of the latter. Reckoning them to be in the upper grades and therefore subject to a four years' course, we shall have a million and a quarter each year leaving the schools with expert military training; accumulating to an enormous army before they reach the age of thirty-five. It certainly seems that that is the logical sequence to the step which the War Department is now taking. Enroll the college men as candidates for officers' commissions, by all means, but at the same time enroll and train all the high school and grammar school boys to be soldiers.

The adders and subtractors of the Administration are improving. Their latest mistake in calculation was only five billions of dollars. And yet the total cost of five years of civil war—\$2,736,570,954, to be exact—was considered “stupendous.”





FROM WASHINGTON

The Week

WASHINGTON, May 17, 1918.

WE cannot speak, with Scott, of "the war that for a space did fail," for it has not failed, either in Washington or in Picardy and Flanders, by the space of so much as a hair's breadth. But there can be no question that it is now trebly thundering and swelling the gale nigh to the bursting point. All along the line, from the Alleghenies to the Alps, the drive is on. Big guns and little guns, air planes and submarines, charges and counter-charges, torpedoes and stinkpots, all are in action, full blast, with the end nowhere in sight.

Not only will there be contests between the two parties in each Congressional district, but there will be contests within each party for the nominations.—*Columbus Dispatch*.

Maybe so; but we doubt it, even Speaker Clarke, incidentally to the disgust of the *World*, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Along the actual battle front there have been no major operations, save perhaps one, but at no point and for not a moment has there been any relaxing of the tension. The Allied lines have held their ground against attacks so frequently recurring as to be practically incessant, and here and there have made some gains. Despite the recent marplot "break" of General Maurice, complete harmony prevails among the Allies under the single command of General Foch. We should not be so vain as to suggest that the American troops serve as a flux, to perfect the welding of the French and British, but at least it may be said that they are fitting into the allied combination in absolute harmony and with a most gratifying degree of efficiency. The increasing casualty lists, which were to be expected, have patriotic compensation in the increasing reports of American activity and successful achievement. We wish we could print a complete list of the Huns killed and disabled by our gallant men, alongside that of our own losses. It would be a good deal better than "fifty-fifty" and would abundantly reassure us that "these dead have not died in vain."

Make no mistake! There was something back of that Ottawa dispatch,—and we are going to try to find out what it was.

The crazy report was put forward, God knows by whom, that the American troops were not to be put into the fighting until our army over there was complete. Of course it was false on the face of it, since our men had already been put into battle. It was as monstrously absurd as it was false, for it would have meant that a million or two American soldiers were to be held inactive for a year or two until their numbers were swelled to, say, five millions—for it is entirely possible and not improbable that we shall need and shall have so many over there before we are done Hun-killing. The most plausible conjecture is that this mischievous Mulhattanism was the last expiring peep of the conspirators who for the holy sake of faction made a once-honored General their catpaw in their effort to discredit and destroy the best government that Great Britain has had in our time.

If, by the way, there be any who have any lingering doubt of Lloyd George's wisdom and righteousness in hamstringing

the House of Lords, we commend to them for their spiritual conviction and conversion two recent emissions of sublimated piffle from two of the foremost ornaments of the Gilded Chamber. The Marquis of Lansdowne is reported as repeating his parrot-patter about "peace never coming except through negotiation," while that "very superior person," Earl Curzon, appears to have said that "the government always had in view the possibility of an honorable termination of the war by negotiation." We wonder how Messrs. Lansdowne and Curzon would enjoy playing the parts of Messrs. Lenine and Trotzky, and having a talkfest with the Blond Beast at, let us say, Brest-Litovsk. Perhaps they could get some encouragement for the enterprise by sounding Ukrainia and Rumania as to their experiences of "honorable termination of the war through negotiation."

We intimated that there was one military operation which might be regarded as of major significance. That was the repetition of the Zeebrugge performance at Ostend; apparently with more complete success and at less cost than those of the former adventure. We should not estimate too highly the result of these operations in blockading the U-boat harbors, since it will not take long for German engineers to blow the sunken hulks to pieces and clear the fairway at least sufficiently to let the submarines get through. But we can scarcely regard them too highly as an earnest of what may be done by the Allied navies under an aggressive policy. Among the most glorious passages in naval annals are those which record the doings of Drake at Cadiz, of Rooke at La Hogue, of Blake at Santa Cruz, of Cochrane in the Basque Roads, of Nelson at Copenhagen—yes, and of Decatur at Tripoli, of Farragut in the Mississippi and at Mobile, and of Dewey at Manila. If it be said that the means of defence are now far more formidable than they were in those engagements, we answer that so are, or should be, the means of attack. We are not going to repeat the rash incitations of the "Forward to Richmond!" fiasco. But we have a certain subconscious confidence that one of these days we shall see something doing on the part of the fleet. It is as an earnest of that, that we chiefly esteem Zeebrugge and Ostend.

An episode of the great battle:

The Captain was rung up at least every quarter of an hour to report. The fight grew hotter and he reported: "Things getting hotter, General. Think we can manage," and described what he was doing. "Getting very bad now, sir." Then: "They're all over us." The General said: "Destroy your stuff and cut through as best you can. You're a glorious fellow." Then the voice said: "Too late, sir—good-by."

"Too late, too late!" The words make one shiver. Pray God they may never be spoken by glorious France to her sister republic, whose freedom she helped to win.

After the President, the Socialists; not that they remind us of each other, unless, as Pat said, it is because they are so different. A little while ago the President confessed himself to have become disillusioned. Now Eugene V. Debs and other Socialist leaders profess the same experience, on precisely the same subject. Whereat we rejoice, not as those who would meanly or spitefully say "We told you so!" but with a generous and ungrudging welcome to any and all who see either early or late the error of their ways and come over to the side of truth. There were many who did not need

disillusionment, because they never indulged in any of the illusions which were aforesaid cherished by the President and Mr. Debs, and Messrs. Lenine and Trotzky, and others. But the contrast need not now be dwelt upon. The essential thing is that those who never suffered illusion, and those who did but are now disillusioned, now see together, eye to eye. To have Mr. Debs and his fellow Socialists declare that it is vain to seek cooperation with the Socialists of Germany, that the only thing we can decently do is to turn in and wallop the Blond Beast into subjection, and that the Socialists of the United States must not go playing politics in next fall's election, is one of the most refreshing things that we have heard in a long time.

We are not sure, indeed, but that there is an example in the Socialist attitude which other party leaders might well follow. Talk has arisen during the week about the need of electing next fall a Congress that shall be 100 per cent. patriotic. Good! But how are you going to secure it unless from the very beginning of the campaign you put patriotism above everything else? A hundred per cent of patriotism means not one per cent of partisanship. It is an old axiom of science and philosophy that two bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time.

The President's creel, having declared his life-long pride in our unpreparedness for war, now devoutly thanks his God that we are not fighting for France, but only for ourselves. It might be suggested that since France has been fighting for us for three and a half years, it would be only fair for us to put in a few unselfish licks for her. But not to enter into any such ethical and metaphysical discussion, we may content ourselves with wondering how on earth the creel can square his utterances with those of the President. For if we remember aright, the President has very explicitly and emphatically declared that we are fighting for France, stating that we are fighting, and shall continue to fight to the end, for a peace which "must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and Northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace"; and that as an essential item of "the program of the world's peace, our program, the only possible program," what? "All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine should be righted." "For such arrangements and covenants," said Mr. Wilson in noble words that inspired world-wide humanity, "we are willing to fight, and to continue to fight, until they are achieved." Yet the voice from the creel thanks God that we are not fighting for France!

While we are considering the question of withholding our patronage from German commerce and industry after the war, a few points of earlier and later history are pertinent for edifying remembrance.

The Hohenzollern clan, as Senator Owen clearly set forth the other evening, has from the beginning been conspicuous as a predatory power. From the days when the chieftain of High Zollern exchanged common brigandage for diplomatic and military loot, every war or other adventure has been made for the sake of pecuniary or territorial gain. It was thus that Frederick II warred against Poland, and

Austria. It was thus that a later Prussian sovereign warred against Denmark, against Austria and her allies, and against France. It was in the same spirit that China was attacked. It is in the same spirit that this war is being prosecuted. It is loot, loot, loot.

Another thing: In peace, too, Germany shrewdly contrived to make other nations pay in advance for the war which she was preparing to wage upon them. For forty years she has been preparing for the present war, and she has been paying the expenses of that preparation out of the pockets of the nations which she is now fighting, through the profits of her trade with them.

Why should we enable her to prepare for another war, years hence, by resuming trade with her and thus again filling her coffers with American gold? She has made too evil a use of her commercial and industrial prosperity for the world to regard with approval its rehabilitation after the war. We can get along without German goods and we shall be greatly surprised and disappointed if we do not do so to an all but universal extent. "No trade with Germany," and "No German-made goods" will be admirable mottoes for Americans to proclaim and to fulfil.

It is doubtless an impressive achievement to transport mails between Washington and New York by airship in three or four hours, and it may be that a good many people will think it worth while to pay twenty-four cents an ounce for the service. What we should rather see, however, and what we think would be of much more value to the general public, would be the assured transportation of mail a dozen blocks in either Washington or New York within twenty-four hours, for two cents an ounce.

Judge Hand was not a bit too emphatic in his remarks to a Federal Grand Jury the other day, scathingly denouncing the circulation of a scandalous libel upon Red Cross nurses. Indeed, he was admirably restrained, and the jury exercised marked moderation, in merely bringing in a presentment instead of an indictment. For a woman physician to go before an audience of college young women and declare it to be "a matter of common knowledge" that 200 beds had been reserved in a maternity hospital for returning Red Cross nurses, was a performance so outrageous that it can scarcely be described in English speech. Let us concede that it was well for this loose-tongued and hare-brained gossip-monger to be permitted to go with nothing more than a severe reprimand. But in the name of decency and patriotism let us live up to Judge Hand's warning, that hereafter such offenders "may expect indictments and trials, and they may be pretty certain of conviction." And on conviction, sentences to the limit.

We must regard with hearty satisfaction the announcement from Washington, that the Food Administration is taking steps to assure low prices for food fish in the Atlantic Coast markets—and, we should hope, a long way inland. For many years the prices of fish have been unreasonably high. The supply is practically unlimited, and it is little affected, as farm and garden products are, by "bad seasons." There is reason to believe that many kinds of fish, delicious to the palate and nourishing to the body, could be profitably sold at less than half the prices that have generally prevailed. But the spectacle has been witnessed in New York harbor of

smack or schooner loads of fish being dumped back into the sea for fear that to put them upon the market would cause a lowering of prices from the extortionate figures then prevailing. In time of peace this was exasperating. In time of war it would be treason. We do not suppose that cargoes of fish are now being dumped overboard. But we do think that with wholesale prices of from four to six cents a pound, fish should be sold at retail in coast markets for a good deal less than twenty-five cents. If the Food Administration will stop profiteering in fish, and assure us a good supply from May to December at ten or twelve cents, it will do a mighty fine thing toward reducing the high cost of living and economizing our use of those foods which are desired for export to our army and our Allies.

A fine example of *Pax Germanica* is presented in the case of Rumania. That gallant but unfortunate country, delivered into the hands of its enemy by the Russian betrayal and collapse, was compelled to accept whatever terms the insolent conqueror proposed. In consequence, it is despoiled of territory, robbed of its Black Sea frontage, deprived of any army save such as is under alien command, and compelled to support indefinitely at its own expense an alien army of occupation. In such fashion does the great international brigand deal with those who fall into its hands. We should say that it is now high time for another German pronunciamento for peace without annexations or indemnities, for the right of peoples to self-determination, and for the safeguarding of the integrity of minor states. Are not wolves by Divine right the guardians of the sheep?

It is as easy to be a partisan in assailing criticism as in criticism itself. The man who defends everything that is done by his party or his party leaders is just as partisan as the man who assails everything that the opposing party does or plans. War demands fighting men, who see straight and shoot straight. It also demands fighting critics, who see straight, and are honest and candid in criticism. It is a commonplace that a public officer learns more from his critics than he does from his admirers. He seldom learns from anyone but his critics.—*Charles E. Hughes.*

Mr. Creel, whose answers to questions were vigorously applauded, said America was fighting "so that life won't become a hideous impossibility," and asserted that no man since Lincoln has been able "to see deeper into the heart of the world" than President Wilson.—*World report.*

Ohel! How can an impossibility be hideous? And why, as Whistler inquired sharply, "lug in Velasquez"?

Latin America in the War

GOOD tidings come from the south, mingled with some which if they do not cause alarm at least inspire us to earnest concern and to redoubled efforts against the insidious wiles of cultured barbarism. Nothing could be finer than the sentiments expressed by the President of Brazil, and the resolutions adopted by the Congress of Nicaragua at the instance of the President of that country. The latter declare for "solidarity with the United States and the other American Republics" in recognizing, declaring and prosecuting war against Germany. We cannot hope, of course, that the Central American State will prove from a military point of view an important factor in the war, though it will by no means be void of valuable service, while its inclination toward Germany, had that been possible, might have caused material embarrassment. But what is most important is the spirit manifested toward Germany and toward the United States. Less than a score of years ago Nicaragua

was so subject—perhaps unconsciously—to German influence as to be to a regrettable degree estranged from this country. Now she sees the truth, repudiates the crafty advances of the Hun, and throws in her lot unreservedly with us and the other American Republics which have aligned themselves with us against the common foe.

The President of Brazil, in a most admirable utterance, makes clear why it is that our Latin American neighbors have assumed so welcome an attitude toward us. In reaffirming Brazil's policy of solidarity with the United States in prosecuting the war, he declares that the course which this country has pursued and is pursuing in the war is "without selfish individual ambitions and without a single objective which is not guaranteed to all peoples"; and that this "has raised the United States in universal estimation to a position from which it can accomplish the absolute solidarity of the Democracies of the Western Hemisphere without inciting the slightest envy or suspicion. It has eliminated in Brazil, as in the rest of the world, the latent prejudice that the United States is open to the suspicion of selfishness." There could be no testimony more gratifying or of more practical value than that. It expresses precisely what has been most needed for the establishment of correct relations between this country and its southern neighbors. And the best of it is, that the estimate of this country which is thus expressed is exactly true.

Simultaneously with these welcome utterances comes a striking disclosure of the ways and means of the German propaganda which has been and which probably still is waged in some parts of South America, and particularly in Chili. That country is the favorite field for Hunnish efforts, partly because of the important commercial relations which long existed between it and Germany, partly because of its remoteness from the United States, and partly because of the unfortunate friction which some years ago occurred between Chili and this country. Accordingly there has been organized and is now active in Chili a German organization corresponding with the detestable German-American League which so long befouled the United States. This Chilean League frankly avows its purposes to be: To extend and strengthen the influence of German nationalization in Chili; to make German influence felt in the government of Chili, to increase it, and to make it durable; to procure for German nationalization "a place within the constitution of the Chilean State to which by our numbers, our finances, and our economic, spiritual and kultural strength we have a right"; and in the rearing of children in German homes "to protect future generations from Chileanizing influences."

It would not be easy to imagine anything more pernicious than that. It means, of course, an *imperium in imperio*, a German community within the Chilean State which should not become assimilated but should remain perpetually alien, and should seek to control Chilean affairs in the interest of an alien power. It is well that the Chileans have awakened to a realization of the sly deviltry which is being promoted among them. When that realization is complete, we expect that they will make short work of the Hunnish propaganda. Of all South American people, the proud, aggressive, masterful Chileans will most resent having that sort of game played upon them, and they will earnestly affirm their solidarity with us and with their neighbors in the war.

It was the menace of the damnable old Holy Alliance—of which Prussia was the head devil—that moved all the

American Republics to seek solidarity under the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. It will be a most appropriate sequel to that event if, a century later, the menace of the direct successor of the Holy Alliance, with the same infernal purposes, shall move these Republics to a far more perfect achievement of that solidarity than they have ever yet known.

The Proposed July Adjournment

THE propriety of an adjournment of Congress from July 1st to "some time in November" hinges upon one question and one question only, and that is whether such adjournment will or will not contribute to our effectiveness in carrying on the war. All other considerations sink into nothingness. If the presence of Congress will in the slightest degree advance our war work, then there is but one place for Congress during all the long months of Washington midsummer heat, and that is right on the firing line. If Congress can adjourn and go home without even a chance of detriment to the public business—and there is no public business now save the business of winning the war—then let it adjourn and go.

But there will be a very exacting public demand for a clear exposition of the fact that the services of Congress during the summer are superfluous. Thus far there seems to have been advanced but two reasons for adjournment. One is the physical comfort of Congressmen and the other is the pending congressional elections, for the rather vague "some time in November" date which has been suggested, for reassembling of course means "some time after the November elections."

Both of these reasons are quite without weight. Everybody would be glad to know that Congressmen were physically comfortable during the hot months. But personal physical comfort is not the chief end of the American man at a time when his country is fighting for its life. Sacrifice of physical comfort and of about everything else, including life itself, is what hundreds of thousands of Americans at the war front are going to be exclusively engaged in not only during the hot months of this summer but probably during both the hot and the cold months of several years to come. If they or any of the home war workers want a furlough, they must show cause for it. And the same holds good for Congress.

As to looking after political fences during the fall congressional election campaigns, that plea is equally ruled out of court. There are no political fences to look after. The political fences are all down or have got to come down, so far as party partisanship is concerned. There are no political parties while this war is on. There is but one party in every one of the forty-eight States of the Union, and that is the American party. There is but one issue in every election, congressional or otherwise, and that issue is the clean, clear, straight, demonstrated loyalty of the candidate or candidates—loyalty to an absolutely unswervable determination to win the war and to win it by victory and not by compromise. Where there are two such candidates alone in the field it doesn't matter a Jim Ham Lewis Senate speech which one wins, or whether he wears a Republican or a Democratic campaign button in his coat lapel. Where there is a candidate tainted by even so much as a suspicion of German vote truckling tendencies, then it is the duty of every American

voter, whether he be Republican, Democrat, Prohibitionist, Socialist or anarchist, to jump on that candidate and see to it that he is buried beyond all possibility or hope of resurrection.

This is all very simple. No need of Congressmen going away from Washington to look after elections of this kind. What they cannot do in that line at long range the boys back home will attend to for them.

The argument that the proposed new war tax discussion may be postponed over summer because the proceeds will neither be necessary nor available until next year anyway, is good as far as it goes. But it does not go very far. If a thing is to be done the time to do it is now and not some other time. We have had more than enough and to spare of postponements and delays. Heartsickening exhibits of the results of such paltering, fumbling procrastination are in evidence all about us. We know from past experience what a war tax debate means. We know it's tedious, time-squandering wrangles and buffetings to and from House to Senate and Senate back to House again. A long and intricate and tiresome job at the best. Why shirk it until fall? Surely no gain from such a course is discernible. Whereas the loss is obvious and inevitable—a loss of that which we have already so much to lament and of which we can afford to lose not one minute more, and that is the loss of precious time.

So if the new tax bill is to be drawn and argued and licked into shape and passed, why not do it now and have it out of the way if it takes all summer? Why leave it as a hang-over to encumber and delay the business of another session? Certainly this is not a war efficiency reason for Congress adjournment, and if it is advanced as an excuse it will pass as a poor but not as a good one. Besides, the season for acceptance of excuses for war responsibility failures is definitely and finally closed.

Purify Our Citizenship

THAT 'is an interesting proposal, that citizenship shall be withdrawn from naturalized Germans who are convicted of pro-German propaganda, which we are inclined to think would have an excellent result if it were executed.

It would, of course, facilitate dealing with them according to their deserts; though it might in some cases mitigate the immediate penalty of their crimes. They would, upon cancellation of their naturalization papers, become enemy aliens, and as such might be interned or deported. That would be a simple and easy way of getting rid of them, and it would generally be sufficiently effective.

It would also "make the punishment fit the crime," in kind if not in degree. These scoundrels show by their conduct that they sympathize with Germany rather than with America, and that they value German subjectship above American citizenship. Very well, then; let them be deprived of the American citizenship which they despise and which they have betrayed, and be thrown back into the German subjectship which they adore—and let them bear the consequences.

There is a technical justice in it, as well as the broad equity which we have indicated. Their conduct proves that

they were not sincere nor without mental reservations when they took the oath of allegiance. That means that they secured citizenship papers under false pretences, and any privilege secured through fraud is very properly to be revoked.

Analogy also approves the proposal. It has long been our practice to withdraw from men convicted of certain crimes certain important rights of citizenship, such as the right to vote, and the right to hold office. Proceeding upon precisely the same principle, we should withdraw from men convicted of certain other crimes all the rights and the entire status of citizenship.

Perhaps it would be well hereafter—certainly in all cases of naturalization of Germans—to amplify and intensify somewhat the oath of allegiance, so as to make the candidate for citizenship in the most explicit manner swear that he is making no mental reservations, and that he does not hold to the principle of dual allegiance.

After this war, and as a result of this war, American citizenship is going to have a new meaning and a new value.

Peace Drive and War Call

THE Peace Drive is a call to War. That is the order of the day. It is intimated and expected that a peace drive will be undertaken by the Germans. In fact, it has already been started, in the familiar Hunnish fashion. That is quite in accord with German practice, after every severe reverse, and at every serious crisis in affairs. In the present case the peace drive may be particularly strong, subtle, and persistent because the need of it is particularly great. German arms on the western front have just suffered one of their most disheartening defeats in the whole war, and perhaps the heaviest losses of all. Therefore there should be the strongest move for peace; which being interpreted should be the strongest call to us for war.

For either the move for peace is or is not sincere. It must be one or the other, but in either case the reply to it must be the same.

Let us suppose that the overtures for peace, however made, are sincere. They might well be, in spite of their origin. The Germans have suffered appalling losses, and have made no compensating gains. They may—they should—not be convinced that they cannot break the Allied line, that they cannot reach Paris or the channel ports, and that they cannot win the war by force. Reason should therefore dictate the making of efforts at securing peace through negotiation. It is also possible that domestic dissatisfaction and disaffection is arising. Even a worm will sometimes turn, we are told; and however much the German nation has been brutalized and enslaved in mind and soul by the bestial despotism of the Hohenzollerns, it would be surprising if in the last extremity some latent spark of manhood did not flame into revolt against an insensate policy which sought conquest at the cost of a man's life for every clod of soil. We know, indeed, that many of the non-German subjects of Austria-Hungary—Czechs and Rumanians—have openly revolted and joined the Allied ranks. It would not be surprising if their leaven were working further, in the German, even in the Prussian, lump. If so, there would be the more reason for an attempt to gain by negotiation what cannot be gained by

arms; or rather, perhaps, to save through negotiation what there is danger of losing in the field.

If we knew certainly that such were the case, and that Germany was sincerely seeking peace through mediation, compromise, or some negotiation, we should unhesitatingly say, Forward, with more men and more guns! We should say, Push the campaign with increased and inexorable vigor! The enemy is weakening, and his weakening is our opportunity to strike all the harder and finish off the beast, once and forever.

Or let us on the other hand suppose what is indeed immeasurably more probable, that the peace drive is this time what it has invariably been before, a mere trick, a ruse, of the Germans, to gain breathing space for a renewal of the war, and to tempt us to stay our hand and to slacken our preparations and our efforts. It is an ancient trick, to piece out the lion's hide with the fox's, and to strive to gain by deceit what cannot be won by valor. If we could be deluded into thinking that Germany was really seeking peace and that there was therefore no need of further strenuous efforts on our part, that we could afford to remain on friendly terms with Germany's allies, that we could safely relax our vigilance against German spies and propagandists, that we might slow down or even stop our war work—there would in that be inestimable gain for Germany. She could take advantage of our slackness to redouble her own preparations for a renewed attack, with hope of catching us unaware and unprepared; just as she caught all the nations at the beginning of the war.

In that case, the only possible answer to her plea for peace is, to speed up our preparations, to redouble our energies, and to strike again, harder and swifter and more merciless blows than ever before.

For the one great salient fact of the case is, that we are fighting a foe with which we cannot negotiate, with which a treaty is impossible, and with which compromise would be treason to humanity. We have before us today a lurid example of what peace through negotiation with Germany means. Russia tried it, at Brest-Litovsk. The Ukraine tried it. Finland tried it. And Germany has regarded the treaties thus made as mere "scraps of paper," and is taking advantage of the abandonment of hostilities by those countries to push savagely on to the complete conquest and enslavement of them. With such a power, devoid of truth or honor, there can be no negotiations.

"Force," says our President, in words which must never be forgotten, never be repudiated, discounted or modified, "force to the utmost, force without stint or limit." That is the one response possible from us to any peace drive, peace camouflage, or any overtures whatever from the government of William the Damned.

A Truly Popular Loan

THE people made this loan. That is the outstanding fact concerning the Third Liberty Loan which causes greatest gratification. There are those who regretted the slowness and apparent hesitance of subscriptions at the beginning of the campaign. There are those who were disappointed because the subscriptions did not exceed the maximum instead of merely showing a handsome margin above

the minimum. Nor were those feelings without ground. But we must cheerfully testify that the popular character of the loan went very far toward compensating us for those features of it which we would have preferred to have otherwise.

We are told that about 17,000,000 individual subscribers have purchased bonds. That means 17 per cent, or practically one in every six. It means pretty nearly an average of one subscriber in every dwelling house in the land, and not far from one in every family. That is, we think, an unrivalled record. It will be recalled that the Second Liberty Loan had only about 9,400,000 subscribers, and that the First had only 4,000,000. We can scarcely venture to hope that the Fourth, when it comes, will show a continued increase in the number of subscribers at the same ratio. If it should show no increase at all, we might well rest satisfied with this unprecedentedly widespread rallying of the people to the financial support of the government in the prosecution of the war.

There is a significant contrast between this record and that of other countries. The British loan of January, 1917, had something like 5,000,000 subscribers, or a fraction over 11 per cent; though of these it is said fully 3,000,000 purchased bonds with war savings certificates, leaving only 2,000,000 direct subscribers, or less than four and a half per cent. Germany's highest record was in the sixth loan, in March, 1917, which had 7,063,347 subscribers, or less than 11 per cent of the population. There is certainly cause for satisfaction in the fact that while Great Britain has one subscriber in 22, or even one in nine if we reckon all who purchased with war savings certificates, and Germany has one in nine, the United States has on the whole one in six, and in the metropolitan district has one in three.

We may probably ascribe this fine showing to two major causes. One is, no doubt, the greater average wealth of Americans than of the citizens or subjects of other lands, which makes it possible for a greater proportion of them to invest in government bonds. The other, let us devoutly hope, is that Americans have at last become awakened to the fact that we are at war and that it is incumbent upon them to supply the sinews thereof. We can scarcely suppose that many persons subscribed for bonds who did not realize what was the occasion for their issue, or who were not in sympathy with the policy of prosecuting the war unrelentingly to a triumphant ending. As an indication of the popular attitude toward the war, therefore, this achievement is highly reassuring.

We may expect to see, also, two major results. One is, of course, a confirmation and indeed an increase of popular interest in the war and popular devotion and resolution for carrying it through. The purchaser of government war bonds is not likely to be a traitor or a slacker—which is much the same thing. The other is, comparative ease in meeting another loan when it is asked, or in meeting any sudden financial crisis which might come upon us. That is because the people have subscribed this loan so largely out of their individual resources, leaving the funds of the banks and trust companies little depleted.

Back to the Stage Coach Days

IF Postmaster General Burleson employs contract convict labor on his Texas cotton plantation, it is because he is economical. Convict labor is the cheapest labor there

is in the market. There are no union price-fixing limitations to begin with. Naturally there are no strike losses to figure on. It is the nearest thing to actual slave labor the law allows.

Probably in the long run it is even cheaper than was slave labor. Slaves somehow never seemed to put any really hearty enthusiasm in their toil. There are no statistics available, but there is not much doubt that a gang of overseer-driven convicts under alert shotgun supervision will deliver more results in a given time than the best cotton field slave force ever put to work.

But it needed no convict labor employment revelations to tell us that Mr. Burleson is economical. He is rather more than that. He is an economy expert. His administration of the Post Office Department is a standing demonstration of the fact. He has saved the mail service not less than \$7,000,000, and he has cut down the railway branch of it by over 25 per cent.

He is not only economical but he is conservative. He has a liking for the good old days of long ago. We were too headlong to suit him. He has put us back to the old Colonial stage coach schedules of mail delivery. Under his administration it not infrequently happens that a letter is as long on a journey of four or five city blocks as it used to be in going from New York to Omaha. In the pre-Burlesonian times a letter was wont to get from, say, Lynchburg, Va., to New York in 17 or 18 hours. Ten days is now the accepted time. Letters no longer rush; they stroll. They travel by easy stages and with leisurely stoppages on the road. Now and then they ramble off into strange by-paths and rarely frequented places. Yet quite frequently they reach their destinations during the lifetimes of the correspondents.

It is not precisely a break-neck speed service, but it is economical. We don't get our letters but the Post Office Department saves a deal of the money we pay for carrying them. Of course, the mail carrying machinery is getting pretty well ham-strung. But what signifies a mail carrying equipment anyway as long as the mail isn't carried and as long as people will buy postage stamps just the same. Give Mr. Burleson another raise in postage rates and he will economize the whole mail service organization off the face of the earth. Then all we will have to do is to put stamps on the letters and deliver them ourselves. Thus the ideal of true Burlesonian economy will be realized—millions from revenue and not one cent for expenses save those incident to supplying deserving Democrats with jobs.

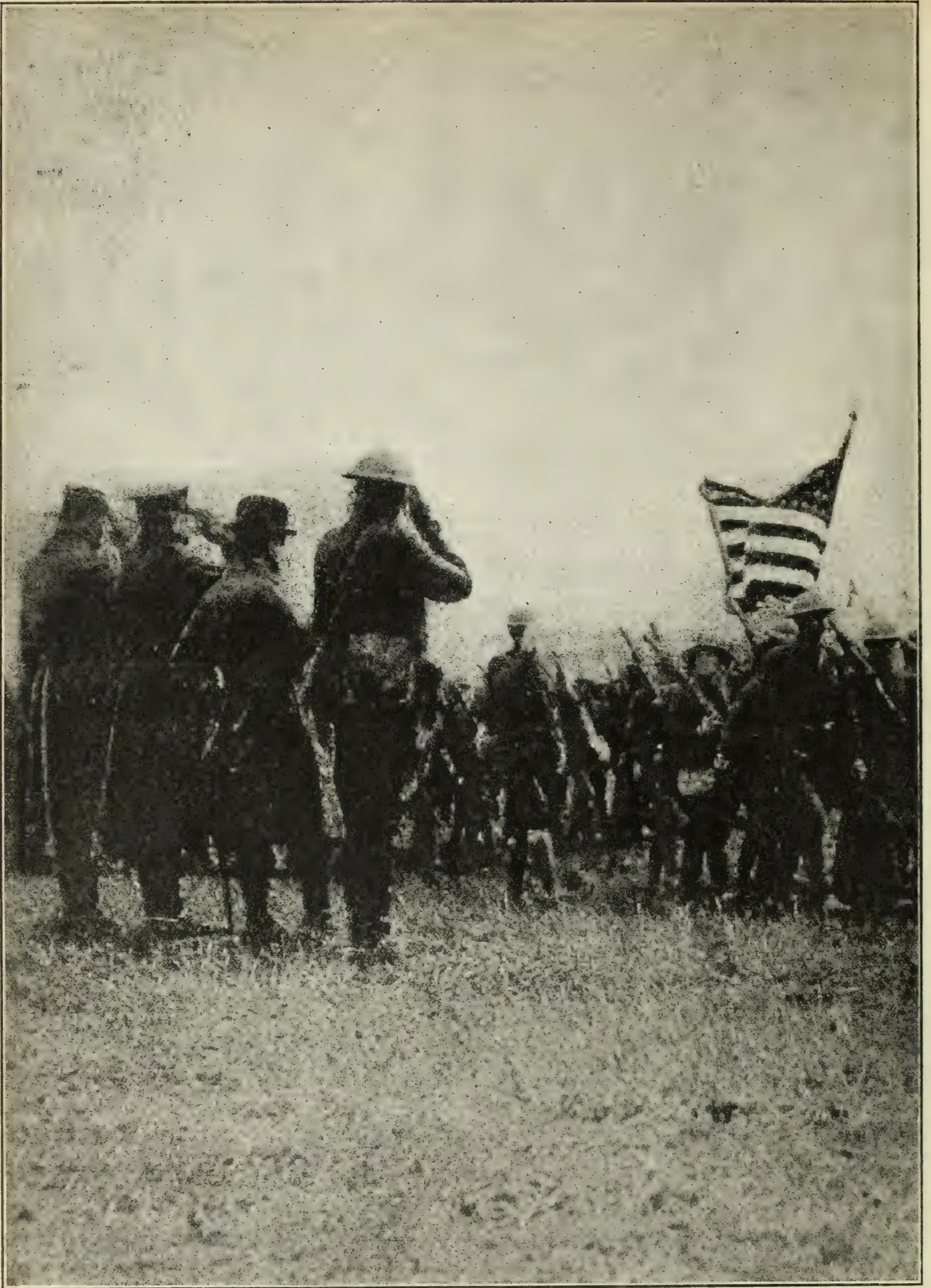
Of course, in applying his remarkable economies, Mr. Burleson has had obstacles to overcome. Forward looking men always have the opposition of the backward lookers to contend with. Even now there is grumbling and complaining. The Merchants' Association of New York is among the objectors. It has been sending out thousands of test letters to and from all parts of the country to measure the velocity of the Burleson canal boat fast mail delivery service. The American Bankers' Association has put itself behind the Merchants' investigation. As for Mr. Burleson, he never has approved of these inquiries. His Department refused to furnish the inquirers either data or information. So the Merchants and Bankers had to fumble along the best they could. Their compilations are about made up and their report will soon be issued.

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Secretary Baker

WHEN THE COLORS PASSED

General Pershing, General Liggett and Colonel Hines Saluting the Flag

Publication authorized by the Committee on Public Information; G. Creel, Chairman

FIVE CENTS

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The President At His Best

WASHINGTON, *May 24, 1918.*

SOMETIMES the President is at his best, sometimes at his worst; and sometimes, though not often, just fair to middling. He was at his best when he conscripted Charles E. Hughes to inquire into the charges of corruption in aircraft production. Most of his recent appointments, in fact, have been excellent, but each has differed from this one in being at least partially attributable to some specific motive other than that which impels a striving to attain the highest proficiency without heed to other considerations.

Mr. Stettinius, for example, was practically forced upon the War Department by the Senate Military Affairs Committee, whose candidate he had been for Minister of Munitions, against the wish of Mr. Baker, who originally pronounced his appointment impossible because "it would never do to name a man from the Morgan firm." Mr. Schwab was finally designated, six months after the other members of the Cabinet, if not the President himself, had fairly hooted at the suggestion tentatively advanced by Secretary Lane, in sheer desperation at shipbuilding conditions and despite the necessity of according him full authority. Mr. Ryan's appointment was natural and easy because he was a Democrat, contributor of a large sum to the campaign fund and commonly recognized as a capable organizer, however deficient in knowledge of aircraft "spares" and the like, which are as A, B, C to Brother H. D.

The reasons for the selection of Mr. Baruch and Mr. McRoberts may be passed for the moment, but it is easy to perceive the desirability of drawing within the fold Mr. Taft, whose pre-eminent fitness as a wage-adjuster was universally conceded and whose editorials were assuming an unsuspected quality of vigor and outspokenness. But taken all in all, despite certain indications of partisan purpose, the substitution of these gentlemen for those who fell down so lamentably in our first year of war was encouraging to a degree and we wish for them the fullest measure of success.

It is well, however, to remind them that every public position is not what its title implies but what its holder makes of it, that they have not yet "arrived" but are only on trial and that,—this with respect to only two or three of those concerned,—government officials must refrain no less scrupu-

lously from dealing with concerns in which they or their relatives are interested than from profiting from inside information in speculative certainties.

None of the various phases above noted bears upon the appointment of Mr. Hughes. It is ideal in every respect and reflects the highest credit upon the President. When in our issue of May 11 we lamented that the shocking deceptions of the War Department had given rise in the public mind to grave suspicion "that the Department of Justice cannot be relied upon to make a thorough investigation and might even join the War Department in the latter's attempt to cover up its misdeeds," we took particular care to disavow any distrust upon our own part of the Attorney General, whom we have long held in high esteem; we simply stated a fact of much importance. And when we added that the President "could quickly restore full confidence and resolve all doubts by drafting Charles E. Hughes to make the inquiry and, if found necessary, to conduct the prosecution," we simply stated another fact. While the suggestion involved was, to the best of our information, the first to this effect put forth, we would be as shy as Colonel House himself in claiming credit for any part in its realization. We have not the remotest suspicion that the President ever read or heard or dreamed that we had made it; the mere fact of the appointment, we admit frankly, affords sufficient evidence of the accuracy of this conclusion; indeed, the only conceivable deduction is that two single-track minds may at times follow parallel courses up the rollicking stream to the mountain tops of idealism. Hence our difficulty in comprehending the following from Mr. Welliver's letter to the *New York Globe*:

The laugh is on Colonel George Harvey, who in some quarters is suspected of not caring for the President. The versatile colonel, who is doing his bit in the war by giving weekly demonstrations that the best possible candidate for President made the worst possible President, has been suggesting that Mr. Hughes ought to be the boss aircraft investigator. He gets his wish, and, of course, will be measurably happy—on the theory that he has got anything at all, even though the getting deprives him of a motive for some reams of edifying "copy."

If, by "caring for the President," Mr. Welliver means caring for Mr. Wilson's political fortunes, he is quite right; we do not; nor for Mr. Roosevelt's; nor for Mr. Hughes's; nor for Mr. Beveridge's; nor for Mr. McAdoo's; nor for Mr. Anybody's; we care for nothing now in the world but to

win the war and to save our beloved country; and to that end we are, as he says, trying to do our bit and, in common with millions of others, grieving constantly that it is necessarily so small. If, in fact, "the laugh" is on us, we can only hope that there may be many more laughs of the same kind,—and quickly, too.

Another thing we cannot understand is why the *World* should resent the fact, as reported, that

"many Senators interpreted the appointment as an attempt by the President to inspire greater public confidence in the investigation which he had ordered the Attorney General to make, and thereby belittle and make apparently unnecessary any investigation to be conducted simultaneously by the Senate Military Committee."

What possible objection can there be to the President's striving to inspire public confidence or to anybody saying so? That is what he ought to be doing day in and day out. It was upon that very ground that we, for one, urged him to appoint Mr. Hughes and that the minority of the Committee, acting under the personal direction of the President, urged that the appointment "ought to put at rest any possible feeling that for any political or other reason a full and complete investigation might not be made,"—thus incidentally confirming our assertion that distrust such as we depicted did exist and showing that its existence was recognized at the White House.

True, Mr. Hearst rather blunderingly, in his determined endeavor to outdo the *World* in support of the Administration, violently applauds the appointment of Mr. Hughes solely as "a stroke of political genius," without regard to its merits, but as usual he has the pig by the tail instead of by the ears. Invariably and inevitably, when a President does the right thing at the right time and in the right way he "inspires public confidence" and "plays good politics," but in this case, at any rate, these are consequences, not causes.

If Mr. Wilson had been actuated by sordid political or mere personal motives, he never would have named Charles E. Hughes to make this investigation. Nobody knows better than he how thoroughly, how fearlessly and how relentlessly Mr. Hughes performs such a task. Nobody knows better than he how tremendously Mr. Hughes has grown in public esteem during the past year. Nobody appreciates better than he the greatness of the opportunity which he has presented to Mr. Hughes of strengthening his position, widening his fame and enhancing his popularity. Nobody knows better than he that, but for the treachery of Hiram Johnson, Mr. Hughes would be President to-day. Nobody knows better than he that, bar one, Mr. Hughes is more likely than any other to receive the Republican nomination two years hence. And yet he puts Mr. Hughes in the very best position imaginable to demonstrate his integrity, his courage and his extraordinary abilities.

Call that partisanship? Call it personalism? It is neither. It is patriotism of the highest order.

It is the President at his best.

LET there be no confusion of thought or understanding. The appointment of Mr. Hughes to inquire into the charges of criminality in connection with airplane production bears little or no relation to the continuance of investigation by the Senate Military Affairs Committee proposed by Mr. Chamberlain.

President Wilson has not asked Mr. Hughes to investi-

gate the failure of the aeroplane program. However, much of favoritism, inefficiency, indecision, and procrastination must be charged to Secretary Baker and his assistants, these faults will be wholly without the purview of the Hughes investigation, as is clearly established by the text of the President's invitation and Mr. Hughes's reply.

The President wrote: "You have doubtless noticed that very serious *charges of dishonesty* have been made in connection with the production of aircraft," and, continuing, said: "I requested the Department of Justice to use every instrumentality at its disposal to investigate these charges, and with the approval of the Attorney General I am writing to beg that you will act with him in making this investigation."

Replying to Mr. Wilson's letter and showing that he himself clearly appreciated the limitation imposed upon him, Mr. Hughes said: "I shall be glad to cooperate with the Attorney General in making a prompt and thorough investigation of the *charges of dishonesty* in connection with aircraft production." In both quotations the italics are ours.

Those who recall the details of the extraordinarily important and valuable investigation which Mr. Hughes conducted into the operation of the insurance companies remember that, startling as were the disclosures he made, he unearthed little that was in violation of then existing law. In a number of instances the practices which he exposed were so subversive of public good and business morals that both state and national legislatures hastened to impose upon them statutory prohibition with heavy penalties for violation. But had Mr. Hughes been limited to an investigation and exposure of violations of existing law, no such revolutionary and beneficial reforms could have been effected.

It is because of the limitation which the President has seen fit to impose upon Mr. Hughes that Senators Chamberlain and Hitchcock rightfully continue to urge a complete and exhaustive investigation by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs in order to fix the responsibility for vacillation, favoritism and incompetence of a kind which cannot be reached by an investigation limited to "charges of dishonesty."

Precisely as the announcement that Mr. Hughes is to conduct an investigation of "the charges of dishonesty" has been hailed by the inattentive as evidence that a complete exposure of the causes of failure will be forthcoming, so there is danger that possible exoneration by him of all concerned of actual dishonesty might be heralded by the unthinking and the partisans as constituting a clean bill of health for those whose inefficiency in its every form is responsible for the lamentable failure of the aeroplane program.

Semi-official reports from the White House upon the subject are so contradictory as to be altogether bewildering. On Monday the President finds something so "covert" in what seems to be a simple resolution that he is "unalterably opposed" to it, but on Tuesday we are informed that he had not and never had the slightest objection to the Senate inquiry; what he resented was something so intangible that apparently it could not be made intelligible. That is to say, we guess, that if he could beat the resolution he would, but that if he found he couldn't he really never wanted to, was misunderstood, etc.,—the same old claptrap.

Our own view is that the Senate should go along and attend to its own business with executive sanction if possible but without it if necessary.

Wilson Puts His Foot Down

THE President's speech at the inauguration of the Red Cross campaign in New York contained but a few words relating to the country's policy in the prosecution of the war. But those words were precisely what were needed to drive home the meaning of his declaration in Baltimore last month. If there were any who doubted that when the President said that the only possible answer we can give to Germany's challenge is "Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit," he meant just what he said, his words of Saturday should suffice to put an end to that doubt. In the Baltimore speech Mr. Wilson felt called upon to say that he was "ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely proposed." No doubt he still is ready to do that. We are all ready to do that. But everybody with a grain of common sense knows that there is absolutely no possibility of such a proposal being made at any time that we need to bother our heads about now. The mere mention of it would do no harm were it not for the weak-minded who seize upon every such mention, however slight, as a peg to hang silly and mischievous delusions upon. In his New York speech Mr. Wilson gave a very different turn to the matter. "We are not to be diverted," he declared, "from the grim purpose of winning the war by any insincere approaches upon the subject of peace." And as this was said in immediate connection with his remarks on the unlimited size of the army which we propose to get ready to send to France, we have here a clear pledge that we shall go on with the war until we have won a complete and unmistakable victory.

The President's words were not only effective but peculiarly timely. Only a day or two before, Mr. Balfour had said in the House of Commons: "If any representatives of any belligerent country desire seriously to lay before us any proposal, we are ready to listen to them." This simple and innocent remark had been made the subject of a vast amount of comment. As a matter of course, it was seized upon in certain quarters as a sign that the British Government was giving serious consideration to the possibility of a negotiated peace; but the capacity of those people for making something out of nothing has been too often demonstrated to make any fresh instance of it worth noticing. What is more singular is that some who are perfectly straight in their thinking on the war imagined that Mr. Balfour's remark must have some special and profound explanation. He merely said that two and two is four, to be sure; but why had he taken the trouble to say it? Was it not some sort of signal to Mr. Wilson or to M. Clémenceau? Of course it was nothing of the kind. He said what he did because he was being subjected to one of those periodical pesterings in response to which the British Government finds it necessary not only to give any specific information that may be called for, but also to satisfy the childish demand for everlasting repetition of this meaningless formula. Whenever Germany is ready to talk to us in such a way that we ought to listen to her, we shall listen to her; that is practically what Mr. Balfour said, and nothing more.

But Mr. Wilson was not giving a perfunctory answer to a tiresome question. There was no need for him to refer to the matter of peace negotiations at all unless he chose. When he said that we are not to be diverted from our grim purpose

by insincere approaches upon the subject of peace he did so because he wanted to stiffen every American's upper lip against those approaches. It is only a question of time when those approaches will be made, and made with all the cunning of which the German government is capable. What their character will be is virtually forecast by the President when he says that "every proposal with regard to accommodation in the West involves a reservation in regard to the East." Against the notion that Germany can purchase a free hand in Russian and Asiatic conquest by giving up her spoils in Western Europe, President Wilson has unmistakably set his face.

Between what Mr. Balfour said and what President Wilson said, there is of course absolutely no conflict. But neither is there any conflict between what Mr. Balfour said in London and what ex-President Taft on the same day said in Philadelphia. Speaking before the League to Enforce Peace, he declared that the convention of the League was called "to sound the trumpet for war to the end." This the *New York Evening Post* finds to be "in marked contrast" to Mr. Balfour's statement. But the contrast is purely imaginary. Mr. Balfour said nothing whatever about there being any practical possibility of bringing the conflict to a close otherwise than by war to the end. He did not say that there was any prospect of any serious proposal of peace coming from Germany. He did not say that if such a proposal did come, there was any prospect of its being a proposal that could be accepted. Mr. Taft was talking not about a hypothetical and highly improbable event, but about the actual situation that confronts us. We have got to think about war to the end, and nothing but war to the end, because the possibility of there being any other way to accomplish our object is so infinitesimal that reasonable men must dismiss it from their minds. As Mr. Taft himself put it:

No one in the wildest flight of imagination now can think of undefeated Germany yielding either proper indemnity to Belgium or justice to Alsace-Lorraine. Nor will the unconquered German ruling class consent to lift the German paw from prostrate Russia, or give over to decent rule the blood-stained Christian provinces of Turkey.

In all this business of German peace manoeuvres it is essential to remember that, insincere as they have been, something more is involved than the question of sincerity. At some stage of the game Germany may well find it to her advantage to make a peace move which from her standpoint might be "sincere", but which from our standpoint must be peremptorily dismissed. On the basis of the war map she has the world at her feet to-day. She clings to the hope of being still stronger to-morrow. That hope, thanks to the splendid unity now achieved by the nations arrayed against her, is doomed to disappointment. But even so, it will be a long time before we can expect to find her in the position of a defeated Power. While on the way toward that consummation, she will reckon up, with the coolest and most scientific calculation, her military and economic assets and liabilities. Long before she is driven to the last ditch she will come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when, to avert the final collapse, it is the part of wisdom to make really great concessions to the Powers that are gradually bringing her to her knees. Then will be the time of greatest danger to the achievement of the supreme end—the liberation of the world, once and for all, from the Teutonic menace.

Then will be the time when a "sincere" yet utterly inadequate, offer from Germany will have a chance of being accepted. Then will be the time when those who wish to make the world really safe, and who know what is necessary for that purpose, will be accused of vindictiveness, and blood-thirstiness, and the desire to "destroy" Germany. Nobody wants to destroy Germany. But that German power against whose hideous might civilization and humanity have been struggling during these four years of agony must be rendered incapable of ever again inflicting such woes upon mankind. Those who keep this constantly in view have been termed "bitter-enders"; but could any end of the war be more bitter than one that failed to accomplish the object for which the blood of millions of men had been shed?

We said we would try to find out about that mysterious cablegram from London to Ottawa saying that American troops would be withheld from active participation until a great American army had been assembled in France and we have succeeded. The cablegram was sent from London and received in Ottawa *just one year ago*,—when the statement of intent was correct. Who or why or what or how is no business of ours. Let it go at that so far as we are concerned but if the British Government should desire further information, they might inquire of Mr. Walter Long in London or of Mr. M. E. Nichols of Ottawa.

What we need, against the Huns, is a Butcher, not a Baker.

The President's Burdens

TO a cheering New York theatre audience the President rather pathetically described himself as "only a tired man having a good time." Another President in times gone by probably would have called it a "bully" time. But there are wider differences than that of mere taste in selection of language between President Wilson and President Roosevelt. President Roosevelt was having a "bully" time all the time, for one thing. Then again, President Roosevelt was never tired. Perhaps he may have made the country a little tired now and then, but that is another matter. It amounted to a division of things. The country had the tired feeling and the President had the "bully" time.

None the less we all may well sympathize with the President in that he is tired, and we do not have to go far to understand why he is tired. Let alone the fact that he has assumed personal direction of all branches of the Government as well as personal direction of the war itself, he has the superadded burden of a Baker on his hands. There are others, but Baker alone is enough. Worry is notoriously more exhausting than work, and if the President is not worried by the presence of a Baker at the head of the War Department in this crisis it is pretty safe to say that he is about the only man in the country, save Baker himself, who is thus immune.

But we do not for a moment believe that the President is not worried by Baker. On Baker and on the War Department, as by Baker administered, falls the sole responsibility for all that has been most disastrous and most humiliating in

our war preparation failures. Beginning with the Chamberlain Committee exposures and continuing right on down to the further exposures which the pending Senate Committee investigations can hardly fail to bring about, the roots of all the worst evils and most disheartening results in our war preparations are to be found in the basic incompetence of the War Department's administration. And, to add to the nerve strain which all this has entailed, there has been the irritation of Secretary Baker's cheerfully prattling flow of statements wholly without warrant in fact, and of promises ridiculously impossible of fulfillment.

No wonder the President is a tired man. No wonder he manifests symptoms of nerves almost approaching irritability as one failure after another in Mr. Baker's Department is revealed. We are all tired, tired to the point of irritability—tired of Baker, tired of the meaningless irresponsibility of his smirking, optimistic chatter, tired as is the President himself, beyond doubt, of the seemingly endless vista of Congressional investigations which Bakerian ineptitudes and Bakerian confusion of the veracious with the inveracious inevitably entail.

Of all this the country is weary just as the President, either consciously or subconsciously, is weary. He tells us he is a tired man. We know he is tired. We know the great responsibilities which are on his shoulders and which he has not only cheerfully but eagerly assumed. We sympathize with him, sympathize with him profoundly in the gigantic labors he has so patriotically undertaken. But why does he unnecessarily add to the load he is carrying? Why does he not disburden himself of that which is a dead weight and sheer encumbrance in the wearisome path up which he is toiling and substitute for it that which would be a prop and a support? Why does he not rid himself and rid the country of the burden of Baker? Is there any news that could come from Washington which the country would more joyously and whole-heartedly acclaim than the news that Newton D. Baker was no longer Secretary of War, and that any one of many men whose demonstrated executive and business capacity is an assurance that they would measure up to the task had been appointed in his place? The question answers itself in the asking.

The President in a recent written communication said that the passage of the Chamberlain Senate resolution covering War Department investigation would be tantamount to a note of want of confidence in the Administration. In another less formal communication he is quoted as saying that if the proposed investigation went beyond the aircraft inquiry it would be for a "covert" purpose. In both of these strange utterances there is distinct trace of a disturbance of vision strongly suggestive of that fatigue which the President mentioned in his few words to the New York theatre audience, and for which we are fully of the opinion the Secretary of War's incompetence is very largely responsible. Of course the "covert" implication is inconceivable, and equally impossible of understanding is the President's "want of confidence in the Administration" assertion. Had he said want of confidence in Secretary Baker's administration of the War Department, it would have been understandable to the point of being an axiomatic proposition. On that proposition a vote would be superfluous. If there is one thing more than any other about which the country is conclusively convinced, that thing is the utter unfitness of Mr. Baker for the present responsibilities of the Secretaryship of War. Why does not

the President relieve Baker, relieve himself and relieve the country simultaneously? Better still, why does not Baker add to the general relief by relieving the President of the unpleasant task of relieving Baker? A fine act of self-sacrificing patriotism that would be on Mr. Baker's part. Nothing that he has done or could do in his War Secretarial career would win such cordial and enthusiastic applause.

We hear from Paris that an edition of a daily paper which contained the interesting picture of General Pershing, General Liggett and Colonel Hines saluting the flag and of Secretary Baker was promptly suppressed and that all copies issued were recalled—a most considerate and courteous act, even though we say it who perhaps shouldn't.

The Sinn Fein Crisis

DUBLIN; London; New York: These are the foci of interest in the Sinn Fein crisis. Each presents an aspect radically different from the others; yet each is designed, in the order in which we have named them, to influence the other, and then in reverse order to exert a reflex influence.

We call it a Sinn Fein crisis. Let it be clearly observed that that is what it is, and not an Irish crisis. The two are very different things. The latter would almost inevitably be exceedingly grave. The former may be annoying, even embarrassing, but it could scarcely become very serious; unless it should infect with its virus a far larger and more important part of the Irish people that Sinn Feinism has thus far reached. An uprising of the Irish people led by a Parnell or a Redmond would be formidable; a "revolution" of the Sinn Fein led by "Count" Dillon is preposterous. Or perhaps we should say that it would be preposterous in normal circumstances. The trouble is that in Ireland circumstances are not normal. As *Bos Hibernicus* would say, their normal condition is abnormal. There is so much "temperament," so much impulse, so much prejudice, that we never can tell how great a flame a little spark may kindle.

The Dublin aspect of the case we may bluntly describe as one of treason. The government declares that it has in its possession proof of Sinn Fein intrigues and conspiracies with Germany. Extreme as that statement is, we must on its face assume it to be true. That is partly because not even a government which could make Lord French Viceroy of Ireland would be likely to be so incredibly and unpardonably foolish as to make such a statement and to take such action if it were not sure of its ground. It is also partly because Sinn Fein antecedents afford an overwhelming presumption of its truth. Again and again, and not in Ireland alone, Sinn Fein propagandists have made it unmistakably plain that they are also pro-German propagandists. They did that in the unhappy days of Sir Roger Casement. They have done it here, with their "Truth Societies" and what not other assistants to Potsdam and Wilhelmstrasse. The fact that it is a Sinn Fein movement proclaims it to be a German movement. As such the present crisis is to be regarded and dealt with—in Dublin.

The London aspect is different. There the case is almost inevitably complicated with Imperial politics with which it

really has no logical connection. It is not a demonstration for Home Rule. Not even Sir Edward Carson ever inveighed and railed against John Redmond and Home Rule as savagely as Sinn Fein has done. Neither is it a protest against conscription. Strictly and logically speaking, it has nothing whatever to do with either of those important imperial issues. Yet its promoters have cunningly calculated upon complicating it with both, and with using both for the furtherance of their own abhorrent aims. Indeed, not only its promoters but also professedly bitterest opponents will strive to do so. We cannot, of course, suspect Sir Edward Carson of having, as an *agent provocateur*, aided and abetted the Sinn Fein plot. But neither can we doubt that he is hugely delighted with it, and that he will "work it for all it is worth" as an argument against the operation of that measure of Home Rule which as a matter of fact has for some years been a law of the United Kingdom. In that we must sincerely hope that he will not succeed. It is not for Americans to dictate to or even to advise the British government. We do not always make so good a job of our own governing as to be qualified to instruct the world in that most difficult of all the arts. But it is at least permissible for us to hope that the government in London will decline to be stampeded in regarding the Dublin situation as anything more than a case for expeditious and inexorable police administration. If it shall take that stand, it will defeat at the beginning the design of Sinn Fein to have the Dublin aspect of the case affect that in London.

The New York aspect, which by reflection is also the Washington and general American aspect, is of course essentially different from either of the foregoing; it is of much more direct interest to us, and of it, at least, it is fitting for us to speak without reserve. It cannot, therefore, be too strongly emphasized that Americans cannot and will not in any sense or degree sympathize with Sinn Fein. With Home Rule many of them have sincerely sympathized, ever since the days of Parnell, forty years ago. But Sinn Fein is not Home Rule. Self-government is not to be secured by playing the part of catspaw to the Hun. The American view of the present state of the world, Ireland included, is that the winning of the war by crushing Prussian militarism is the supreme issue. It is so absolutely paramount that nothing else materially counts. If the granting of Home Rule to Ireland would help win the war, Americans would be glad to see it granted to-day; but if it would make the winning of the war more difficult, they would wish it to be postponed until after the war is won. Concerning this Sinn Fein intrigue, however, there can be no such question, no such alternative. If it is Sinn Fein, it is pro-German, and Americans are against it. That is all that needs to be said on that phase of the subject.

Something does need to be said, however, on another closely related phase of the American aspect. That is, that we cannot have sedition talked here by Irishmen any more than by men of any other nationality. Last Sunday evening in New York City it was publicly urged that if violence occurred in Ireland in the suppression of Sinn Fein conspiracies, Irishmen in America should provoke corresponding violence here, and the monstrous suggestion was made that American troops, sent over to fight the Huns in France, might be diverted to Ireland to help the British government crush Sinn Fein. Now, we are mindful of the wisdom, in some cases, of letting men rave their fill and so work off their

violent passions. But, after all, ours is a government of laws, and it is essential that the laws shall be impartially and consistently enforced. It would be unjust, and it would be a cause of inevitable embarrassment, to punish a man of German parentage or birth for talking sedition and at the same time to grant immunity for precisely the same offense to a man of Irish parentage or birth.

This is really the most pertinent and not least important phase of the matter for practical consideration. It is something which the organizers of the business had in view from the outset. The outbreak in Dublin was to affect London and set the government there to acting precipitately and violently, and that action in London was to affect New York and all America and to cause estrangement or the threat of it between us and our British allies. Then, in reverse, our sentiments and attitude here were to coerce the London government into making concessions to Dublin. It was a shrewd and characteristic device of Irish Anglophobes and German spies to introduce dissension into the ranks of the Allies and thus to lessen their efficiency in "team work" in the war. But we do not think that it will work. It will fail, and it will fail at every one of the three points at which it was designed to operate. It will fail at Dublin, because the great mass of loyal Irishmen will remain loyal to the cause of democracy and humanity against the Hun. It will fail at London, because the British government, headed by the man who achieved more for Irish Home Rule than any other statesman of our time, will keep cool and refuse to be stampeded. It will fail in New York and in all America, because Americans are not going to let any such Hunnish wedge be driven between them and their Allies.

Incidentally, there is gossip about the possibility that Mr. Hughes may be named later by the President for a vacancy on the Supreme Bench if one occurs for which a Republican appointment would be indicated.—*The Globe*.

No, you don't!

Full Speed Ahead

NO better, broader, more forcibly comprehensive presentation of the magnitude of the war task before us and of what we must do to worthily rise up to it has been made than that of Senator Cummins, of Iowa, last week. He was addressing the Senate on his resolution calling upon the Government for information upon the country's industrial resources. The senator's proposition is that every able-bodied man in the country between the ages of 18 and 45—and he even thinks the latter limit might be expanded by a few years—must either work in some useful way or fight on the battle front itself to win the war. He said:

We must clothe, equip, and sustain the army and the navy. We must build ships, manufacture guns, cannon and powder, and other infinite paraphernalia of war. We must transport both men and material through submarines and mines to a foreign shore. We must produce all that the army and navy demand for their efficiency, and all that is required for the life, health, and comfort of the men, women, and children who are not enrolled in the fighting organizations. Not only so, but we must produce enough to supply the imperative necessities of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and to continue our essential commerce with neutral and friendly nations.

And all this of course is only one branch of the work. An army is being created. Not such an army as comes to mind in any terms of armies known in past generations. An army reckoned not by hundreds of thousands but by mil-

lions. Not of two millions, or three millions, or even of the five millions which latterly has curiously enough come into vogue as somewhat a limiting figure of our actual fighting force. It is in terms of an army with no limit whatever to the number of its millions save the fighting man power limit of our entire 100,000,000 population, that we must think.

"Why limit it to 5,000,000?" said the President in his Red Cross speech of Saturday night last, and with the crisp ring of that sentence in their ears the 4,000 and more men and women assembled fairly shook the old Metropolitan Opera House building with the thunder of their enthusiastic shouts of approval. Never did President Wilson have an audience more with him in every fibre of its being than at that moment. Never in all the war speeches he has made has he more stridently voiced the sentiment of the entire American people than he did at that supreme instant.

"Why limit it to 5,000,000," why stop at 10,000,000 or a dozen million if necessary? The staunch American men are there. They are ready to go. With every passing day the country's fighting blood is getting up. It is fast approaching the boiling point. There will be no trouble about getting the men. As Senator Cummins put it:

If our problem consisted simply in raising fighting men, it would be an easy one, for the patriotism, spirit and grim determination of the people of this country to settle, once for all, the vital issue between Germany and the world would call to the ranks half the population of the Republic.

But getting the men is but the preliminary and the easiest step in creating a fighting force. The men have got to be made into soldiers. From the ranks of the soldiers officers must be recruited. And soldiers and officers must be welded into great military units, and great military units coalesced into the still greater vast army units. A stupendous task. Weeks and months upon months of the hardest work. Weeks and months of incessant drill, incessant instruction, incessant study of new and ever-changing problems. Weeks and months of what is akin to the most wearying military drudgery. That is what it comes to. That is what is going on in all our cantonments at home and in all our camps abroad, from the landing docks up to the firing line and right into the flaming, thundering roar of battle itself.

And all this is only one branch of the staggering job of work which is cut out for us to do and which we are going to do just as we are going to do all that is covered in Senator Cummins's quoted outline of that other branch of the task. And in all this not a word has been said about our navy or about our coast defences. But Senator Cummins did not omit these supremely vital matters. He said:

It makes me shudder when I think of the partial suspension of work on warships and the almost total suspension of coast defenses because workmen and material are so much needed in other preparations. If by any chance—not probable, but possible—Germany should win in France, and America stood alone against this monster of the ages, our first and maybe our only protection from the hate and power of the enemy would be found in the strength of the navy and the resistance of our fortifications.

It is a grown up country job we have on our hands, and the more sternly and the more completely we realize its magnitude and buckle down to it with every ounce of the strength of every American man, woman and child put forth, the quicker it will be over, and the quicker the end of the unutterable Hun will come.

Austria's Desperation

IT was Bismarck, we believe, who once described the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a "Noah's Ark shipwrecked on the tower of Babel", and it was a less known but no less witty cynic who termed the mismated kingdoms "a place where every language is spoken except one—that of nationality". Both epigrams are true. Austria-Hungary is a name, but it is not a nation. It is a congeries of races, by political accident united under one crown, in whose borders some forty languages and dialects are spoken and where each race has nothing in common except the common detestation of all the others. The Austrian portion of the empire and its German speaking people believe their culture to be superior to the Hungarians, who have a lofty contempt and violet dislike of the Austrians, and both meet on common ground in their undisguised enmity of Slavs, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Croats and the others who pay enforced allegiance to the Hapsburg. Between the diverse subjects of this patchwork empire there is no spiritual communion because there is no common means of expression. The Hungarian must learn German or remain isolated, the Austrian must be taught Bohemian or remain mute. Nor is there any spirit of patriotism to bind peoples with aims and aspirations antagonistic. Hungary would like to escape the yoke of Austria, Austria would like to treat Hungary as a dependent inferior and not an equal, both would willingly, if they dared, join hands to burden the other races.

Driven by circumstance into the arms of Germany, Austria, now that it is too late, would escape from the entanglement, because the Austrians hate and fear the Germans, and the Hungarians know that German success will curtail the semi-autonomy they enjoy and reduce them to the status of a province governed from Vienna under the inspiration of Berlin. Escape, however, is impossible. Francis Joseph, in his dotage, with only the bitter memories of a foolish past to sustain him to meet the future, lent himself to the schemes of Germany and walked into the net so cunningly spread. Austria was Germany's tool and has now become her chattel, body and soul she has surrendered herself into the hands of Germany and must do as her master bids. Nominally there is an Austrian Army fighting the Italians and Austrian commanders dictate Austrian military policy; actually the brains of the Austrian army are in Berlin, and as Ludendorff directs, Austria obeys. The Austrians resent this, but they are powerless. German divisions have been sandwiched in with Austrian, and the Austrians and Magyars must either do as they are told or risk having German machine guns turned upon them. But for German financial assistance and the supplies which German factories have furnished her fellow criminal, Austria would have been compelled to drop out.

Austrian bitterness of Germany was expressed by an Austrian officer who was in the United States late in 1916. He had been through stiff fighting on the Italian front and he was asked by an American woman what was the worst thing he had seen since the beginning of the war, and he replied, quite simply, but with deep feeling: "The worst thing I have seen is German officers in Vienna."

Austria can gain nothing by the war—that Austrian statesmen have long since recognized—and no matter how the war terminates Austria will be the loser. Now that the day of illusion has gone and the hope of an easy victory shattered, Austria finds herself in this desperate position: If Germany should win the war she will dominate the continent,

she will control the political and economic policies of Austria, who, wedged in between an all-powerful Germany on the one side and a potentially powerful Russia on the other, can be squeezed to death whenever it may suit the purpose of her neighbours.

For years past Austria has been the *cocotte* among nations, always looking for a protector and always willing to sell herself for the largest price, and when she no longer satisfies Germany's desires she will suffer the fate of all *cocottes*. In case of German success, Austria would be temporarily rewarded with the extension of her power in the Balkans, a slight compensation for power bought at the price she will pay. Germany's defeat leaves Austria stranded. Mortgaged to the chimney pots to Germany, she is at Germany's mercy, for she will be able to borrow neither in Paris, Rome, London, nor New York; she will encounter trade discriminations from her present opponents. She can trade with Germany on terms that Germany will exact.

It is therefore not surprising that the Emperor of Austria should have proposed peace to France and should be willing to purchase peace at the expense of Germany. Austria has no concern in Alsace-Lorraine; on the contrary, the restoration to France of the lost provinces would be to the advantage of Austria. It would be a blow struck at the industrial supremacy of Germany; it would make her less to be feared by Austria; it would change the whole relation between the two countries, because without Alsace-Lorraine Germany is deprived of her iron and potash mines, and without her great mineral wealth Germany must live in friendship with her neighbors or industrially decay. The Emperor Charles' letter to Prince Sixtus, denied and explained, is authentic. Charles wrote to his kinsman and showed his willingness to leave Germany in the lurch because Austria is desperate. She is bleeding at every pore and all her sacrifice is for the benefit of Germany.

At this moment Germany can no more afford to cut loose from Austria than Austria is able to escape from the German coils. Austria has again been bullied and cajoled; at the meeting between the two emperors last week William undoubtedly threatened his royal cousin and at the same time played to his vanity, but Charles, who is a man not without intelligence, has no illusions. He goes back to Vienna with the knowledge that while nominally an independent monarch, he is the vassal of Germany; that his sceptre has passed, that his days are numbered unless he can break his bonds. That he will if he can is certain, and the first smashing defeat that Germany meets will see Charles a suppliant for peace, peace at any price and on any terms that will enable him to save the crown of his patchwork heritage.

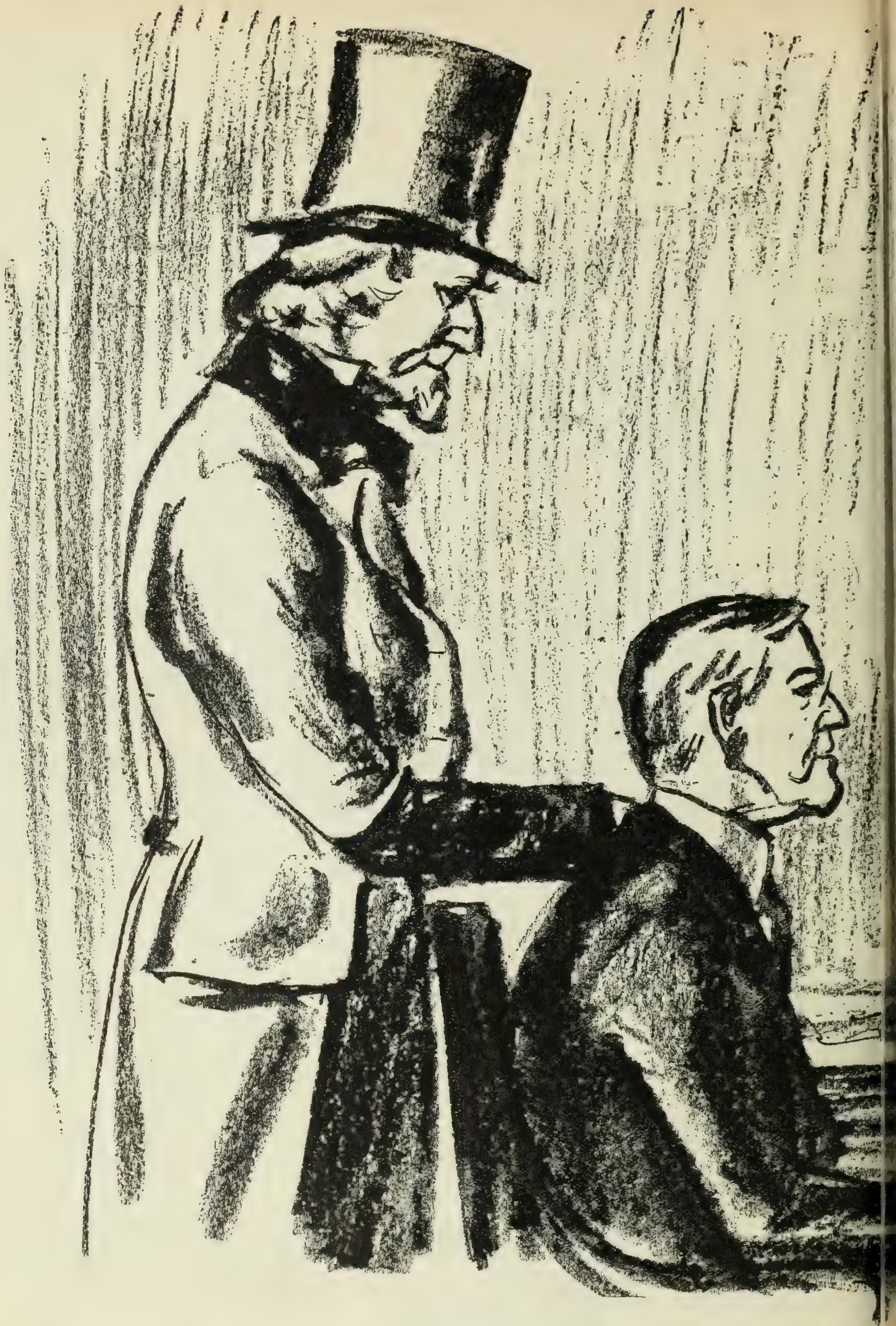
President Wilson does not make war speeches as often as Colonel Harvey writes editorials.—*Logansport Bee*.

Nor as warlike, until lately.

"If it had not been for Great Britain and France the German invader would have been right here in Oyster Bay."—Mr. Roosevelt to his neighbors. The United States would not be at war if it had not been for Great Britain and France.—*Springfield Republican*.

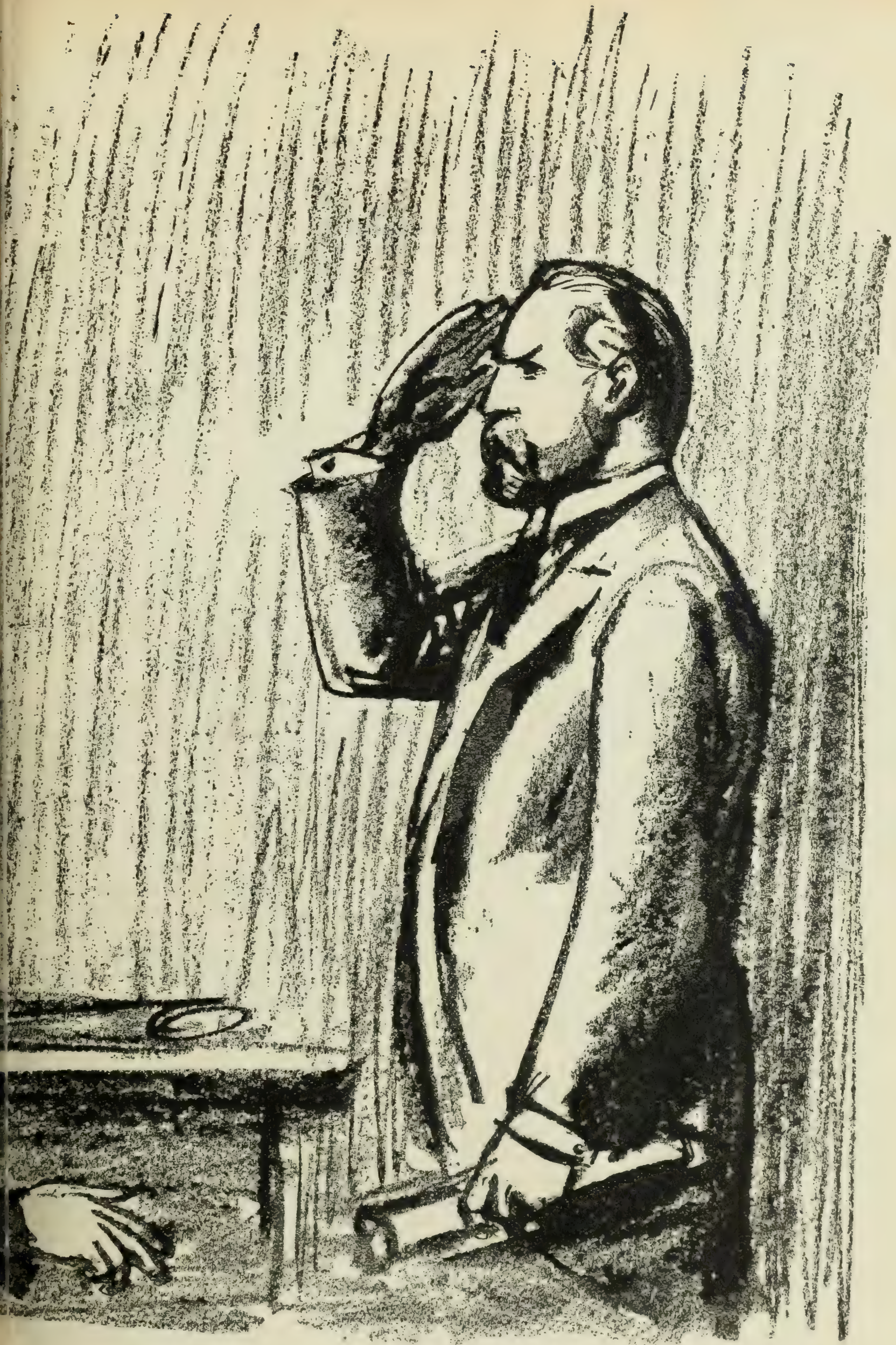
True, it would be a German province.

The former Czar is said to be on his way to asylum in Switzerland, where so many fugitives from the despotism of Czardom have hitherto found refuge. Can't "Willy" do something for "Nicky"?



THE LA E

Uncle Sam: "Splendid, Mr. President! That is the



RECRUIT

of Man You Want! Get Some More like Him!"

The Week

WASHINGTON, May 24, 1918.

"WATCHFUL waiting" prevails upon the Western front. No major operations have occurred, but there is a general feeling that something of great importance is about to happen. If it does, it will naturally be a renewed German drive toward the Channel, probably by way of Amiens. This is the logic of the case: The Allies, reinforced by Americans arriving almost daily in considerable numbers, are gaining in defensive power, but are not yet ready to assume an important offensive. They wisely prefer to wait until they are able to strike a blow that will mean much more than a "gain of 1,200 yards on a front of eleven miles." On the other hand, for the Germans to rest where they are would be to confess the failure of their spring drive. They have now pretty fully reorganized and replenished their ranks and are about as well prepared for another attempt as they can hope to be. And they know that the longer they wait, the more formidable will be the barrier against which they are to drive. Therefore they may be expected to strike at once.

There is an intimation that the Germans in France and Belgium are waiting for an Austro-Hungarian drive in Italy, probably toward Milan, with which the drive in the West will be simultaneous. This may be doubted. It is true that a most vigorous and persistent German propaganda of falsehoods, calculated to delude and demoralize the Italian troops after the manner of last year, has been conducted in Italy. There is no indication, however, of its material influence. On the contrary, repeated attacks by the Italians, made with admirable valor and gratifying success, indicate an improvement in their morale, which the prospective arrival of American troops to reinforce them will further enhance. Again, while it would be folly to place material dependence upon any such movement, at least until it attained unmistakably commanding proportions, and while we must always make a large allowance for camouflage, it seems certain that there is a serious amount of unrest and disaffection among both the Czechs and Jugoslavs, sufficient to cause serious concern at Vienna and Berlin. In these circumstances the danger of a formidable Tedesco drive at Italy is minimized, and the prospect is that the big blow, if and when it is struck, will be confined to the Western front.

Conspicuous among the incidents of the week are the assurance that both Zeebrugge and Ostend harbors were so closed by the recent raids as greatly to interfere with U-boat activities; another German aeroplane raid upon London, with an unprecedentedly heavy roll of casualties; and the much-lamented death in battle of Raoul Lufbery, the foremost of American aviators. The last-named incident commands special attention, because it marked the first active appearance of one of the new German "flying tanks." This was a monster airplane, carrying a pilot and two gunners, all enclosed within compartments of bullet-proof steel, against which a hail of machine-gun bullets from Allied planes had apparently no effect. Obviously, such an engine must be met with some competent device, either of a plane of equal or greater strength, or of heavier artillery on our planes, which will be able effectively to pierce its armor. It is a Hunnish "Merrimac." Now let us have an American "Monitor."

We are at last in receipt of regular communiques from General Pershing, superseding the Bakerian piffle which used to be put out weekly from the War Department, and we have also daily lists of casualties with full addresses given, as of course they should be. These two reforms are commendable, and are some compensation for the return of the pacifist Secretary to Washington. We are not so sure, however, about some of the promises which are being made. One is that General Pershing will have 800 airplanes from America in July. We hope he does. He needs them. There is indeed some ground for hope in the auspicious circumstance that the very first thing which the President did under the new Overman act was to reorganize the aviation service by creating a new Bureau of Aircraft Production with John D. Ryan at its head with legal status and plenary power. Yet considering how far short of fulfilment of the original airplane promises this July forecast falls, it might have been as well to say nothing about it until there were actual achievements to report. Another reported promise is that there will be a million and a half American soldiers in France this year. That ought to be susceptible of fulfilment, and indeed at the present rate of transportation we rather expect that it will be. Certainly for a nation of a hundred millions to provide a million and a half in the course of a year and three-quarters will be no phenomenal performance, hardly worth bragging about. The objection to such a promise is that if it is fulfilled it will give no particular cause for pride, while if it should fail we should suffer much disgrace.

The President doubtless will strive to fulfill that promise, whether it was made by his authority or not. Indeed, with the proverbial zeal of a new convert, he seems to be pushing for an army considerably in excess of what used to be called "militarist plans." "Why limit it to five millions?" he asks. Why, indeed? We are for making it just as large as may be desirable for the completest possible victory over the Hun, the Turk and the Devil. But we should like less talk about the speculative maximum, and more definite understanding about an irreducible minimum. We are quite ready to let the President, in his martial and patriotic ardor, increase the army considerably above five millions. We are not a bit afraid of his making it too big. What we want to guard against is the possible danger of somebody's trying to stop it before it is big enough. Let us fix, by act of Congress, a minimum below which the army must not be left. If the President would like to have that fixed at five millions, the quota to be filled twelve months hence, we are content. But we don't want some hot gospeller pacifist to be able to call a halt at some perfectly inadequate figure.

Such an establishment of a minimum army strength surely should not be considered by the President a Congressional infringement upon the prerogatives of his "throne of administration and frequent source of politics." Seeing that the Constitution specifically vests the power of raising armies in Congress, and seeing that Congress has to appropriate the money for their maintenance, that body surely is entitled to have something to say about their size. Moreover, without being unduly inquisitive, Congress should be entitled to know something about the spending of the money which it appropriates.

The President's creel has made matters worse. He was of course compelled, under the metaphorical reading of the

riot act, to apologize for his astounding insult to Congress, but he did so, as might have been expected, in a characteristically inept and ungracious manner. He spoke of his remark about Congress as having "lent itself to exaggeration and distortion." If that means anything at all it implies that his remark was exaggerated and distorted by his critics. Such was not the case. His remark was accurately reported by a number of competent and entirely independent hearers, and so far as we are aware nobody but the creel himself has challenged the correctness of the report. When a man makes a bad "break," it is honorable for him to confess it and to apologize for it. It is not honorable for him to try to minimize the offence by lying about it.

Germany is much concerned over the ominous decline in her birth rate, which is much greater than that in England, while her rate of infant mortality continues to be one of the highest among important nations. Premiums upon the production of children are proposed, and also a law compelling all persons to marry before completing their twentieth year of life, and imposing a penalty upon childless couples. The situation certainly is serious. There were forty per cent fewer births in 1916 than in 1913, while in England the decrease was only ten per cent. In the three years 1915-17 there were 2,000,000 fewer births in Germany than there should have been under normal conditions. In these circumstances we do not wonder at the strenuous recommendations of the Imperial Commission which has been studying the matter, excepting in one particular. That is, the proposal for compulsory marriage. In view of the prevailing code of German morals, the plurality of females over males, and the need of the fullest possible efficiency in breeding, why marry?

The dissatisfaction among the Czechs and Jugoslavs of the Austro-Hungarian empire is materially increased by the practical absorption of Austria by Germany. That is the purport of the compact which was made the other day between the two Kaisers. Call it "purely defensive" or what you please, it is an unmistakable establishment of German hegemony and suzerainty over Austria. That can scarcely be welcome to the Austrians themselves—we mean the Germans of Austria proper—who have always regarded the Prussians as their inferiors and the Hohenzollerns as cheap upstarts compared with the Habsburgs. But it must be unspeakably odious to the Bohemians and other non-Germans, who compose the majority of the population, since it means the more secure fastening of the hated German yoke upon them. In this connection it is interesting to recall the brave and unequivocal words of President Wilson, when he said: "The peace we make must deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary from the impudent and alien domination of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy." The Prussian reply to that is to confirm and intensify that domination. Now, what are we going to do about it?

Then there is the portioning out of Russian provinces among a lot of hand-picked German princelings, who are to be "Kings." The President declared that the only possible programme of the world's peace, as we see it, comprises "the evacuation (by Germany) of all Russian territory." What are we going to do about that?

Bolo was shot, with neatness and dispatch, and the direc-

tor of the traitorous "Bonnet Rouge" in Paris was last week sentenced to the same fate. In the words of Laurence Sterne, "They order this matter better in France."

The announcement that, just as American troops have been brigaded with French and British, so French and British troops are to serve under American officers, should not be interpreted as meaning too much. It probably means that French artillery and aviation detachments have been added to American bodies which were lacking in those essential elements; so that its real significance is not so much that British and French soldiers are serving under General Pershing as that our troops are not yet completely organized in all essential departments and that we therefore have to look to our Allies for some complements.

The Cologne "Volkszeitung" reports William the Damned as saying, above the graves of soldiers at Aix-la-Chapelle, "Truly, it was not my will that the war has come!" What a damned liar he is! But couldn't he have selected some other place for his lying?

The President has signed the bill providing for the registration on June 5, for purposes of conscription, of all young men who have come of age since the first registration day, a year ago. That is a good thing. But how very much better it would be if we had only been giving those young men military training during the year, so that now they would be measurably prepared for duty! Are we going to keep on with the unpreparation of which the creel is so proud, and leave without training the young men who are now only twenty but who a year hence will attain their majority and be called to the colors?

The Overman bill is now law; and the nation is eager to credit it with good results.

A dozen years ago or thereabouts James J. Hill declared that in order to enable them to meet the requirements of the nation's traffic, the railroads should spend in betterments, extensions and equipment a billion dollars a year for five years; whereat the Man in the Street gasped and the Socialist reviled the extravagances of capitalism. But now the Government, having assumed control of the railroads for a time, purposes to appropriate for such work in the coming year approximately \$938,000,000, and if people are not astounded at its moderation they at least are not amazed at its profligacy. Judging from the near-breakdown of last year, the roads are doubtless in need of very extensive improvements, which the nation will be glad to see made if thus we can be spared a repetition of the distress of last fall and winter.

China and Japan have signed an agreement "relating mostly to military affairs in connection with the proposed Chinese-Japanese expedition into Siberia." What a solemn joke it would be upon our "watchful waiting" policy, in which our European Allies have reluctantly acquiesced, if those two Asiatic allies of ours should independently take matters into their own hands and go in to make an end of German conquest and Bolshevik folly in Siberia, and should rescue and redeem that vast empire for the Russian people!

Keep Congress at Work

WITH the argument that new revenue legislation should be postponed until some time in November in order that Congress may adjourn by July 1 and its members devote themselves to mending their political fences we have no patience. The suggestion that members of Congress should be permitted to retire from the national capital during the heated term is unworthy of respect. The fact that the Treasury has all the funds it is physically possible to expend is a sound argument against the necessity, but not against the advisability, of immediate legislation.

There are, however, some arguments against enacting revenue legislation at this time which deserve serious consideration. And there is one argument advanced in its favor which should be considered as negative rather than affirmative. The latter is that the November elections may change the political complexion of the House and thus make it less easy for the Administration to dictate the precise form the legislation shall take. Were there really prospect that a resumption by the House of its constitutional function as the body in which revenue legislation must originate would result from a change of its political complexion we would be reconciled to the change, for we refuse to believe that a majority of members elected by the people this fall will fail to uphold the hands of the Administration in all that is proper, and if they should impose certain safeguards on the expenditure of the public funds—safeguards which, for instance, would prevent the expenditure of millions of dollars to produce a single aeroplane—that which should be the sole and united aim of the American people, the winning of the war, would be advanced.

Among the arguments against revenue legislation at this time which are worthy of consideration are, (1) that the existing laws have been in operation too brief a time to permit of their intelligent amendment, that it cannot yet be foreseen what amount of revenue they will produce and that in mere estimates errors of five billions of dollars or more are likely to occur; (2) that it is evident that legislation undertaken now will be driven through under the whip and spur of the Administration, without that deliberation to which so important a subject is entitled, and (3) that undue and unnecessary hardship will be imposed on business just as it is getting adjusted to the existing burden, by subjecting it to still further burdens and curtailment of profits, while business enterprise may be seriously checked.

From a few statesmen, men whose opinions are worthy of respect, comes the contention that the Administration itself has not sufficiently clearly indicated the use it purposes to make of the extraordinary powers with which it has been vested to make possible intelligent legislation by Congress. To the executive branch of the government has been delegated power to fix the selling price of practically every commodity, while the existing revenue laws take, as is proper, a large share of all profits by means of the excess profit tax. It requires no argument to sustain the proposition that it is impossible to fix prices at a point where there is no excess profit and then raise revenue by means of an excess profit tax. The copper industry affords a striking example of what has been done in this respect. Since the price of copper has been fixed by the Government at 23 cents a pound practically every copper producing company has been compelled to reduce

its dividends, while the production for the year of this highly important metal has been reduced 200,000,000 pounds. The recent coal shortage resulted from Secretary Baker's interfering with the price determined upon by Secretary Lane as just and the fixing of a price so low that production was gravely curtailed with the resultant shortage of last winter and prospect of an even greater one during the winter to come.

That the administration should carry to completion its price-fixing program and that the revenue producing abilities of the existing law, once that program is completed, should be ascertained with measurable accuracy before Congress is asked to impose new taxation is a contention hard to refute.

The majority of members of Congress are opposed to enacting revenue legislation at this time. The leaders of both parties contend that if Congress is forced to act against its own judgment the proposed measure will be dictated by the Administration, because that will be following the lines of least resistance, that once more will be witnessed the spectacle of the legislative body abrogating its functions in favor of the executive branch, that any measure Mr. McAdoo proposes will be "jammed through" under the lash of the edict that "he who is not with me is against me", that the haste of members will be utilized to choke off even proper discussion and all exercise of discretion, and that even the Administration itself, having too long delayed the completion of its price-fixing program and having had too little experience with the revenue producing abilities of the existing law, is in no position to dictate intelligently the character of legislation needed. As these contentions are worthy of serious consideration, so is the argument of certain leaders of Congress, that the Ways and Means Committee should be authorized to begin its deliberations at such time after the close of the fiscal year as will enable it to possess itself of greater information, with a view to framing deliberately a law which may be reported to the House at the beginning of or a few weeks earlier than the forthcoming short session.

As to the main point, however, Mr. McAdoo is right in his insistence upon prompt action and we hope he will put his heels in the ground and keep them there.

I would take shame to myself if I attempted to weaken in any way the public confidence in any public body, much less the great legislative body of our nation.—G. Creel.

Waiter, waiter! Chase that pup away!

More Camps Needed

WHEN, a year ago, Congress enacted the selective draft law, our country and our allies were thrilled with joy. Surely there was justification for joy. The law meant unlimited man power and unlimited man power meant victory. America had gone to war, earnestly, resolutely and scientifically. She had capitalized the errors of the past by creating a system whose potentialities were immeasurable.

Once the act was signed by the President, it remained only to vitalize the system into a machine, and this was done precisely and expeditiously by Provost Marshal General Crowder. The machine was presented to Secretary Baker with the assurance that millions of men would be available as soon as they were needed.

Now at the end of a year the impossible has happened. We are facing a *shortage of trained men*. It is unnecessary to comment here upon delays in mobilization caused by the shortage of uniforms, guns and the completion of the cantonments. When the first draft was finally mustered in, we tried to forget the disgraceful delays which resulted from our refusal to make the slightest preparations and with a sigh of relief we accepted Mr. Baker's assurances that there would be no further delays on these scores, but that as rapidly as the men were trained other quotas would follow them from civil life into the National Armies. We assumed, and we believe everyone else assumed, that the question of men was disposed of when the machinery of the draft was completed. Thereafter the increases would be virtually automatic.

Then we turned our attention to other things—principally ships. The shortage of tonnage was notorious and by all manner of reasoning we concluded that the most vital need before the country was to build ships to transport our training armies to the battlefields.

During the winter we were informed by Mr. Baker that a second draft was not called because the cantonments could not accommodate them until the original draft had moved over seas. He complained that there were no available transports and that as there would be none for many months it would be foolish to call more men.

But just as soon as Mr. Baker went abroad transports were found to treble the size of the movement to France. Great Britain supplied some of them, the others were brought in from non-essential trade routes.

So much for Mr. Baker's assurances that it was unnecessary to call more men because we had more than we could handle already under arms.

Through the Fall and Winter the War Department issued daily announcements showing how our infant armies were growing. Then one Spring day these announcements were stopped "for military reasons."

We have made diligent inquiries to ascertain the present strength of our army and we are reliably informed that these figures are correct:

Regular Army.....	514,000
National Guard.....	449,000
Reserves.....	174,000
National Army.....	518,800
<hr/>	
Total	1,655,800

There is nothing surprising in the figures of the regulars, the guardsmen or the reserves, but the National Army is at least 250,000 short of what we had a right to expect, and this shortage will cause us to stop the movement of troops for a period this summer or send untrained men.

Two weeks ago Mr. Baker informed us officially that there were more than 500,000 American troops in France. We are now moving men at the rate of more than 5,000 a day. The War Department expects to be moving 10,000 a day before the middle of June. This rate will increase rapidly until next fall, when it will jump by leaps and bounds with the completion of new tonnage.

Our information is to the effect that more than 50 per cent of the 500,000 Americans now in France are National Guard and National Army men. This means that there are now in camps and cantonments which can accommodate more than 1,000,000, approximately 600,000 men. With the pres-

ent rate of troop movements and the promise of great increases in the immediate future it is quite evident that all National Guardsmen and all of the first draft will be in France within three or four months.

The War Department estimates five months as the proper minimum training period for men from civil life. It is plain then that the second draft now being called cannot remain in training in this country for five months unless the troop movement to France is reduced greatly if not actually stopped or the country is drained of regulars used for training and guarding the border.

Of course it is manifest that the trained man shortage which we will face in the next three months cannot now be overcome. The belated efforts which the War Department is now making to fill barracks which should have been kept filled from day to day as the trained men went overseas will not suffice for the future.

What of next Winter and Spring? Unless we immediately begin to double if not treble the camps and cantonments it is quite evident that the shortage of men, which Mr. Baker's policy has resulted in at present, will be increased many, many times when we have great new fleets available for the transport service. Yet as far as we are informed Mr. Baker is doing no more at present to prepare to train the maximum number of troops which can be transported next year than he did last winter to discount the condition that we are now facing.

Please let me take this opportunity to assure you of my willingness at all times to coordinate with the wish and thought of Congress.

Now who do suppose wrote that? No, you are mistaken. It was Creel.

Duty and Need in Italy

THE exploit at Pola was a welcome indication of Italy's resilient power. Some months ago she was sorely stricken, and there were those who thought that she was put out of the war. They greatly erred, as the incident to which we have referred well demonstrated. The dash into the harbor of Pola was a worthy sequel to the British attacks at Zeebrugge and Ostend, by which indeed it may have been suggested and inspired. It reassures us that Italy is still to be reckoned with as a factor in the war against the hated Tedesco.

At the same time with the news from Pola came a warning of Italy's danger and an appeal for aid which America cannot afford to ignore. German propagandists are again busy in Italy, trying to repeat their work of months ago, with this difference, that they are now maligning not England but America. Last year they persuaded Italians, especially in the army, that the British, and perhaps the French, too, had deserted Italy, or at least were unable to aid her further in the war. It was that falsehood, widely believed, that disheartened Italian troops and caused their great failure and collapse along the Isonzo. It was to counteract the lie, as well as to give material aid in battle, that British and French troops were rushed into Italy; with the result of quickly restoring the Italian military morale.

Now the German propagandists are lying about America. They are telling Italians that America is not to be depended upon for aid in the war, that no American troops are being

sent abroad, and that it is because of America's failure that Italian troops have been sent to the western front. And those lies are being believed by some, and may, if not counteracted, be believed by many. Italians see their own troops going to France and Flanders. They see no American troops in Italy; circumstances which give plausibility to the propaganda.

We must remember that there is a vast difference between Italy and America in point of information. The Italians are not nearly as well informed about us as we are about them. They are not nearly as informable as we. They do not know what we are doing. Since they see no American troops on their battle line, they assume that America is sending none abroad, and they are easily persuaded to believe that this country is "out of it."

The urgent need of the time is, then, that this vicious propaganda be counteracted, and that Italy be informed of what America is actually doing and may be depended upon to do. To that end nothing could be more effective than the appearance of at least a few American troops in Italy, at the battle front. It would be logical for them to be sent, since we are as much at war with Austria-Hungary as with Germany. It would disabuse the Italian mind of the Hun-inspired errors concerning us, and would demonstrate that America is effectively in the war, and that she is as ready to cooperate with and aid Italy as is France or Great Britain.

We are allied with the Allies, and are fighting with and—in spite of the thank-God disclaimer of the President's creel—we are fighting for them all, Italy no less than the others. It will be a most auspicious and useful thing to make that fact unmistakably evident to the Italians themselves, in Italy. It will mightily hearten them and will defeat the propaganda of our foes.

Meanwhile what is Ambassador Thomas Nelson Page doing? Is he, too, helpless, hopeless and hamstrung from Washington?

"Inefficiency is treason," says Colonel Harvey, and the country is with him. We hope we have emerged from the period of inefficiency, and will now outstrip the enemy in efficiency.—*Washington Herald*.

We, too.

Our Asiatic Partners

ARE we to continue to overlook the German menace in Asia? Japan was ready at one time to scotch it by landing troops at Vladivostock and sending others over the South Manchurian railway to Harbin. Our European partners in the war seemed to favor this plan and it was welcomed by the classes in Russia which were responsible for the overthrow of Czarism; but it was balked by counsels of caution from Washington which feared that the gentle, peace-loving scoundrels, Lenine and Trotzky, might find in it some offence against their "sovereign rights". Our hesitation caused alarm in Japan lest by pleasing her Allies through intervention she should offend her American partner. Why should America be responsible in this matter for divided counsel among the Allies as to the Far Eastern situation while at the same time advocating and insisting upon unified command on the western front? Our position has involved the downfall of Foreign Minister Motono and the starting of an internal controversy at the very time when united strong support of the allied cause on the part of Japan is absolutely essential to victory.

The apologist of the Administration, Mr. George Creel,

after his address in New York on May twelfth, answered the question "Why does the United States oppose Japan's proposed intervention in Russia?" with the following statement: "Because this country feels that Japan ought not to do anything that might detract from our war aims, which are opposed to all spirit of conquest, unless Japan is first asked by the Russians who were originally our comrades in arms." Yes, but who asked our opinion and who told us that Japan in this matter was inspired by a "spirit of conquest" and of what use is our "original" comradeship in war with Russians who have deserted us as compared with the comradeship of Japanese who remain steadfastly with us and who, it must be remarked, were in the conflict three years before us? Our attempt to exercise the big stick as universal censor of international morals might be dismissed with the ridicule which it deserves if it were not for its persistent tendency to set other people by the ears.

Then as to China, whom we invited in April, 1917, to join us in a third group of former neutrals and who chose to accept our invitation rather than make a formal alliance with our Allies under favorable conditions suggested by them. China hoped that her declaration of war against Germany would put an end to the internecine struggle between the North and South and it would probably have had this happy result if American co-operation and assistance had been forthcoming. Since China followed us into the war we have not done one single thing to make her aid effective. We have not helped her to send troops to the western front; in this laudable enterprise she has secured the aid of France, who might have been thought to be already too busy with her own problems to think of those of other people. For financial aid China has turned to Japan after having made ineffective proposals to us. Her laborers have been recruited by England and France with the result that there is a whole army corps of these efficient workmen in France. China sent her troops into the railway zone of Harbin to protect the life and property of respectable European citizens against disorderly "reds." She has entered into an agreement with Japan concerning the protection of the northern frontier against Teutonic plots hatched under the noses and with the evident connivance of the recalcitrant Bolsheviki. And hence come rumors of a new secret agreement between China and Japan in which the smaller nation is accused of robbing the giant of all the privileges of Group V. of the Twenty One Demands. All of which is to say that we led China to enter the war and then left her adrift. She has floated in the direction of her nearest neighbor, our partner and hers in the war, and now we are expressing solicitude lest one of these partners should give or the other receive something which it is none of our business to know anything about. We had our chance to lead China to an active participation in the war and we neglected to take it. In doing so, we lost one of the rarest chances to round up in our favor potential strength of men and materials which have come to any nation in the war, not excluding Germany's conquest of Russia.

What remains to be done? First do not distrust Japan. If she believes that it is necessary to enter Siberia in order to protect our cause against Teutonic aggression directed toward the Pacific, and if she succeeds in lining up China with her in this project, let us give both nations our unreserved support. Secondly, we must be awake to help China withstand any organization of her Mohammedan population in Kansu and Sinkiang provinces by Turkish agents inspired

from Berlin. It must be remembered that these Chinese Mohammedans belong to the Turkish, not Arabic, sects of thier religion and that their natural affinities are therefore with Turkey. Though they number about fifteen million, they would be powerless against a united China backed up by Japan and America. Thirdly, and all the time, we must remember that the now unused strength of our partners, China and Japan, may be our most potent weapon in the final assault against Teutonic usurpation.

The Knoxville *Journal* refers to Colonel George Harvey as the discoverer of Woodrow Wilson. But it says "he is furnishing the most severe criticism of the national administration that is being published in any periodical."—*Sioux City Journal*.

Only when it deserves it.

Our Chaotic Mail Service

POSTMASTER GENERAL BURLESON is the author of the leading article in the June number of a popular monthly magazine. The title of his piece is "The United States Aeromail," and the sub-title informs us that "The Air Mail Service Between New York and Washington Will Mark a New Era in the Development of Aerial Traffic."

Very likely it will. We do not dispute it. But there happens to be another era-marking event in the history of the Post Office Department which has rather more immediate interest than that which prompted Mr. Burleson's aerial soarings into eulogistic literature. This is the report of the Merchants' Association of New York on the result of its five months' investigation of the Department of which Mr. Burleson is the head. This document very clearly sets forth the causes which have resulted in making the mail service of the country during Mr. Burleson's administration far and away, due allowance being made for relative transportation facilities, the worst mail service ever known in the history of the Post Office Department.

Not that it required any investigation by merchants, bankers or Congress to inform us of that fact. We all knew it. We all knew that as a wrecker of the mail-moving machinery of the United States Mr. Burleson had floods, cyclones and blizzards beaten to a frazzle. These convulsions of nature are sporadic, intermittent, localized in their paralytic effect on the mail service. The Burleson paralysis, on the other hand, is chronic. It has been not only continuous but cumulative. Moreover, it has not been confined within restricted boundaries. It has been a widespread blight impartially distributed over all parts of the country at the same time.

The report presents six specifications on which Mr. Burleson's failure as Postmaster General rests. They are, first, that the mails are not dispatched with the former frequency; second, that they are not fully worked in transit; third, that mail not thus handled in transit is turned into terminal stations and there delayed; fourth, that inferior mails move with extreme slowness; fifth, that train delays are not a principal cause of slowness in the mails, but that, sixth, insufficiency in the number of railway postal cars, their withdrawal from a great number of routes throughout the United States, and reduction of the crews of railway postal cars appear to be the main causes of the conditions shown.

All this points unquestionably what seems to be a fixed

idea, almost amounting to an obsession, with Mr. Burleson that the sole object of the Post Office Department is to show great economies in administration and substantial profits from operation, and that both these objects may be attained by a process akin to the simple one of selling goods at an advanced price, pocketing the cash, and then not delivering the goods. From the very beginning of his career as Postmaster General he has manifested a desire, tantamount to a sort of infatuation, to shave down the amounts paid to railroads for transportation to the very narrowest possible margin consistent with any movement of the mails whatever. For this reason he changed the method of payment from a weight to a space standard. That error alone is responsible for a very great part of the existing insufferable conditions. But he was not satisfied even with that. He reduced the postal car service—reduced it in the number of cars and in the sizes of the working crews, and he reduced it in the face of rapidly increasing mails.

As a test of the results inevitable from such confusion, the Merchants' Association, in conjunction with the American Bankers' Association, sent out 10,000 letters covering all parts of the country. The results were as might have been expected—were, in fact, on all fours with experiences nearly everybody recently has had with letters, parcels-post, and newspapers and periodicals delivery. In several instances letters were from ten to thirteen days between New York and points in the South.

And all this time while the Post Office Department was boasting that first-class mail had increased by 25 per cent and the parcels-post service by 40 per cent, the equipment to handle it, instead of being expanded, was steadily contracted. In view of all this it seems a modest request indeed that the Merchants' Association makes when it asks that there be a Congressional investigation of the Post Office Department. And in the meantime the country might even go farther and pray for the appointment of somebody at the head of that Department whose grasp of business problems were somewhat broader than that demanded for the conduct of a pushcart peanut stand.

The name of Genet fell under a cloud in this country a century and a quarter ago, but it has now emerged into splendor. History records few more interesting incidents than that a descendant of the unhappy "Citizen" of 1793 should have been the first to die while carrying the American flag over the fields of France. Henceforth his name is inscribed on the roll of the heroes of the two nations.

Every hour that the practical help of the Allies is delayed strengthens the German grip on Russian territory and enlarges the area of German penetration. Unless it is given soon, the opportunity of giving it at all may be lost forever.* * * Our Washington correspondent gives us to understand that the attitude of Washington toward intervention by Japan in Siberia is unaltered.—*London Times*.

Is this to be another case of Too Late?

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Letters To The Editor

FROM GOVERNOR MURPHY

SIR,—If I knew what to say to you in appreciation of the great work you are doing I would say it, but everything has already been said to you and I can add nothing new. It is a great satisfaction to be appreciated for doing a great work and that is your compensation. I have tried in vain to think of some one doing finer or more patriotic service than you. May Allah smile upon you, and give you clear vision, sound judgment and unflinching courage.

FRANKLIN MURPHY.

Newark, N. J.

"ALLIES" OR "COMRADES"

SIR,—This morning I read in the *Boston Herald* that General Foch had decided to keep the United States forces in reserve and withstand the impending German attack on the Western front with the troops now in line there, the allied powers feeling confident that they can handle the situation without outside aid. This was on the first page. [An incorrect report.—EDITOR.]

On the third page appeared notes of an interview with Creel, the last line of which stated that he said "we have comrades in this war, but no real allies."

To take the taste of this out of my mouth I turned to my WAR WEEKLY, which arrived 12 hours earlier than it ever has before, on this particular day—and read the editorial "When Settlement Comes," in which is deplored the idea that the Government at Washington will dictate the terms of peace "while our Allies—stand aside and humbly accept our decisions." You suggest that "she must not press the point too far," referring to our country. Our country would never press the point at all. Its people know that France and England and Canada have bought and paid for this war and it is theirs. But the present Administration will press its will on the world if it gets its head in just as the Arab's camel thrust the Arab out of his own tent onto the desert.

I beg to call your attention to your own inaccurate phrases "our allies"—"our European allies." "Comrades," sir. "Comrades"! Can you not cover this obvious situation in commentary upon it at an early date? I have come to regard my WAR WEEKLY as the only ring of truth that reaches me. Mother *Transcript* alone in Boston "carries on" for truth telling and plain speech.

RICHARD D. WARE.

DISAPPROVAL

SIR,—I want to thank you most heartily for that splendid editorial in a recent issue of your WAR WEEKLY, on the inefficiency of Secretary Baker. It strikes straight at the mark. I have not read anything in years that pleased me better.

Of course Mr. Wilson is responsible for Baker, and you don't want to forget that you are, in a large measure, responsible for Mr. Wilson. I suppose you have repented in sackcloth and ashes a good many times, but that doesn't help matters any.

Keep up the good work until all the incompetents are driven out of office. I have sometimes thought that if Mr. Wilson appointed a yellow dog to an office he would keep him there, even if the country went to the demnition bow-wows, or some other worse place.

I hope you will not feel that your practices are to be curbed by the recent so-called Sedition Act passed by Congress. When we cannot criticize our public servants, the republic will be pretty nearly on its last legs. At least Baker might have spared us the humiliation of exhibiting himself to our Allies across the water as a specimen of an American warrior.

E. M. T.

New York.

GOOD WISHES

SIR,—I am so enthusiastic over the WAR WEEKLY that I simply must write you.

It is the most *fascinating* paper printed in this country. It is so piquant, so fearless, and so always *right*. I enjoy it so I can hardly wait for the next issue. I have always thoroughly enjoyed THE REVIEW that if you edited a daily paper I should have to have every one. You make everything so clear. You are doing a *wonderful* work in educating the people of this easy-going land. You are waking us up! God bless you and give you strength to use that *wonderful* pen.

MRS. J. M. E. DRAKE.

Boston.

A GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY

SIR,—I am assuming a real responsibility for your WAR WEEKLY, for I think as many as a dozen of my friends have subscribed to it at my suggestion. However, my responsibility will

not worry me so long as the WAR WEEKLY keeps up the patriotic fight in the splendid manner that it has evidenced up to this time.

E. R. DUER.

New York.

SPRUCE AND SHIPS

SIR,—True patriotism demands just what you are doing. To cure a chronic sore cut deep or use caustic freely. My view is circumscribed but we are, here in Oregon, a vital factor in the war in two directions—airplane spruce and shipbuilding. Do not be deceived by the beautiful advertising propaganda on the spruce situation. During 1916 and 1917 there was shipped to England, France and Italy an average of nearly five million feet of airplane stock a month.

With all the millions of dollars that have been expended on organization and foolish pedagogic rainbow chasing, many millions on riving alone which is now being abandoned as an absolute failure and was so pronounced by every practical logger and mill man from the start the actual output of airplane spruce is *less than it was a year ago*. Percentages of increase have been given out through the official press bureau of the spruce division of the signal corps of 50, 100 and 250 % increase from month to month. Easy figuring when the Government was taking over the spruce that formerly went to the Allies direct. What would have happened had the motors been ready for the thousands of planes programmed would be another story.

Will the spruce ever be needed in the quantities heretofore stated and can results be expected from the same management that advertised themselves as supermen on expectations from the riving process even after it was an open secret that it was a failure?

As regards ships, our yards are turning them out in record time. But no one can get any assurance of future orders or even freedom to accept orders from private persons. There are numerous vacant ways on the Columbia River now. Yards could and would in many instances double their capacity on their own capital if any assurance could be had for the future. The mills can supply much more lumber than at present for wooden ships. Why not something more than "stalling" from Washington?

A. T. S.

Portland, Oregon.

HIS BLOOD BOILS

SIR,—Your article on Baker in the last WAR WEEKLY, is a corker. It makes one's blood boil, and then, the awful realization of his incompetence, almost gives one heart failure. You are getting in your stride now and every one should read the WEEKLY. Health to your good right arm!

J. H. H.

New York.

A PLEA FOR TOLERANCE

SIR,—Now be perfectly fair! Perhaps Secy. Baker does not know that we moved the clock forward one hour during his absence.

NEW YORK.

G. S. C.

ESSENTIALS OF EXISTENCE

SIR,—I can stand wheatless and meatless days but I would not like "Weekly-less" weeks or "Review-less" months.

WASHINGTON.

OTTILIE YOUNG.

NO MORE "MADE IN GERMANY"

SIR,—I am a subscriber to and an interested reader of your WAR WEEKLY and am free to say that with one or two exceptions I heartily agree with your views, believing your motives are sincere and for one purpose, that of speeding up and making our U. S. A. more efficient in rendering aid to our sorely oppressed and overworked Allies. Yours of May 11 is especially good in dealing with enemy votes and trading with them. No more German-made goods in my family. This is just a note of appreciation of your good work.

LYNCHBURG.

H. R. M.

WE ABIDE EVENTS

SIR,—I read with the keenest interest every word of your weekly issue—in fact, it goes the rounds in our house. I think the last number, in which you wind up paragraph after paragraph with a reference to George Creel's pride in unpreparedness, is a corker. It certainly is a crime that such men as Creel should be in positions of authority at a time like this—a time which stands out absolutely by itself in the world's history.

What are they going to do with you if they pass the Overman Bill?

A. C. H.

Morristown, N. J.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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The Hun at the Marne

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1918.

THE Hun is at the Marne. That is the salient fact of the present situation, which dwarfs all others. After three and three-quarter years of savage struggle, the enemy has again assumed the aggressive, and has pushed toward Paris, approximately to the region penetrated by him in his first furious onset. Apparently all that has been done in these years of desperate fighting has counted for naught and must be done over again. Paris is in danger. The Channel ports are in danger. The Allies, Americans included, are standing with their backs to the wall, fighting for life against superior numbers. They will stand, and the foe will be repulsed. That we believe to be the will of God. But a fearful cost is being paid, and a tremendous lesson, which ought to have been learned long ago, is being impressed upon the Allied—and particularly, let us hope, upon the American—mind.

That lesson is, that the Blond Beast is not yet slain. Germany is not yet defeated; nor is her defeat assured, save on the basis of a blind faith in Providence. We have been living in a fools' paradise; the latest of a series. We remember that in the first year of the war there were circumstantial tales of messages sent by Germans in Germany to relatives here, written under postage stamps: "We are starving"—from which some were led to think that the German collapse was at hand. But it was all a lie. We remember story after story of increasing disaffection and impending revolution in Germany. But there was no truth in them. We recall thoughtful and apparently logical calculations that Germany had "shot her bolt," had reached and passed her maximum of man power, and was doomed henceforth steadily to decline, while the Allies' man power was certain to keep on increasing and surpassing that of Germany by a greater and greater margin. It was an error. Germany's man power is not yet exhausted. It has not declined. It is still numerically superior to that of the Allies. That is why the German drive to the Marne and toward Paris has been so successful. The Huns outnumber the Allies. And with all our belated zeal, and with all the splendid work which has undoubtedly been done,—at times and in spots,—the congealed, cubical, concrete fact is that we have not during

our fourteen months of war sent over as many men as our Allies have lost in the battles which they have been fighting for our salvation. So far as our participation is concerned, the Allies' strength is less than it was a year ago.

It was Bismarck's plan to deceive by telling the truth. Of course, nobody who knew them expected Germans to tell the truth, and when they did so everybody naturally assumed that they were lying, as usual. In this war we have been deceived by the truth, and not altogether of the Germans' telling. That is to say, we have seen the truth, we have had it flaunted before our eyes and drummed into our ears, and have refused to believe it but have regarded it as camouflage. Instead of receiving and believing the truth and acting upon it, we have conjured up visions and mirages in a fools' paradise. Thus ever since the present German drive began we have been chattering and babbling about the great "reserve army" of the Allies, and the tremendous counter stroke which it was going to give at an opportune moment. But the truth is that that army has not revealed itself and that stroke has not been given. We have refused to recognize the truth, that the Allies are fighting for life, with their backs to the wall, with every ounce of their available strength, against a foe greatly their superior in man power if not in all other resources. We have been hoping for the war's decision to be cast in our favor by means of some miracle, some fantastic trick of fortune, some way, any old way, save the one way which should have been obvious to us from the very beginning, and that is, for us to rush in with every possible man at the earliest possible moment, and kill Huns, *kill Huns*, KILL HUNS!

As a result of our self-deception through crass unwillingness to accept the truth, the Huns are to-day within striking distance of Paris, and the case of the Allies is more critical than it has been at any time since the Battle of the Marne, three years and three-quarters ago.

Yet Creel, the Fakir, has been unctuously intoning his "Te Deum laudamus" because of our lack of preparedness and readiness to enter the war.

Baker, the Pacifist, with smug complacency, has been chuckling over the fact that the war is three thousand miles away and therefore gives us no cause for immediate concern.

And the President, the patriot and man of visions, sends the most expert and most trusted General of our army to Kansas or to California instead of to the battle front.

Months and months ago we were urging haste, haste, haste, and were almost literally ringing the changes upon the necessity of disregarding all other issues save the one supreme necessity of killing Huns and thus ending the war through the destruction of the enemy. If we were pessimistic, or if our criticism were merely destructive carping, we should now have the chance of a lifetime to say "We told you so!" and to cry "Too late!" We shall not do so, because we are impregnably optimistic, and because this is no time for mere fault-finding or self-laudation. We are in for winning the war. We believe, as we believe in God, that we shall win the war. The cost will be staggering to humanity, largely because of our unpreparedness and delay; but we shall win. We have delayed until half-past the eleventh hour, but not quite until the twelfth. Before the twelfth shall strike, we shall strike for victory.

But in God's name and man's, let us quit all this damnable blethering and piffing about the exhaustion of our foes and revolutions in Germany and the danger of alienating the sweet favor of the Bolsheviki and driving them into the arms of Germany, and let us like rational men, and not like fakirs or pacifists or men with visions rather than vision, get ourselves into the war with hundred million man power, and get Russia back into the war in the only way in the world in which that can be done. England, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, all cry to us that the real danger lies in Russia rather than on the western front. Yet we alone hold back, and thus hold them back, contenting our souls with the Micawberish assurance that we never will desert dear Russia. What earthly or unearthly good will it do for us to stand by Russia till hell freezes over, if we simply stand and do nothing?

The Hun is at the Marne. Where are we?

We rely upon Josephus to save Ocean Grove anyhow.

War Over All

IT is not merely "Deutschland ueber Alles." It is War over All. That is the significance of the new treaty between Germany and Austria-Hungary. It is an apocalypse of hell. We have seen various other conventions, dictated by the same malign power; with conquered and crushed Rumania, with the tricked and despoiled Ukraine, and with other states and fragments of states. They are generally marked with the Hunnish characteristics of duplicity, brutal oppression, greed, and cynical contempt for international morals. But none has been quite so illuminative of the aims and purposes of the Huns as this. It is made ostensibly between equals; but in fact it is as much dictated by arrogant Prussia to subservient Austria-Hungary as was the Rumanian treaty to that betrayed and helpless kingdom.

The gist of it is expressed in the last clause of its first sentence. There, after agreeing to form a close military alliance for the period of 25 years, the two signatories "pledge themselves to employ the entire strength of their peoples for military purposes." We should doubt, for the sake of the credit of humanity, if ever such an infernal

compact was made before in the history of the world. Nations have often entered into alliances, for various specified purposes. They have made military alliances, to endure until the end of a war in which they were engaged or were about to engage. They have pledged themselves to support each other with all their military strength. But we can recall no other case in which powers have pledged themselves to give all their strength for a long term of years to the culture and practice of the arts of war, not in any specific war nor against any specific enemy, but on general principles and presumptively against the whole world.

Consider what that means. "The entire strength of their people." The whole thought, the whole ambition, the whole effort of the people are to be for war. All education is to be for war. All governmental administration, all industrial and commercial enterprise, all public works, are to be for war. There are to be no efforts toward progress in the humane arts and sciences. The man who makes a gun to shoot two bullets where only one was shot before is to be esteemed more highly than he who merely makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. The physical, mental and moral welfare of the people must be of secondary consideration; or must be regarded only in so far as it makes for warlike efficiency. The be-all and the end-all of the nations shall be, All for War!

Why? It is inconceivable that these two powers expect the present war to last for twenty-five years longer. If they did, and if this treaty was thus intended merely to serve the needs of the existing conflict, they would certainly have said so—"until the end of the present war" instead of "twenty-five years." But the compact of warlike endeavor is made to last a score of years beyond the conclusion of this war. Why? Obviously, by way of preparation for another war, to follow this one and to complete the work which this may leave unfinished. In brief, this treaty suggests another war, for that Teutonic conquest of the world which has frequently been threatened by the Kaiser and his followers, but never until now has been seriously regarded by the rest of the world.

This treaty makes it a thing to be most seriously regarded. It reveals the character and purpose of the foe against which we are fighting. That foe purposes, if he is victorious in this war, to continue his conquests for many years, as many as may be necessary to subject the whole world to his will. On the other hand, if he is defeated, he is already planning to reorganize and augment his forces for another attack upon civilization. What is quite obvious is this, that the existence of such an alliance for such a purpose would be so grave a menace to the remainder of the world that all other nations would be compelled to league themselves in similar fashion, for self-protection. That would be intolerable. But there is only one way in which to avert it. That is, so to crush, smash and destroy the Hunnish powers that it will not hereafter matter to the civilized world what they do, and so that this devilish treaty will be the most futile and negligible "scrap of paper" in the world's discard.

We assume that our policy is to be non-aggressive. Consequently we shall not be making preparations for wars of aggression. But we must have immediately available the means to check aggressive attacks which may be launched against us at any moment on either coast.—GENERAL LEONARD WOOD in 1916.

And we have not a single combat plane!

The Back Door of the War

FOR three months now, ever since the great Hun offensive in the west began to take on the finishing preparatory touches, there have been warnings and rumors of another tremendous assault on Italy. Movements back of the Austrian lines ostentatiously pointed to mighty military preparations. Day after day the dispatches informed us that the crisis was near at hand; that the great Austrian offensive was about to begin; that the mighty onrush might come at any moment; that the vast devastating avalanche so long critically poised on the Alpine peaks was liable at any moment to come thundering down in an overwhelming smash upon the plains of northern Italy.

But it did not come. There are no indications that it will come or that it was ever intended that it should come. On the other hand, there is abundant ground for the belief that this mighty rumbling of gathering storm was only a well-staged bluff, a mere feint of wind and bluster to pin great armies down to a really unthreatened front.

Alone and unsupported by the discipline-hardened legions of Germany, the Austrians have never in a single instance been able to stand up against the Italian or any other army. They were thrashed to a frazzle by the Russians in the early stages of the war. The little army of Serbia licked them out of their boots, cleaned them out, horse, foot and dragoons, and sent them flying in disorganized, panic-stricken rabbles to wherever there was promise of cover. Italy, over physical obstacles apparently hopeless, drove them back over mountains and rushing mountain torrents to the very verge of territory access to which by the then victorious Italian armies meant the winning for Italy of the entire Austrian Adriatic seaboard and the laying open of that same road over which Napoleon led his conquering hosts to the gates of Vienna. The Italians, in other words, were on the very eve of administering such a disastrous blow as would have meant the end of Austria and, with the end of Austria, the end of the war itself.

Had Italy been supported at that critical time with only a part of the energy with which Germany came to the support of Austria, the Berlin-Constantinople railroad would have been cut, Turkey would have been isolated, the beginning of the end would have been in sight. But Italy did not get the help then so vital to her and to the whole allied cause. Austria got it and got it just in time to save her from being wiped off the war map. German armies saved Austria after her defeat by the Italians just as they saved her after her humiliating rout by the greatly outnumbered but heroically splendid little army of Serbia. The Italians were swept back within their own borders, and since then, with occasional forays on each side, have been holding an empty bag while Germany went off and got ready for the great onslaught in which she is now engaged.

Now, as at the very beginning of the war, Austria is the vulnerable joint in the Teutonic armor, the weak link in the Hun chain. And never at any time has she been more vulnerable or weaker than at this moment. Heavily discounting all the stories of internal dissensions, all reports of privations growing worse every day and of financial straits that are about desperate—making all due allowance for exaggerations along these lines, the fact remains that Austria must inevitably be in such sore plight that any thought of serious aggressive action on her part in the direction of Italy would

seem to be preposterous. Turkey cannot come to her aid, for Turkey has, or soon will have, about all on her hands she will want to attend to, with the two English armies advancing with such disconcerting steadiness in Mesopotamia and Palestine. Bulgaria, with the combined Greek, English, French and Serbian army becoming every day more active and threatening, has troubles enough of her own without shouldering any of those of Austria.

So Austria for the present stands virtually alone, the most vulnerable objective in all the long Teutonic line. And there for a long time to come she seems destined to remain. With our own rapidly growing strength in France to face, the Huns, no matter how far they may go in the present drive, are not going to be able to detach many divisions for Austria's relief. Austria is the back door, the weakly held back door to the Teutonic fortress. Right there close together are the two weak links in the Hun chain—rotten, besotted Turkey and half-starved, sedition-rent Austria.

And away over to the east, half way around the world, the Allies have an army of millions of as fine soldiers as ever marched to victory—the splendid army of Japan. And the army of Japan is marking time. Resting absolutely motionless when its weight thrown against that shaky back entrance to the Hun citadel, with the combined weights of the Italian, English, French and Greek forces already close to the Austrian border, would smash through that frail barrier and all Hundom, held in a grim life and death deadlock in the west, could not save it.

Years and years of battering at that stone wall the Huns have drawn across their western front would not do, if it ever did, what weeks or days would do if the crushing military force of the Allies, unfortunately so widely scattered, could be brought to bear on that weak, wobbling back door. And it is a layman's guess that it is through that back door, or not at all, that the fingers of the Hun's Nemesis will find their way to a strangle grip on the Hun throat.

Sharks last year; submarines this; what next?

A Blunder and a Tragedy

THE specious semi-official reports put forth by the War Department in explanation of Secretary Baker's refusal to permit Major General Leonard Wood to lead into action the men whom he had trained have served only to deepen the mystery. Indeed, they have been so confusing and so contradictory that a plain statement of facts, gathered at first hand from various trustworthy sources, seems to be called for.

The method of canning General Wood without arousing public indignation devised by Mr. Baker was characteristically cute and clever. On May 24, when a large proportion of the 89th Division was on its way from Camp Funston to the East, he telegraphed an order to the General to proceed to San Francisco immediately upon the departure of the last unit of his command. Had this order been delivered in time to be executed, the Secretary's purpose would have been achieved; that is to say, General Wood would have been interned on the Pacific and helpless except in so far as he might file a protest which could easily be consigned to the archives, and that would have been in effect the end of it.

But the best of plans gang aft aglee. By the merest chance General Wood, after having bade farewell to his family and disposed of his personal effects, including his horses, had already started East and did not receive the telegram until it was repeated to him in New York. Thereupon he proceeded immediately to Washington and presented to Secretary Baker his reasons for asking that the order be revoked and that he be permitted to accompany his division to France. The Secretary refused to grant this request and General Wood insisted upon seeing the Commander-in-chief. Mr. Baker could not refuse the demand and, after much hemming and hawing and backing and filling, an appointment was arranged. What happened at this interview has not yet been revealed. No word has come from the White House and the most that General Wood would say was that the President was "very courteous and very considerate." It may be assumed, therefore, that he promised to give the matter his most thoughtful consideration.

The General returned immediately to New York to await orders and soon after was directed to return to Funston and superintend the "cleaning up" of the camp for the reception of recruits. Whether this implied that General Wood is to be kept in Kansas or sent on presently to California or to Hawaii or somewhere else nobody seems to know. That it involved a refusal to permit him to lead his command to France, however, was certain and on Saturday, by request of the officers of the 89th Division, he visited Camp Mills to bid them farewell. No reporters were present and no account of the episode appeared in the newspapers on Sunday, but on Monday all contained reports, of which the best, from the *Sun*, we print herewith, to make the record:

It is recorded that Moses, having led the children of Israel from bondage, was permitted to go to a mountain top and see from a distance the Promised Land that he was never to enter. And thus it was that the General whose foresight led to the training of officers for the National Army, whose personal insistence largely resulted in the formation of that army, saw slip away from him to the measured cadence of the parade step and the music of many bands, the martial child that he had reared to fight the German. He had taken that division, out at Camp Funston, Kansas, when it was composed of youth from the plough and the counter, and had treated it in the crucible of military experience until it held its head high, its shoulders back and swung to the rhythmic stride of a fighting force conscious of its power.

On and on they marched in rigid lines, with eyes snapping to the right at the reviewing post, regimental colors dipping and officers popping to the salute with the monotony of perfect training.

They were going to France to meet the enemy of the world.

He was going back to the West, where the corn grows, to mould another command from virgin manhood.

Orders!

The one word that a soldier knows had brought both situations. By order the khaki lines were marching on their last review. By order the man who taught them the trick was going back, childless and bereft in so far as his armed and steel offspring was concerned, to raise a new family under the Western sky.

They had asked Gen. Wood, before he went West, to come to the camp and make a last talk to the officers, while the men said good-by in the only form that is reserved for marching and fighting legions. And he was on the little eminence of the reviewing field, flanked by the commanding officer who had his shoes, and the staff officers who serve at the tent doors of the mighty, to receive the last compliment that could be paid him by silently trudging men.

The big, earnest man saw it all. What he thought no human being can say. In such moments men who would slap a machine gun in the face cannot stop a barrage of tears. The man who wrote that the bravest are the gentlest understood that human element that every reader must imagine for himself.

Before the assembled officers the General stood for his last talk, after the last first sergeant had taken over the command of the last company and the last commissioned officer had turned

from the column. They gathered around the old leader for a final word.

"I will not say good-by," he began, as the big chest that bore the ribbon of the Medal of Honor, the ribbon of the Spanish-American War, the ribbon of the Cuban occupation, and all of the evidences of service that one might render during the last half century, bulged just a trifle, "but I consider it a temporary separation.

"At least," he added by way of parenthesis, "I hope so.

"I have worked hard with you and you have done excellent work. I had hoped very much to take you over to the other side—in fact, I had no intimation, directly or indirectly, of any change of orders until we reached here the other night.

"The orders have been changed, and I am to go back to Funston. I leave for there to-morrow morning. I wish you the best of luck and ask you to keep the high standard of conduct and work that you have in the past. There isn't anything to be said. The orders stand and the only thing to do is to do the best we can—all of us—to win the war.

"That is what we are here for; that is what you have been trained for. I shall follow your career with the deepest interest—with just as much interest as though I were with you. Good luck and God bless you!"

There was a hand shaking seance for a few minutes, and then—East is East and West is West—the one group turned to the East, and the one man who had made the group set his resolute face toward the setting sun for whatever things the gods of war might hold in store for him.

"Tears were in the eyes of the officers," says the *Times*, and, adds an eye-witness, "the men were the saddest looking lot I ever saw,—I pray never to behold such a sight again." And what of the folks at home whose hearts had been comforted by the reflection that the lives of their sons were, at any rate, to be entrusted to the efficient care of the great soldier whom they themselves knew or had heard at the monster mass meetings where his ringing words have set the fires of patriotism aglow throughout the West? How are they going to feel?

What a blunder! What a tragedy! What a shame! Heaven only forbid that ere long we may not have to add: What a crime!

But whether or no, mark you, the end is not yet.

As evidence that he did not discriminate against General Wood in refusing to permit him to lead his division to the battle line, it would be quite characteristic of Mr. Baker to deny the same privilege to another officer of like rank. If so, he would naturally select our second ablest division commander, Major General Kuhn, for the sacrifice. But let us hope not.

A Lamb in an Ass's Skin

REPRESENTATIVE ASHTON C. SHALLENGER of Nebraska, a member of the Military Affairs Committee, took us to task in a speech in the House the other day as sharply as the tepid disposition of a Pacifist would permit, (1) for saying that the Browning gun programme had fallen down, (2) for not according to Mr. Baker any part of the credit for adequate production of shoulder rifles, (3) for asserting that Mr. Baker has constantly misled and deceived the public, and (4) for being in effect pro-German and by inference disloyal to the United States of America. Because of these alleged offenses, he called upon the Department of Justice to root us out of our "safe ambush here in Washington" and make the punishment fit the crimes.

We hasten to utter a few words in extenuation while there is yet time.

(1) We rejoice to hear from Mr. Shallenberger, upon authority which he cautiously refrains from designating, that "between May 1 and May 18, this year, 659 heavy

Browning guns were produced and delivered to the United States Government." We hope that the figures given, though grievously disappointing in the light of what had been promised, are correct. Nevertheless the most that the War Department could say as late as May 24 through Mr. Creel's concern was:

Heavy Browning machine guns sufficient to equip the machine gun units of one army division have been manufactured and are being shipped to Camp Meade, Maryland. More than half of the guns have arrived at that camp. The "Liberty" division, as the Camp Meade unit is known, thus becomes the first to be equipped completely and trained with heavy Brownings.

Enough heavy Brownings for instruction purposes have been shipped to every National Guard training camp and National Army cantonment in this country where troops are in training. They have arrived at as distant a point as Camp Lewis, American Lake, Washington.

Heavy Brownings for overseas training have been shipped.

These paragraphs convey the usual vagueness,—such, for example, as characterized the exultant declaration of Secretary Baker that "shipments of air-planes had begun," when only two had been sent, in place of the thousands that had been promised.

But Mr. Shallenberger insists that, despite the fact that no definite statement was forthcoming, to our knowledge, previous to May 28, we should have known better on May 11 or May 18 because "the records of the War Department were as available to George Harvey as to anyone else,"—the truth of which is unquestionable, since they are available to nobody at all except to Congressmen and to mighty few of them. Later Mr. Shallenberger, replying to a question, conceded his knowledge of this fact in these words:

I will say that I have not been one of those who believed that it was best for the country to conceal from the public the actual state of our Military Establishment and the fact of production of these things essential to the war. I think a great deal of misinformation and pessimism has been scattered through the country because we have not given out as much of this information as might have been done. But I will say to the gentleman, as he no doubt knows, that the modern military men seem to think it necessary to keep as much information as possible from the public about military affairs, and therefore the Military Committee as a rule have deferred to it.

Even though the records of the War Department are supposed to be certainly no less "available" to members of military committees than to "any one else," some uncertainty upon the part of Mr. Shallenberger developed from this illuminating colloquy:

MR. DICKINSON. The gentleman is speaking about the Browning gun. Is it being delivered—

MR. SHALLENBERGER. Delivered to our soldiers in this country for training.

MR. DICKINSON. I was going to ask whether that gun was being delivered to the soldiers in the cantonments in this country.

MR. SHALLENBERGER. That is my information.

MR. DICKINSON. Are any of them being sent abroad as yet?

MR. SHALLENBERGER. I do not think they are.

He knew very well they were not and would not be for months; else how could Mr. Tilson, his colleague on the Committee, who really knows about guns, have testified that "the heavy Browning guns are not yet sufficiently in production to justify the arming of divisions in Europe with them," but that he was "hopeful that by the beginning of the year we will be making all we shall need." Which is the crux precisely of all that we said, namely, that we would not have heavy Browning guns in effective operation abroad during the present calendar year, and we adhere to that opinion, Mr. Shallenberger to the contrary notwithstanding. And if that is not a collapse in a programme which called for heavy deliveries before the end of April, we do not know what is.

(2) With respect to shoulder rifles, Mr. Shallenberger said:

They are coming in such numbers that we can fully equip an infantry division of 27,000 men every three days. Even the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW WAR WEEKLY has to doff its hat to this achievement, but it covertly refuses to give credit to the Secretary of War, who is responsible for every important determined action of the War Department.

And this is what we printed upon the same subject on page 4 of the issue of the WAR WEEKLY dated March 9:

Probably the greatest service yet rendered is that of General Crozier and Colonel Thompson, *pluckily backed up by Secretary Baker*; but even more signal and gratifying is the advantage accorded the lads behind the guns.

(3) We regret that we cannot accord sufficient space in this number to do full justice to Mr. Baker and his peccadilloes, but we have long had such a project in mind and, in the stereotyped phrase of the House, we thank the gentleman for reminding us of the intention. Whether Mr. Baker will do likewise when the results of our exhaustive examination shall appear in print remains to be seen.

(4) Mr. Shallenberger's strident peroration must be published in full. These were his concluding words, precisely as they appeared in the patient *Congressional Record*:

This so-called WAR WEEKLY has a very familiar sound, though it wears a different face. In the character of its assaults upon the American Government it reminds us of those formerly appearing in a weekly dealing with the war and published by one George Silvester Viereck. It has all the earmarks of a new "Bonnet Rouge," and I would suggest to the Department of Justice that it search for another Bolo Pasha lurking somewhere in the shadows. These evil shafts of political malice are not aimed primarily at the Secretary of War. The hope is that through him they may strike the President in the back. The American people are not easily deceived. They know that this war is going to be won by our soldiers fighting upon the battle fields of France. They will make short work of these political bushwhackers and faultfinders who are at our Commander in Chief from safe ambush here in Washington.

Apparently the compositor either could not set the gentleman straight or surmised that at the close he must have been standing on his head. Candidly, we have to confess, we do not enjoy being likened to Mr. Viereck, but recalling some of the things we have said about him we derive comfort from the reflection that he would resent the implied relationship even more strongly. The suggested stabbing of the President, straight through Mr. Baker, in the back, seems to fall of its own weight because of the extreme improbability of his standing with his back to his favorite Cabinet officer except for the hardly conceivable purpose of restraining uncontrollable emotion at seeing him. As to the "Bonnet Rouge," we would enter gladly into an academic discussion with Mr. Shallenberger but for a suspicion, arising from his reference to earmarks, that he thinks it is or was a lady and for the further apprehension, indicated by his name, that he is descended from a race quite different from the French and may not be proficient in the language of that distracted country. We accept without complaint Mr. Shallenberger's reference to us as a bushwhacker and his imputations upon our lack of patriotic spirit as a species of constructive criticism such as we ourselves readily recognize, though never use.

Truth to tell, we sympathize with Mr. Shallenberger. He had a difficult task to perform. Just think of it! Here is a man who voted for the McLemore resolution which forbade to American citizens the exercise of their undoubted rights upon the high seas and stands today as one who cannot survive the "acid test of loyalty" prescribed by the President, and who subsequently voted against conscription, without which now, as everybody recognizes, our country would

be prostrate and helpless,—such a man essaying to pillory us on a charge of disloyalty.

And yet there is nothing to get mad about. Indeed, we find in the situation not only a bit of paradox but a touch of humor. Mr. Shallenberger's attempts at denunciation, scorn and satire do not deceive us for a moment. He is not a belligerent; he is a pacifist. We insist, moreover, that he has failed utterly in his earnest endeavor to write himself down an ass. His very bray is destitute of verisimilitude. He is a lamb in an ass's skin and, as such, is fully entitled to the gentle treatment which we have compassionately accorded and shall continue to accord him unless he should begin to blat again, in which event, we fear, we might have to hunt up a pair of shears.

Meanwhile, Mr. Shallenberger should and doubtless does rejoice mightily at the receipt of the following commendatory communication from his fellow pacifist:

I have read with deep appreciation and pleasure, wrote Secretary Baker, your helpful part in the debate on the army bill. The country will be stirred by the fine absence of partisanship and by the significant facts, which you cited, and I am, of course, doubly grateful at your willingness to defend me against the strange and malignant attack of Mr. Harvey.

It matters some to me personally, but my chief thought is that the truth will give the people of the country confidence in the army, and in that way Mr. Harvey will be prevented from helping our country's enemies by his extraordinary and depressing lack of information.

This, too, shall have our faithful attention in due and proper season—most fittingly probably, conformably to Mr. Shallenberger's reminder, in conjunction with our contemplated disquisition upon Mr. Baker as a Whole.

When Major General Erasmus M. Weaver, C. A. C., was retired last week, the country lost an untiring and highly competent officer, against whom not a word of criticism has been breathed since the war began.

The Evolution of Josephus

"HAVE you heard of any investigations or criticisms of our Navy?" asked Senator Lodge in his recent Providence address. And then he continued:

I have heard none. The Navy has done exceedingly well. Secretary Daniels has made no statements to the public of what he hoped to do. He has not said in 1917 what he was going to do in 1918.

Precisely. Josephus has grown up with his job. He has grown to be too big to manifest littleness in the wreaking of petty spites. He has not always been free from exhibitions of this form of smallness. He has vented his narrow prejudices against naval officers who had advanced to high rank by sheer merit of achievement. He has snubbed and humiliated such officers, has endeavored to discredit and relegate them to obscurity. There was an unhappy issue of veracity between Josephus and one of them from which, to put it mildly, the Secretary of the Navy did not emerge with banners.

Then the war came, and the beginning of the war was the beginning of Josephus' growth. One of his early discoveries was that it was just barely possible that a man whose nautical experience had been confined to canoeing on a North Carolina creek might not know as much about naval matters as men who had devoted their lives to the exclusive study of such matters and had grown gray in expanding their

theoretical knowledge by practical application of the same in years of sailing on all the seven seas. Another revelation that seems to have come to him was that he talked too much. To be sure he never had emitted the steady flood of roseate rhapsodies over things that were not so which has characterized the Secretary of War. But that was not to have been expected. He lacked both the oriental imagination with which Secretary Baker is gifted, and he further lacked the Bakerian knack of circumstantiality in presentation which has given so much verisimilitude to the most gorgeously colored of the Bakerian somnambulistic trances. Still, Josephus's output of language was copious. We had become so used to it that we did not quite realize how vast had been its volume until he suddenly plugged up the bung-hole from which the steady blobbing, slobbering stream had so long flowed. Suddenly this ceased. Josephus quit talking and took to doing things. And the first thing he did was the wisest and most efficient thing he could do. He got out of the way of men who knew what to do and how to do it. He suddenly became a big enough man to no longer resent the presence of big men at his council board. He put the job of making our navy ready for war in the hands of men who were equal to it. He forgot any personal piques and petty animosities he may have had. Officers of demonstrated ability and of unquestioned patriotism did not have the Daniels door slammed in their faces. They were not contemptuously hustled from pillar to post in an ever narrowing circle of usefulness because of some small political or personal prejudice. Politics was adjourned in the Navy. It was adjourned from the moment Josephus revealed himself as the big man he really has become instead of the little man he had seemed to be while the large reservoir of latent strength that was in him was oozing and trickling out through fads and fancies and sloppy sentimentalities. He did not brag, he did not bluster and above all he did not lie about what the Navy had done and was just about to do. As Senator Lodge put it, he did not say in 1917 what he was going to do in 1918. The Navy's record from the time Josephus Daniels changed from a man of chatter to a man of action has been written in deeds and not in words, and before this war is over that record is going to be one of the most brilliant pages in our own or any other naval history.

And high up on the roll of honor of that shining page is going to appear the name of Josephus Daniels. Not so much for what he personally will have done as for the brains and breadth with which he will have chosen men for great tasks and for the free hand he will have given them to bring out all that was in them. With practically an unlimited field for meddling and marring he has neither meddled nor marred. No one man living is alone able to handle this war of ours. No one man living is alone big enough to handle any one department of the war. The measure of administrative fitness in this case, as in the case of any vast business concern, is capacity to select the right man for each subordinate task, to eliminate every trace of personal feeling or political grudge or undue influence in making such selections, and, above all, unflinching courage in meeting incompetence with instant dismissal and in rewarding ability by promotion. That is the standard of bigness, with utter extinction of mere pride of opinion and utter self-elimination in all decisions, to which the heads of our administration must measure up and towards which Mr. Daniels is measuring up in a way which, by contrast, is a damning

indictment against the administration of the War Department, and which amounts to a reproach to the President himself for retaining a man of Mr. Baker's all but pathetic incompetence in a place of such vital importance.

Reprisals

VENGENCE is Mine saith the Lord, and I will repay. It is because civilized nations do not arrogate to themselves the divine right of vengeance that England, France, and America have so long refrained from reprisals upon Germany for the infamous crimes she has committed and her brutal and persistent violation of the laws of warfare. Nations advanced in their civilization naturally shrink from the thought of reprisals, which are foreign to their training and traditions. The evolution that has produced our highly developed society rejected vengeance although compelled for its own protection to resort to punishment. We do not imprison or hang men for the lust of vengeance as the savage does, but as a proper punishment for wrong doing and a deterrent to the malefactor. It is that which marks the distinction between savagery and civilization. The savage tortures and slays for the pleasure he derives from the agony or death of his victim. To us of finer grain the hurt we must inflict brings with it regret, even though we recognize its stern necessity.

It is because the German is a savage, it is because his appetites are those of the brute, it is because he has no sense of shame and no finer feelings that he reverts to type and in this war has been guilty of every atrocity conceived by degenerate minds and has tortured and maimed and slain for the mere gratification of his brutal instincts. Foolishly we have treated him as a civilized being instead of recognizing that he is a barbarian, and that the only law the barbarian understands is the law of force. Instead of having exacted a life for a life whenever it was in our power, instead of having treated German prisoners with the same brutality with which the Germans have treated their prisoners, time after time we have saved the lives of our foe, frequently at the risk of our own lives, and, governed by our humanity and the compacts entered into when the world was at peace, and we believed Germany was a civilized nation, we have accorded to German prisoners the treatment that we were foolish enough to believe Germany would show.

The time has come, however, when sentiment must no longer control. When the Germans boastfully and gleefully tell of the way in which they shot down wounded prisoners and that out of a contingent of 300 wounded British soldiers recently captured only 170 arrived at their destination, we should be foolish if we did not on our part take precisely the same toll under the same circumstances. We are foolish because we give direct encouragement to Germany to continue this infamy. One of the men who took part in this massacre said gloatingly: "Our German principle is to get peace quickly, and we must wage war ruthlessly. These are our orders." Very good then. If those are the orders of Germany, let the United States and England and France issue similar orders, and let every German prisoner in our hands know that his life is forfeit for every life of ours that the Germans take, and we venture to say when that becomes known Allied prisoners will not be murdered, neither will they be starved and tortured to death.

For more than three years Germany has sent her Zep-

pelins over the unfortified cities of England and France. She has murdered in cold blood old men and old women, young children, and sucking infants, and England and France, because to them savagery is abhorrent, have made no attempt to carry the war into Germany. It is of course repugnant to British or French airmen to rain bombs upon open towns and kill indiscriminately, but that is war according to the German idea, and if that is war according to the German idea, then let Germany have war as she makes it. Within the last few months German cities have been bombed by the Allies and Germany, like the cur she is, protests against this "brutality" and would try to have an agreement made to stop it. But what does an agreement made with Germany amount to? To other nations their plighted word is a solemn obligation rigidly to be observed, but with Germany it is merely an opportunity to seek an unfair advantage. We cannot treat with Germany because Germany—not alone the Government of Germany but the whole German people—is a nation of perverts, destitute of moral sense, without conscience, rejoicing in their depravity, fearful of nothing except force.

We do not need corroboration of the hell that has been made of the German mind, but as there are still some people who shrink from the thought of reprisals, who still insist Germany must be converted by mercy—and as well talk of the conversion of Germany by mercy as taming a mad dog by soft words!—take the latest typical example of German iniquity. Moved by the appeal of the Archbishop of Cologne, the British Government, on religious and humane grounds, consented to suspend the bombing of cities on the Rhine frontier on Decoration Day, the feast of Corpus Christi as observed by Catholics throughout the world. And thus having gained immunity for the Catholics of Germany, the German Government showed its gratitude and humanity by firing its long range guns on the Catholics of Paris, like their fellow religionists of the Rhine cities engaged in their pious devotions. That is Germany, a raving maniac, to be subdued only by the straitjacket of civilization.

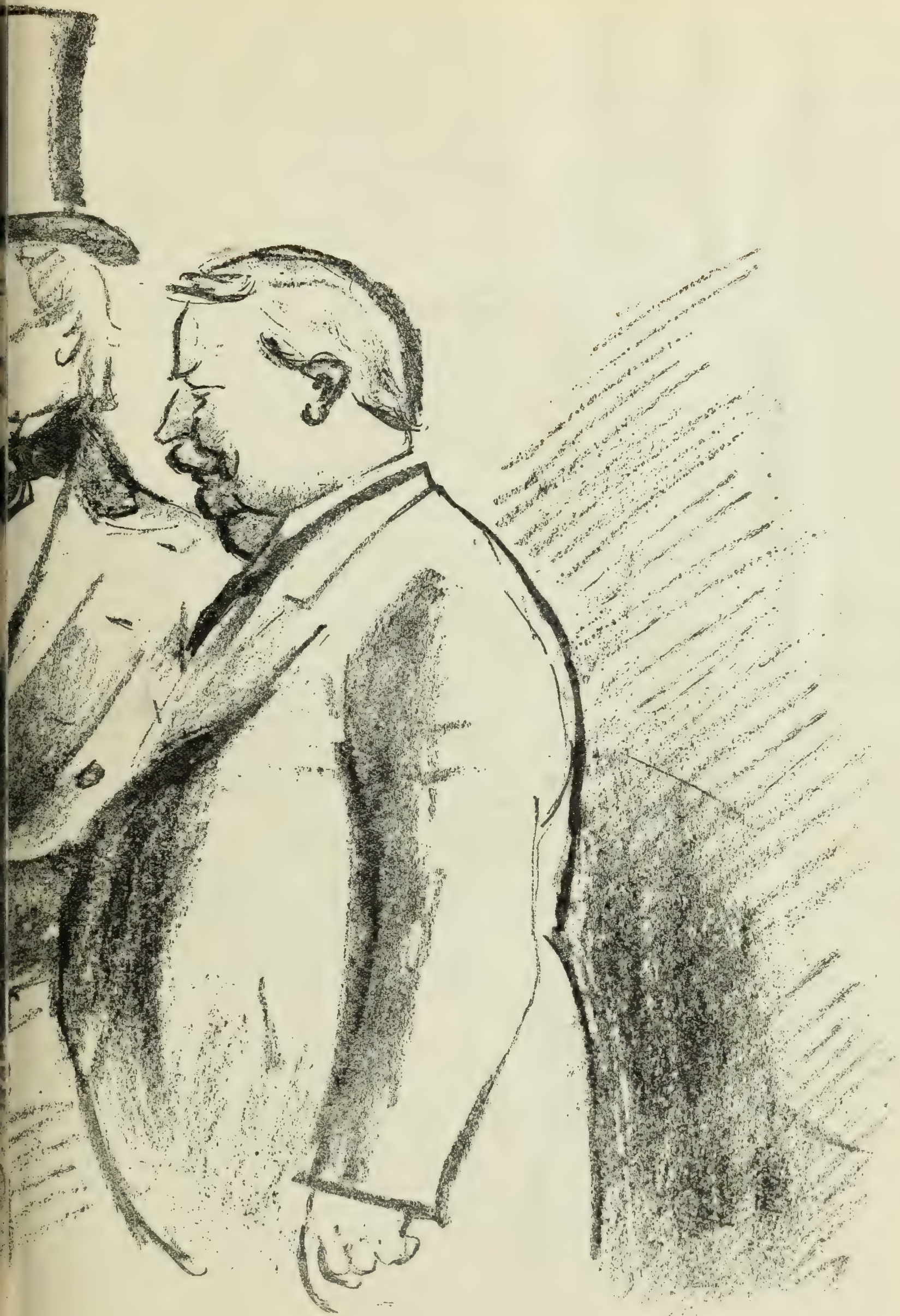
The fact that there is an outcry in Germany, that various cities are trying to force the government to compel a truce, is all the proof needed that the people of Germany, who have been spared invasion and know little of the horrors of war as Germany practises them, now understand what war really means and are sick of it. Let them be sick of it; sick unto death of it, until in their desperation and terror they get rid of their brutal ruler and his government. There must be no weakness on the part of the Allies, no compunction, no fear of offending the majesty of divine vengeance, no regret that innocent lives are taken. There is no such thing as an innocent life in Germany; they are all guilty, every one of them, because they are Germans, and every German is branded. Reprisals, reprisals to the limit, reprisals by night and day; bombs showered on the cities of Germany; bombs dropped on the old and the young; on those asleep and awake; bombs dropped by the thousands until the heavens are black and the earth below rocks and shrieks in convulsion. Then, and then only, will the Germans understand the meaning of the war they have provoked and peace will again come to the world.

British officers in United States sharply criticised.—*London Chronicle*.

Not by us.



“Bless you. n



y children”

The Week

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1918.

"THE Hun is at the gate"; literally, at last. German U-boats are ravaging our coast waters and destroying our merchant shipping almost within sight of our shores and within gunfire sound of our chief ports; administering the final *coup de grace* to the smug assurance of our Pacifist War Secretary, that the war is three thousand miles away. We seem again to have been caught napping, which will afford the creel renewed occasion for devoutly thanking his God for the remainder of his piffling existence. Despite the ample warnings which had been given, the U-boats reached our waters and engaged in destructive depredations for a week or more before their presence was detected, save by their victims. However, now that they are detected, we have much confidence in the ability and readiness of Josephus Daniels's department of government promptly and effectually to dispose of them. Beside the enormous armament which we have sent to the other side of the Atlantic, we surely have enough naval vessels at home to deal with all the U-boats that may be sent across. We trust, too, that our aviation service and anti-aircraft coast batteries will prove sufficient to guard against aeroplane attacks on our churches, schools and hospitals. We assume that the present U-boats are not accompanied by aircraft, else they would have attacked the coast cities before this. But the entire practicability of such action must be borne in mind and guarded against, if they are operating in connection with a "mother ship" large enough to launch bombing planes from her decks.

The purposes of the Hun U-boat raid upon our coasts are obviously several. One is, of course, simply to destroy shipping, in which it has been measurably successful. Another is, to deter further shipment of troops and supplies abroad at this very time when there is need of shipping as many as possible; in which it will not succeed. A third is the provoking of a panicky demand for the return of our navy from Europe to home waters for the protection of our own coast and, incidentally but chiefly from the Hun's point of view, to relax the pressure upon the Huns over there; in which also it will not be successful, Americans understanding full well that the best defence of our own coast lies in vigorous attack upon the German coast, and also that we have enough vessels for service in both fields of action. Still another purpose is, presumably, to frighten America and to shatter our morale, in cherishing which pious aspiration the Boches are damned fools; an estimate of them which is confirmed by yet another supposed purpose of the raid, namely, to brace up the German morale and to inspire the German army and people with renewed enthusiasm. If they can get any inspiration and encouragement out of it, they are welcome to do so. We shall get out of it ten times as much added resolution to prosecute the war to an unconditional surrender of the Huns. Every Hunnish U-boat that pokes its dirty periscope into American waters is just another reason for killing Huns, persistently and relentlessly, until the whole hydra-headed Blond Beast of Berlin is slain.

It was characteristic of the lying Huns to ask the British government not to bombard Cologne on Corpus Christi Day, and then to devote that day to their specialty of bombarding churches and hospitals.

The drive continues. In a week it has traversed half the distance from its starting-point to its goal. It has been proceeding in precisely the same direction that was taken by the first drive at Paris, in 1914, though it has not yet reached the utmost point then attained by the German forces. It remains to be seen whether it will go further, or be forced back, or whether, as many think and as some high authorities say, there will be a deadlock at approximately the present line of battle which may continue all summer. We should not be surprised at any of the three, though the last-named course of events seems the likeliest. We should doubt if the present narrow salient were further extended toward Paris unless and until it could be at least comparably widened. The danger of a disastrous attack upon the flanks would increase as the square of the distance made forward. But the present position of the Huns is immensely strong for defence and maintenance, and so long as it is maintained it will constitute a menace to Paris that will require the constant presence of a large proportion of the Allied forces to confront it.

Elsewhere the significance of the drive is considered at more length. We need here do no more than to chronicle its progress and to reaffirm our confidence in its being held back from Paris. Georges Duhamel, in his marvellous "New Book of Martyrs," tells us that at the height of the almost superhuman strife at Verdun, as wounded and dying Frenchmen were brought into the hospitals—

"All these simple fellows ended their story with the same words, surprising words at such a moment of suffering:

" 'They can't get through now. . . .'

"Then they began to moan again."

Confronted by that spirit, we have faith to believe that this latest drive of the Huns "can't get through now."

Further action by Italy, and renewed action by Greece, form a welcome reminder that we have Allies east of the Alps who make it perilous for the Huns to neglect their Alpine and Macedonian frontiers. But they revive and intensify our regret that we have not also an efficient Ally beyond the Vistula and the Carpathians. The collapse of Russia is the most terrible event of the war; to which we must add that our failure to rehabilitate her and get her into the war again is one of the most regrettable and incomprehensible features of the Allied diplomacy and propaganda.

The practical absorption of Finland by Germany, and the actual or prospective cession by Russia to Finland of the western part of the Murmanian Coast, including the harbor of Kola, is another indication of the completeness of the German victory in that direction. Under such an arrangement it will be a simple matter for Germany to send U-boats to the Arctic Ocean, with a base at Kola, to issue into the North Sea and the Atlantic around North Cape. This will be some compensation to the Huns for the partial and temporary obstruction of passage to and from their submarine bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend, and will necessitate the considerable extension of the naval barrier which the Allies are striving to maintain against the under-water pirates. That that barrier, even at its present extent, is not impervious is made uncomfortably evident by the appearance and pernicious activity of U-boats off our own Atlantic coast. Whether they have some secret base of operations on this side of the ocean

is problematic. It is quite possible and indeed not altogether improbable that they have. But it is not necessary. Long ago, before we entered the war, on at least two notable occasions Germany demonstrated the ease with which she could send such craft across the ocean, and could send them into our harbors without detection. It may be assumed that, apart from the obstacle of increased efficiency of our naval guards and coast defences, she can do so much more easily now, since she has added considerably to the size and cruising radius of her submersible vessels. She has also, we are told, added greatly to their efficiency of armament, so that one of them might cause some damage by throwing shells into a coast city. There should, of course, be no cause for serious alarm, certainly none for anything like panic. Comparatively little damage has been done by submarine bombardments on the British coast, though that is so very much nearer to the U-boat bases than we are. And we must remember that in order to get over here boats must pass through the barriers which defend the British Isles, cross the Atlantic, and then get through our own coast defences. Our own navy has developed so high a degree of efficiency, particularly, we are told, in dealing with U-boats, that we should be warranted in trusting pretty confidently to its protection, at least from all but a few sporadic raids.

If there is a U-boat base on this side of the ocean, on our own or any other country's coast, it should be promptly discovered and made a little less comfortable than hell for all concerned.

We expressed some opinion last week concerning the conviction of Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes for sedition. Since then the heavy sentence of ten years' imprisonment has been passed upon her, evoking from the public comments of the most varied kinds. Apart from the sentimental dislike which all chivalrous men must have for meting out severe punishments to women, we can see no ground for censuring the court, but on the contrary much ground for approving the sentence as salutary if stern justice, at a time when, if ever in the history of mankind, sternness should have precedence over sentimentality. This woman has been one of the most dangerous and mischievous of socialist-pacifist propagandists. Backed with great wealth, and strengthened by a certain romantic social vogue, she has been able to command a hearing for her pernicious preachments and to exercise an influence entirely beyond the reach of others less opulently endowed—such, for example, as Emma Goldman. Moreover, there is a peculiar offensiveness in her hostility to the American Government in the present crisis. She came to this country for asylum, practically a refugee from those detestable conditions of imperialist and militarist oppression against which we are now battling. In using her influence in even the least degree against our government and its aggressive and inexorable prosecution of the war, therefore, she was favoring her former oppressors against those who gave her asylum and who opened to her the gates to liberty, learning, wealth, and all the things which have made her life pleasant and profitable. We must feel, therefore, that her severe punishment is just, and confidently expect that it will prove salutary, as proof that the agencies of justice in this land are awake, vigilant and inexorable, and that neither mistaken chivalry, nor mawkish sentiment, nor yet the influence of wealth and social prominence, can avail to shield sedition or treason.

Apart from a few shallow sentimentalists and not many more Hunnish sympathizers, the working people of this and the other Allied countries are resolute for the unrelenting prosecution of the war until Prussianism is crushed. We have spoken of Mrs. Stokes as engaging in socialist-pacifist propaganda. That is not to imply that all Socialists are Pacifists, any more than that all Pacifists are Socialists. It is pleasant to record that innumerable adherents of Socialism, in America and Europe, are whole-heartedly supporting the war policy of the Allies. This was finely indicated by the testimony given on its return the other day by Mr. Gompers's American Labor Mission, from its visit to Great Britain and France. We do not mean that this Mission was a Socialist body, nor that it went exclusively to Socialists. But it did come into contact with the masses of European Socialism, or their representatives, and its testimony as to what it found is most instructive and inspiring. The majority of French Socialists, it says, are in perfect accord with American views concerning the inadvisability of any negotiations whatever with Germany until the victorious ending of the war. "In general the workmen of France are for the war, to a victorious end, however far off that may be." As for British labor, which is very strongly tinged with Socialism, it is "working for just one thing, and that is to bring the war to a successful conclusion as soon as possible." Not merely to a conclusion, mark you, but to a successful conclusion. And until that conclusion is reached, they will have no conferences nor dealings of any kind with the men of enemy countries.

The death rate among infants has long been higher in Germany than in almost any other important country, and is said to show no signs of declining. It is "up to" us to make the death rate among German males of military age the highest in the world.

It is impossible not to sympathize with the sentiments of the Collinsville, Ill., lynchers; but equally impossible to approve their acquittal. No doubt their victim, Prager, was an offensive individual. No doubt he was disloyal. No doubt the nation is better off without him. Grant all that. Yet we cannot approve lynch law, not even for traitors. The more flagrant the offense, the surer should be the legal punishment; and the surer, generally speaking, it now is. There have been few if any miscarriages of justice against traitors; certainly none sufficient to warrant such distrust of the courts as would in turn warrant resort to lynch law. It may be that the lynching of Prager will act as a deterrent against sedition with some persons. It will not be in general nearly as efficient to that end as would have been his arrest, trial and conviction by the regularly constituted courts of justice.

But while we deplore this lapse of justice against lawless men, we must recognize the danger and to some extent the human nature of such outbreaks, and we must earnestly commend, as the surest and best preventive of them, the most vigilant and inexorable prosecution of offenders. There is some temptation for quick-tempered men to wonder if the Department of Justice is as keen and alert as the safety of the country requires.

The creel says: "I am not a Socialist; and dissent absolutely from the fundamental principles of the Socialist faith." We congratulate the Socialists.

Taxes Versus Loans

CONGRESS is buckling down to the task of drafting a bill which will pile new billions on top of the billions already being raised by war taxation. There was never a moment's doubt that this response would be made to the President's direct appeal. And Mr. Wilson not only stated what has to be done, and why the time for doing it is now and not later, but also why it has to be done at all.

That we have to spend more money on the war than even the enormous sums we have been spending, everybody understands; but there is a certain amount of natural craving to put as much as possible of the load into the national debt, and not to make the tax burden, which everybody grants has to be very heavy, more grievous than is absolutely necessary. Against this natural craving, Mr. Wilson sets the consideration which the best economic authorities have all along held in mind, that "enormous loans freely spent in the stimulation of industry of almost every sort produce inflations and extravagances which presently make the whole economic structure questionable and insecure." He would have done well, however, to round out the sentence somewhat differently from what he did. Instead of adding "and the very basis of credit is cut away," which may or may not be true, he might have said "and the upward trend of prices is made more and more pronounced," which is certainly the consequence of inflation, and a consequence that the whole country desires to avoid.

Just where the line ought to be drawn between raising money by loan and raising it by taxation is a question of the utmost difficulty to decide. The phrase "conscription of wealth" has been put forward by some as a simple solution; and it is as cheap and silly as it is simple. To impose taxes indiscriminately on "wealth," to impose them beyond certain limits even on the right forms of "wealth," is to kill the goose that lays the golden egg. What that limit is, has to be decided by men of trained understanding, upon considerations of practical common-sense, and not by the decree of any Bolshevik formula.

On the other hand, it ought to be clearly understood, even by the general public, that the device of a loan is incapable of effecting any miracle. The burden of the war has to be borne now; it cannot be shoved off to the future. One encounters still, occasionally, in quarters where it should not be found, the notion that by means of a loan the burden of the war is in part transferred to future generations, or future decades, the people of today being to the same extent relieved of it. This is not so; what the war costs is measured by the food and clothing and metal and cotton and chemicals and labor that are consumed in carrying it on; and all this has to be given during the war and not later.

What relief, then, does a loan provide? If we were borrowing from foreign countries, the answer would be simple enough. We are borrowing from our own people exclusively; what gain can there be in this process? The gain is precisely of the same character as that of the credit system in general. If we raise twenty billion dollars a year solely by taxation, every person has to pay such share of that twenty billion as is assessed against him by a cast-iron rule, no matter how difficult, even how ruinous, this may be in the circumstances of his business or personal affairs. But if only six billions are raised by taxation and the other four-

teen billions by loan, each person's compulsory contribution is only thirty per cent of his full share, and he is free to decide how much to put into the loan that covers the other seventy per cent of the nation's need. Some people subscribe more than their share, some less—perhaps nothing at all. Virtually, the people of the first class lend to the people of the second. The thing that is gained by the loan is not that the burden is shifted from the whole people of today to the whole people of tomorrow, but that the burden is made lighter for some of the people of today through being taken up by others who are able and willing to shoulder it now and get their remuneration in the future. It eases the business situation, and lessens the difficulties of enterprise, in precisely the same way as does the system of corporation and personal borrowing in the ordinary course of industry and commerce.

What, we wonder, has become of the wonderful plan hatched in the brain of our General Bliss that, according to Lloyd George, was going to make the world immediately and forever safe for Democracy!

The Right Kind of Pacifists

THERE are Pacifists, and Pacifists. Of a certain kind we have heard much, too much. They are the Scott Nearing, People's Council, I. W. W. type. As between them and outright German propagandists, commend to us the latter. They at least are sometimes sincere in their deviltry and are not always cowards; and our Secret Service and courts sometimes deal with them pretty nearly as they deserve.

But they are not all. They are not even the majority. There are those of another kind, far more numerous, far more influential. There are, for example, the members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers as they are commonly called. For generations they have been known as pacifists, as non-resisters, as conscientious objectors to military service—howbeit, one of the greatest of our generals was a Quaker and the son of a Quaker preacher. They have indeed been commonly regarded as the typical pacifists, whose entire sincerity in their pacifism no man doubted.

It will be worth our while, then, amid all the clamor of the other kind, the pacifists for profit, to observe what is the attitude of the Quakers toward the present war. We recalled, some time ago, the notable and noble attitude of the greatest Quaker of his time, John Bright, toward another war; which he did not want to see ended until it was certain to be ended right. His mantle seems to have fallen upon his successors.

At the yearly meeting of the Quakers in New York the other day a report was unanimously adopted in favor of continuing efforts for worldwide peace, but at the same time disapproving any peace agitation which would interfere with the inexorable prosecution of the present war until autocratic militarism was overthrown. Let us have peace, but first let us slay the Beast of Berlin, was in effect the tenor of their resolutions.

A similar utterance, even more vigorous and outspoken, has recently been made by some of the foremost representative Quakers of the Quaker metropolis, Philadelphia. They declare that they agree with the President in holding that "right is more precious than peace." Then they say, in

words which we might wish to be heard and heeded by every citizen of the Republic:

"We do not agree with those who would utter sentimental platitudes while a mad dog is running amuck biting women and children, with those who would stand idly by quoting some isolated passage of Scripture while an insane man murdered him, ravished his wife, bayoneted his babies or crucified his friends, with any person who would discuss with some well and contented stranger the merits of various fire extinguishers while his wife and children are calling to him from the flames of his burning house.

"We believe that wrong is relative and has degrees, that there are greater things than human life and worse things than war. There is a difference between peace as an end and peace as a means to an end. (We do not want peace with dishonor or a temporary peace with evil.)"

There speak true pacifists, worthy of the name, and worthy of the name of American citizens as well. Are there those who would be more pacifist than Quakers, and who would regard the Friends as swaggering militarists and men of blood?

When in the troublous days of 1848 Proudhon was summoned before a magistrate and was asked "What is your 'Socialism'?" he replied, "Every aspiration toward the amelioration of society." "Then," said the magistrate, "we are all Socialists!"

If the sentiments of these representative Quakers are pacifism, then are we all pacifists. But between them and the blatant pacifists of the other kind, how great a gulf is fixed!

1137 airplanes downed in May, British bag 492, French 234, Americans 13.—*Sun headline.*

That tells the story.

The Aviation Investigations

THE Senate Committee on Military Affairs is proceeding with its investigation of the collapse of the aeroplane programme and the failure of the War Department to procure ordnance in anything like adequate quantities. An understanding has been reached with Mr. Charles E. Hughes whereby the two pitfalls which Mr. Hughes feared will be avoided. The committee will take no chances of making public facts which would hamper Mr. Hughes in his determination to ferret out violations of law, if any there be, and to punish the guilty, and it will keep in sufficiently close touch with the chief investigator of possible criminal phases of the failure to preclude the danger that it will inadvertently afford immunity to the guilty by permitting them to testify before a Congressional committee.

On the other hand, the Military Committee will seek to discover and fix the blame, to uncover the incompetence and favoritism and vacillation known to exist, or to have existed. It is in no vindictive spirit that the committee undertakes this arduous work. It is with the firm conviction that a competent diagnosis of the disease is essential to the prescription of the proper remedies. If there be, as is keenly suspected, those in high office who, without violating a single written statute, have procrastinated, played favorites, preferred the dreams of the pacifist to the performances of the man of action and thus jeopardized the lives of thousands of

American soldiers, the facts should, in the estimation of the committee, be established, the blame placed where it belongs, and those guilty of such negligence marked as unworthy of further trust.

The flamboyant predictions of the Committee on Public Information regarding the early approach of the day when this country would make the skies over the battlefields of France "black with aeroplanes" are known of all men. The effect of these predictions, the tremendous acceleration of aeroplane production in Germany, is recognized by all military authorities. The absolute waste of some considerable portion—as yet undetermined—of the \$640,000,000 which Congress cheerfully and promptly placed at the disposal of Secretary Baker with which to construct aeroplanes is obvious to all intelligent and non-partisan observers. It may never be possible to determine with mathematical exactness the precise number of American lives which have been sacrificed by the War Department's failure, but that the number has been considerable is known to every officer familiar with conditions in France. In the estimation of men like Senators Chamberlain and Hitchcock and Representative Kahn, a Republican but the man to whom the President is most beholden for the success of his military programme in the House, failure to fix the blame of this disastrous break-down would be merely to court its repetition in some other field of military endeavor. To gloss over such monstrous incapacity would be not patriotism but treason, not loyalty but base betrayal of the American boys who have gone to France, prepared to give their lives if need be, whose comparative safety depends upon the efficiency with which the great department to which they must look for ordnance and ammunition, equipment and supplies, aeroplanes and machine-guns, gas-bombs and hand-grenades, in a word, for every instrument of offense and defense, performs its task.

May I not thank you personally for your word of appreciation?

Who wrote that? Mayor Hylan.

Recruiting Convicts

GERMANY'S prisons are to be emptied into the army. The amateur criminals confined in the various Hun penitentiaries are to take a post graduate course in murder, rape, arson and all the subsidiary branches of villainy by being incorporated in the ranks of the accomplished experts in these lines who make up the land and sea forces of the Imperial German Government.

They will find themselves in congenial company. Moreover they will have the benefit of instruction by accomplished professors in every branch of crime, from the petty thievery practiced by the Crown Prince in the French chateaux he occupied to wholesale butcheries of women and children; of the wounded and sick in hospitals; of nuns, priests and Red Cross nurses and so on through all the various groups of the weak and helpless whose slaughter has been for nearly four years among the sporting recreations of the Hun Hordes.

And the plain peace-bred assassins, rapists and incendiaries thus let loose from the German prisons will find they have a great deal to learn. The world has moved

since they were locked up. Doubtless many of them, untrained and inexperienced in the more advanced school of crime developed by their countrymen since the war began, may at first find their sensibilities shocked. Some of them may even feel like drawing the line of association with the Kaiser's trained experts in savagery. Our old friend Villa, himself no tyro in the agreeable arts of torture, maiming, ravishing and murdering, had to hide his distinguished head, be it remembered, when he first heard the details of Kultur's progressive slaughter-fest in Belgium. He had thought he knew something about bestiality. But he threw up his hands when he learned the coldly planned and minutely executed Hun exploits among the brave people who had objected to being walked over. Villa from that moment recognized his status. He was in the amateur class and frankly admitted it. But it is to be said for Villa that he was only an Indian. His instructors in brutality had only been untutored savages like himself. They had not had the rich stores of scientific learning to draw upon. There were no spectacled Herr professors among them to teach them the arts of wholesale slaughter and the more refined forms of cruelty such as the Hun military Universities of Crime have provided. Only the cruder forms of torture, such as mere sporadic burnings alive, were about their limit. Besides, they were hampered by scruples, a weakness in itself all but criminal in the Hun academies of frightfulness. They drew the line at using driven herds of old men, women and children as shields between them and the enemy. They disapproved the ravishing of nuns and of little girls barely emerged from the nursery. They were just plain savage men, but they were still men. And any latent instincts of mankind are a fatal handicap in any brutality competition with Kultur.

It is not at all unlikely that some of the convict recruits from the German penitentiaries may have some lingering, half-submerged prejudices of this kind to overcome before they can measure up to the standards the Kaiser's "Gott" has set. But, with a foundation of natural criminal propensities, no doubt they soon will attain a respectable standing among their blood-drenched Hun army associates. In the officers and gentlemen of the Kaiser's army they will find able instructors. And these instructors will be as exacting in their demand for practical efficiency as they will be thorough in their theoretical teachings. The jail birds will soon be trained and clubbed down from the higher moral standards of the penitentiary convict to the hearty, kultural level of Yahoo ethics of the German army.

We think if President Hadley's sense of humor was less highly developed and the New England conscience, of which he is in part the official custodian, was more active in its manifestations, it would be better for the morality of the great institution of learning over which he presides. The fact that eleven seniors of Yale voted for the blood stained beast of Europe as the foremost man of the world, is regarded by Dr. Hadley as a joke, "the type of joke which creeps into class voting almost invariably," he says, and therefore a childish prank not to be taken seriously; although the fact that there are eleven Germans and eleven Austrians in the senior class is conveniently ignored. We may remind Dr. Hadley that we are at war and that "jokes" of this char-

acter are not only ill timed but indecent; that Yale seniors are not thoughtless children but men, and any man who deliberately and with premeditation shows his preference for the German Emperor is guilty of treason, and as such to be treated not as a practical joker but as an enemy of his country. For the fair name of Yale the men guilty, whether Germans, Austrians or degenerate Americans, must be brought to book.

Gas Shells

THE *Army and Navy Journal*, which ordinarily reflects the more intelligent viewpoint of the War Department, assures us that Senator Hitchcock and his colleagues of the ordnance investigating committee will find "that the refusal of Congress in the past to pay any attention to the recommendations of our ordnance experts was the real cause of our inadequate ordnance preparation for war." *The Journal* adds that the entire story of our failure will be found in General Crozier's testimony before the Senate Committee last January, in which he recited the great abortive efforts made in years gone by to induce Congress to increase artillery appropriations.

We are inclined to agree with *The Journal* as far as it confines its arguments to the period previous to the war, but we find it impossible to accept the former warnings and appeals of the Ordnance Bureau as excusing some of its lamentable failures during the last year. Putting aside altogether, as irrelevant and impertinent, the promises which Mr. Baker wishes on the unsuspecting public every few days and devoting ourselves to the facts as they are offered to us by persons of responsibility, we have to confess that we are greatly alarmed by the activities of certain branches of the Ordnance Bureau.

Take for example the case of gas shells—and right here, let us state that we do not intend to discuss *experimental* gas shells or *Baker* gas shells, but shells that can be shipped in quantity to the front and hurled at Germans.

We are informed by the greatest military experts in Washington that the recent German successes may be attributed, to a very great degree, to the fact that the Hun had more gas shells, bigger gas shells and better gas shells than the Allies. All reports received at the War Department indicate the barrages of gas shells dropped back of the Allied lines were responsible for the most horrible results. Details appear to be superfluous. The fact is that thousands of our allies are now cold under the fields of Flanders because they were incapable of meeting gas attack with gas attack.

We are informed that after fourteen months of war Mr. Baker's ordnance department has not shipped *one gas shell* to General Pershing and barring miracles will make no considerable shipments until August. Up to the present time we have been unable to circumvent the band of press agents who camouflage War Department news, to the extent of getting at the truth concerning this astounding condition but we promise to make an effort to show just why an ordnance bureau which has been juggling billions for many months has failed to supply General Pershing with these absolutely essential weapons.

It is altogether conceivable that the nobby little pacifist who is presiding over the War Department will satisfy his

milk and water followers, with the excuse that the United States deprecated the use of such diabolical weapons and therefore made none of them in advance. We can assure Mr. Baker that if he has any such ideas he errs because as a matter of fact, the United States, at the Hague Convention declined to agree not to use gas shells in warfare for the very excellent reason that it was no more brutal to suffocate a soldier by gas than it was to suffocate a sailor by drowning.

If Mr. Baker desires all the facts on this point we suggest that he call in General Crozier, who represented the War Department at the Hague Convention and as the spokesman for this Government blocked the plan for prohibiting the use of gas by making an extremely logical and forceful presentation of the reasons which justify the use of deadly gases in modern warfare.

One of the interesting phases of the Wood incident was that it enabled the Chief of Staff, at last, to see the Commander-in-Chief. Perhaps now, after a while, the Provost Marshall General will get a look in.

The "Spoof" Nerve Center

JIM HAM sees the bounding Baker's 500,000 American soldiers in France and goes him 500,000 better. The War Department optimist only claimed we had half a million men abroad.

Then uprose the gifted Jim Ham, his flaming aurora borealis whiskers spreading a lurid glare over all the Chicago horizon, and launched, not 500,000, but one million of our fighting men, "all armed and equipped," upon the gore-soaked fields of France. He launched a number of other asinine things also. In other words, Jim Ham Lewis opened his mouth and spoke. On the face of it, the War Department pacifist ought to have shrivelled up to nothingness before this hot air back draft. Maybe he did. In default of a microscopic examination it is hard to say. However, it is of no particular consequence one way or the other. It about sums up to the swamping of one wind-bag by the premature explosion of another and a bigger one. But we are getting pretty well used to this sort of artillery.

Now, the only reason there is for mentioning this last Jim Ham oratorical antic is that as level-headed a Congressman as Mr. Longworth seemed to think it of enough importance to serve as a sort of a sub-text in a speech he was making on the general subject of this spread-eagle bombast. It had a tendency, he argued, to create a false confidence here at home and by so much to slack up the energy of our war work. Eliminating the fact that we all know our Jim Ham pretty well, and hence know about what ratio of discount to apply to the statistics he drops in his oratorical soarings, the point made by Representative Longworth is well taken. This is no time for over-statement. It is a time rather for under-statement, if it is absolutely necessary that Washington statements must be at some sort of variance with the facts. We need all the stimulus to our war effort possible. Exaggerated reports of facts accomplished do not supply that stimulus. Their effect, as Mr. Longworth said, is precisely the reverse. They are in every way mischievous.

Mr. Longworth did well when he spoke so forcefully against this form of Baker-Creel propaganda. He did par-

ticularly well when he brought Representative Caldwell, of New York, to book for statements, swollen out of all proportion to the truth, which Mr. Caldwell had caused to be spread on the pages of the *Congressional Record*. Mr. Caldwell admitted that his statistics were out of line with the facts. Then he "thanked God he was an optimist," and said that the American nation had "done a big thing in a big way."

Optimism is all right, but if the American nation has done a big thing in a big way, why not let the fact speak for itself? What is the use of weakening what is true by smothering it with a lot of bombastic yarns which are not true?

Mr. Kahn, of California, artlessly asked if the statement made by the War Department last year that we would have 22,000 airplanes in France by July 1 this year was not responsible for this tendency to exaggeration. It needs no Congressman to answer that query. Anybody and everybody can answer it, and the answer is an emphatic yes. The War Department's aircraft and half a dozen other incorrect statements are distinctly responsible for the tendency towards exaggeration. The War Department has been the source of more and worse exaggerations than have come from any other quarter. It has been the father of "exaggerations," if that is the name for them. Mr. Kahn put his finger right on the swank, swagger and—well, "spoof," nerve center.

William the Damned has just conferred some High Cockalorum "decoration" upon the degenerate Crown Prince for the "great successes" which his troops have won. But if our recollection serves us aright, His Imperial Degeneracy has not yet captured Verdun.

Among recent discoveries by our Military Intelligence Service was that of "a marine artillerist in the German navy." He was roaming about this country, free and happy, with a list of American merchant ships in his pocket, from which he had crossed off the names of all that had been sunk by German U-boats. He was, he said, "on furlough." We should like to know if it is customary for German navy artillerists or any members of the German navy or army, to come to this country on furlough, and how many of them there are here, and how they get here, and what we are going to do with them when they are detected. We have a somewhat uncheerful vision of what would happen to an American naval artillerist if he were found in mufti prowling around Potsdam.

Colonel House once told me that no man knew how the war would end or what events and agencies affected the destiny of the human race.—*Arthur S. Draper in the Tribune*.

No wonder the rest of us can only guess!

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(Supplied by the Committee on Public Information—G. Creel, Chairman)

OFFICIAL CAPTION:

“School Children Interested and Enthusiastic Over Secretary Baker’s and General Pershing’s Party.”

[Note the Interest and Enthusiasm Depicted upon the Children’s faces]

Letters To The Editor

ASK THE PRESIDENT

SIR,—

You have been so alert in finding out the truth about the Ottawa Cablegram, that I should like for you to say why Japan has not been allowed to fight in Russia? A writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* of February, 1917, stated with prophetic accuracy the future prospects of the war, and that we could not win unless Japan came to our aid. Is it too late to strike at the Huns by way of Siberia? Napoleon said: “Guns talk.” We and our Allies all talked a great deal while the Huns kept up a steady fire, more than a year ago. I said it would take us five years and 5,000,000 men before we would be effective at the front, and every day confirms my opinion. Your bon mot about needing a *Butcher* and not a *Baker* rings clear. How about an *Edwin M. Stanton*.
WASHINGTON.
SIMON WOLF.

FROM SENATOR FRANCE

SIR,—

I feel that publications such as yours, the sole purpose of which is to help the country win the war, can render valuable service, and it was a pleasure to me to send in my subscription.

JOSEPH I. FRANCE.

United States Senate.

APPROVAL

SIR,—

You are doing wonderful work. Your articles are well

digested in conception and so mercilessly true that every time you strike there is an illumination and vibrating force so deep and penetrating that it is felt throughout the country, stirring up the latent forces into action in such a manner that it makes the red blood tingle.

E. W. BIGGERSTAFF.

Rochester, N. Y.

AEROPLANES ABROAD

SIR,—

Our local “creel”, the editor of our morning paper, has intimated two or three times that announcement has been made of extensive shipment of aircraft to France and has quoted Dawson of the *New York Globe* in his editorial comment on rumors of satisfactory production and performance of American machines.

I have seen no authentic announcement in any news items or magazine articles of large production or shipment.

Being a subscriber to the *REVIEW* and the *WAR WEEKLY* I take the liberty of asking for reliable information as to any confirmation of these rumors. I have no doubt that you will be rejoiced to publish such confirmation if it can be found.

C. M. STEWART.

Des Moines, Iowa.

[No completed planes from here. 1,316 built abroad of American raw materials and equipped with foreign engines.—EDITOR.]

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING JUNE 15, 1918

NO. 24

His Mother Speaks!

HE DIED in France!

I know—
I who love courage so—
I must not weep, but only bravely smile,
Still thinking all the while
That, in some rosy haven where he lies
At rest in Paradise,
By a most gracious Heaven-granted chance
He smiles at me—my boy who died in France!

He surely could not be afraid,
How long we worked to make him brave!
Why, when he was a little tot, one day
He came home cut and bruised and gave
Me one scared look, and said,
"They pounded me," and cried and begged to
stay
Away from school and never, never, never to go
back.
And then we talked, my little lad and I,
He snuffled and he whined, but ceased to cry,
Then stood up straight and gave his chest a
whack,
And tossed his head—his close-cropped head,
Where his bright chestnut curls were used to
grow
Before his father cut them off—ah, long ago—
And said he'd beat them yet!

But oh, those dreary days
When he came home still beaten, still afraid!
His sobbing whimpers always made
My heart sink low. It was so hard to get
His courage back, and make him try again.
Till dawned that golden morning when
He strutted through the door, his eyes ablaze!
His lips were cut and his poor freckled nose
Was one red spurt of blood from well placed
blows.
I met the gaze
Of that wrecked god-like youngster, saw the
shade

Of fear had vanished, and I knew
That when he pranced and shouted, it was true—
"I ain't afraid!"

But now he's dead,
In France—I don't know where.
He thought I would not let him go,
Dear, foolish boy, and brought me flowers
And petted me and tried so to prepare
My heart for his great news. How could he
know

That I had read it in his deepened eyes
And sudden manly ways?
He was so proud that I could rise
To his fair dreams. He thought that I loved
Peace;

And so I did, until one night they drowned
A stately ship whose bravery has crowned
Her beauty for the centuries to praise.
Since then I did not cease
To rear about my splendid boy great towers
Of pray'r that he should fight with courage high
And that, if need be, bravely he should die.

I prayed that he might fight, if die he must,
Matched man to man with hope in ev'ry thrust;
That in his last encounter he should meet
A man who fought with grave and gallant grace
And, while the blows fell, in the other's face
Be written admiration; so the last defeat
Would not taste bitter from a foe so brave.
This boon I could not help but crave.
What futile dreams a mother's thoughts employ!
Surrounded he—a dozen to my boy!
And yet I know—
I who love courage so—
When through the dawn their faint shapes were
descried,
Thank God—he fought them all, and fighting
died!

—Blanche Olin Twiss, in *Scribner's*.

America Must Save Russia

IN striking contrast with the part taken by our Government in bringing about unified action by all the Powers opposed to Germany on the Western front is the policy which that same Government has been pursuing in relation to the Russian situation. Yet the necessity of union is as great in the one case as in the other. There may be—there unquestionably are—perplexities in the Russian problem which have no counterpart in the military question that was settled at Versailles, and for his vital share in the settlement of which President Wilson has received such abundant acknowledgment on the other side of the Atlantic. But the existence of difficulty is no excuse for failure to grapple with the problem, at a time when the whole future of the world may turn on its being met and mastered without delay.

Whether Mr. Wilson's policy of waiting and watching be the right one or not, certainly it is not a policy that we are justified in adopting simply because it happens to strike our fancy as best. The defeat of Germany is not a separate concern of ours, it is the joint concern of all the nations that are jointly fighting Germany in order that life may be worth living for them all. And the saving of Russia from the maw of Germany is just as essential to the defeat of Germany as is the checking of the advance of the German hordes in Flanders, or Picardy, or Champagne. Having thrown off the rôle of cold and selfish and short-sighted isolation, we must accept whole-heartedly our new rôle of equal participants in the world's struggle against intolerable despotism. And we do not genuinely accept that rôle if we assume the right to paralyze action in a vital concern of the anti-German alliance by refusal to take council upon it with our comrades.

It is not the desire of France or Britain or Italy to pursue imperialist ambitions in any intervention which they might undertake or sanction in Siberia. That Japan has no such desire either, there is every reason to believe; and whatever doubt may exist on that point could be thoroughly removed by joint international action properly undertaken, and accompanied by the proper enunciation of joint intent. But if President Wilson thinks that there would nevertheless be danger of such intervention doing more harm by exciting Russian ill-feeling than it would do good by giving Russia a chance to be saved from falling completely and permanently into the grip of the German machine, let him present that view, and the arguments for it, to the statesmen of the Allied nations. They will be sure to give it all possible weight; they are under bonds to do so, even if his personal prestige, upon its own merits, were far less than it is. But it is to be supposed that, upon his part, he—or his representative in the conference—would give due attention to the considerations that weigh upon the other side. The one thing certain is that there is crying need for a policy toward Russia determined upon by a council of all the Powers that are engaged in the life-and-death struggle against Germany. We have no right to play a lone hand in a game the losing of which may mean, to our partners and to ourselves, the losing of everything.

The inherent difficulties of the situation must be admitted to be enormous. With the Bolsheviks in power—true though it be that that power is shaky, that no one knows how near it may be to collapse—any move that aroused Bol-

shevik hostility would have to reckon with calamitous possibilities. It would be essential to reduce those possibilities to a minimum by every precaution that wisdom and sagacity could suggest. Material assistance on a great scale—in the shape of supplies and organizing direction for the restoration of the productive energies of the country—would doubtless be welcomed by the Bolshevik rulers as well as by the people at large; but this of itself is obviously unfitted to cope with the situation. The beautiful "idealism" of such casting of bread upon the waters would not avail to prevent the Germans from continuing to strangle Russia so far as it suited their purpose, nor from sucking up her resources and her man-power so far as that was the more profitable course for them. An essential condition of succor would be such guarding of the results of that succor as would assure that it would promote not Russian vassalage, but Russian independence. And it seems manifestly impossible to provide that assurance except through the dispatch of an armed force, for the protection of what the helping hand might achieve.

No one can deny that the carrying out of such a programme is full of difficulty and would be beset by peril. But without peril nothing can be accomplished in such a situation as that which confronts us in Russia. To let it work itself out is to incur the greatest peril of all. Month by month, week by week it has been working itself out in a steady tightening of the German grip, a steady broadening of the area of German control. To this process there is no sign of any limit. If it goes on as it has been going on, the end will be an increase of German power beyond the wildest dreams the Germans themselves entertained before Russia went to pieces, an increase that threatens to nullify all that victory on the Western front, purchased at the cost of unspeakable sacrifice by the free nations of the world, may achieve. Before it is decided that the risk of any plan of intervention is too great, let it be compared with the appalling risk that goes with non-intervention.

Any expedition that might be sent would have to be international, and backed by an international pledge. It would have to be made plain, both by unmistakable language and by the character of the organization that just as surely as we wish to promote Russian independence as against Germany, so surely do we guarantee that no encroachment upon that independence will be committed, or permitted, on the part of any of the Powers allied against Germany. Russia is so helpless, so incapable of doing anything for herself, that if she is to be saved it is manifestly necessary that somebody must interpose from the outside; if this is an offence against the idea of independence, the offence must be committed. But it can be made plain that the intrusion will not continue beyond the time that it is essential for the saving of the Russian people from subjugation by a Power which they are utterly impotent to challenge or resist. If this assurance be given both by a joint declaration of the intervening Powers and by the convincing circumstance that the headship of the whole undertaking is entrusted to the United States, it does not seem too much to hope that, with or without Bolshevik concurrences the intervention will find a mighty welcome among at least a preponderant part of the Russian people. And if it does, the Allied expedition may well prove to be the rallying-point for the regeneration of Russia.

All this is matter upon which it is possible to spend a vast amount of thought without arriving at anything like

certainty; the best that can be done is to come to the conclusion which a practical weighing of possibilities and probabilities dictates. But there is one kind of consideration that has played no inconsiderable part in the discussion of American policy, which feasible men should make short work of. We refer to the idea that we must keep our skirts absolutely immaculate, must completely avoid not only evil but the appearance of evil, must be sure that no sensitive soul shall suffer a qualm of doubt as to the purity of our democratic idealism. This nation is twin brother to the sickly pacifism which so long interfered with a realization of the stern duty that the world's peril imposed upon us. Long after it was plain that to shrink from taking our share in the shedding of German blood was to be recreant to the cause of freedom and humanity, there were feeble souls—or feeble minds—that clung to the sweet vision of "idealist" non-resistance. We hear little from them now; but who can say to what extent our disastrous delay is to be laid to the account of their deterrent influence? Let us brush aside all such tenuous nonsense now. Let us not be afraid to do what needs to be done in Russia because it may seem to offend some visionary ideal of "democratic" perfection. If intervention will do more harm than good, by all means don't intervene; but if intervention will keep Russia from being swallowed by Germany, if it will help the world to destroy the Prussian terror, then to refrain from intervention because of priggish qualms would be not only imbecile but criminal.

The following resolution, introduced by Senator King of Utah, is pending in the Senate:

"Whereas German troops are now operating in Russia and are making advances with a view to taking possession of Russian territory including Siberia and subjecting the same to political domination and industrial servitude, and

"Whereas the cause of the Allies and the principles for which they wage war are thus placed in jeopardy; now therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that a commission be sent to Russia to co-operate with the American Ambassador and other representatives of our Government to overcome and neutralize German propaganda and to aid in Russia's economic, industrial and political freedom; and be it further

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that a military expedition be organized and sent by the United States in conjunction with its allies including Japan and China to co-operate with the Russian armies to repel the German advance and to expel from Russia German military power and establish therein the authority of the people and Government of Russia."

We heartily commend the spirit of this resolution, but it ought not to pass. This is the President's business and interference from Congress can make only for embarrassment.

But, for God's sake, let us not take another chance of being "too late, too late!" The thing to do is to appoint forthwith such a commission and to organize such an accompanying expeditionary force as Senator King proposes.

We have it upon the highest authority that all of our Allies, Britain, France, Italy, Japan and China, are not only willing but eager that the United States should designate the leaders of both the civil and the military bodies. And we respectfully suggest to the President that he name as the head of the one David Jayne Hill, the most capable and most experienced American diplomatist now living, and of the other, our greatest soldier, Leonard Wood, as commander, with the rank of General, of the allied forces.

We read in the faithful World:

Washington, June 10.—Secretary Baker to-day was before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, which considered the Army Appropriation Bill. The matter of Gen. Wood being shunted aside was brought forward by Senator Hitchcock, who startled his associates with the query:

"What is going to be done with Gen. Wood?"

The Secretary replied that Gen. Wood now is performing some duties, but his exact future assignment has not been arranged. The order sending him to the Presidio, he said, had been recalled and none issued in its place. He said that he had no idea what is in the mind of the Commander in Chief of the Army, meaning the President.

Secretary Baker was cross-examined up and down the line but did not produce any affirmative information. As one member described it, he "pollyfoxed around" and did not throw any positive light on the situation, past, present or future. Without saying so, he left an impression that Gen. Pershing did not desire Gen. Wood to serve in France.

The spectacle of Mr. Baker "pollyfoxing around" is no novelty; nor can it be expected that he should always know what is passing through the kaleidoscopic mind referred to; the essential point is that the Secretary of War cutely passes the buck to the President; and we have no objection to that because it is a much safer place and incidentally where it belongs.

Billions for War Only

DURING the month of May the United States expended \$1,500,000,000, largely for war purposes and including loans to its allies. During the fiscal year beginning July 1, the Nation will, according to the estimates of the Treasury Department, expend the enormous total of \$24,000,000,000. It is the purpose of the administration to raise this vast sum, one-third by taxation and two-thirds by bond issues. The plans of the administration contemplate a doubling of the present income tax and an increase of the excess profits tax to 80 or 90 per cent of such profits.

According to present plans, Secretary McAdoo does not contemplate floating the next bond issue until October, but that does not mean that the Treasury has on hand funds to meet these extraordinary expenditures. Neither does it mean that the autumn bond issue will not be anticipated. On the contrary, about July 1, Mr. McAdoo will begin the issue of Treasury certificates at the rate of \$750,000,000 a week. These will be allotted to the banks of the country according to quotas based on their resources and each bank will be expected to take its full quota,—a fact, by the way, of which the banks are not yet aware. These certificates will be receivable at the Treasury for Liberty Bonds and by this machinery the Government will enjoy a steady flow of income, while added inducement will be afforded the banks to subscribe their full quota to the bond issue, the proceeds of which they will, to a large extent, collect from the public while they pay for them at the Treasury with the certificates they have previously purchased.

Staggering as are the figures here given—the expenditures of the Government for the year just closing amount to approximately \$13,000,000,000—no loyal American will begrudge the outlay. No consideration of expense must be allowed to interfere with the winning of the war, and no patriotic citizen will criticise the Administration because of the vastness of its expenditures or complain of the burden which increased income and excess profits taxes impose—PROVIDED the money is wisely expended.

But with expenditures mounting at such a pace, with every citizen from the highest to the lowest compelled to contribute till it hurts, there comes imperative necessity for pru-

dence, for economy, for wisdom. This is no time for cheese-paring, it is true. But also it is no time for reckless extravagance. "Millions for war but not one cent for politics" must be the watch-word of all who control the expenditure of the public funds. Woe unto the administration which is convicted of wasting the substance of the American people at this, of all times, to promote the political welfare of any party or any candidate, avowed or merely prospective! The American people are a just and generous people. They are brave and they are patriotic. They are even forgiving. In large measure they have forgiven—at least for the time being—that unwillingness to prepare which now compels them to pay twice and thrice the cost which would have been incurred had military preparation been undertaken in due season. But a stern accounting awaits their public servants if they shall be found to have wasted the Nation's substance in pandering to certain elements of the voting population. And those whose ambitions prompt them to commit extravagances in order to promote their personal political welfare should take heed lest the nomination when procured prove worthless because they have incurred the wrath of those whom they have betrayed.

Avoidable extravagance at this critical period of the war is simple treason. It is a betrayal, not alone of those who are straining every nerve to pay taxes and buy bonds, but of those who have gone "over there," cheerfully to give their lives if need be, to save their country and the world from Prussianism. It is especially their betrayal because every dollar wasted will mean subtraction from the material assistance which their government can render them.

All Mr. Baker has to do, to continue to keep three thousand miles away from the war, is to transfer his hindquarters to San Francisco.

Justice Getting Busy

WE are not inclined to quarrel with General O'Neil for reducing to twenty-five years the sentences of imprisonment for life which a court-martial had imposed upon a gang of forty-five "conscientious objectors" who, when conscribed into the military service of the nation, refused to wear army uniforms; apparently preferring prison stripes. The original sentences were not, it is true, too severe. Yet if to shorten them to twenty-five years, which will still mean for life to most of them, and which to the few survivors will mean merely a few years of liberty clouded with remorse and with the contempt of their fellow men—if that be to "temper justice with mercy," we are quite content. Only, let no other "conscientious objector"—which usually means a coward and a liar and always a moral traitor—get off with a less penalty.

It is a refreshing and inspiring achievement, to have such a number of scalawags thus summarily disposed of in a bunch. It indicates the efficiency and the fine sense of duty of a court-martial, and explains why many men have wished that all persons guilty of treasonable conduct of any kind could be sent before such tribunals.

Simultaneously with this fine work, however, there comes another case, in which the civil courts will have an opportunity to show equal efficiency with the military. The Federal Grand Jury in New York found this week indictments

against nine persons, for seditious conspiracy and attempted treason. Most of them are renegade Irishmen of the Sinn Fein kidney, distrusted and despised by all true Irishmen as well as by the rest of the world, but some are Germans, and all are charged with implication in German plots and propaganda for the aid of Germany against this country and its Allies. The evidence against them is believed to be conclusive. The penalty for their crimes is death.

We shall not assume to prejudge their cases, nor to instruct the court in its duty. But we may properly observe that the disposition which is made of these cases will inevitably enter into comparison with that which was made by the Texas court-martial of the cases of the "conscientious objectors." It will be gratifying to the popular sense of patriotism to have them dealt with expeditiously, as it will also promote the ends of justice. If the government shall fail to prove its case against them, they will of course be set at liberty. But if the case is proved and conviction is secured, the country will look for the meting out of inexorably severe sentences against them. It will expect the Department of Justice and the civil courts to demonstrate that the honor and safety of the nation are as precious to them as to the army and are as safe in their keeping as in that of the military authorities.

We are not bloodthirsty. We hate to see human life destroyed. But we hate still more to see our Nation's life menaced. This land of ours has been seriously jeopardized by reptiles of the kind that these indicted persons are said to be. It is even now almost honeycombed with treason and sedition and enemy alien propaganda. We believe that it is time for strenuous action, for making treason so odious that there will be an end of tampering with it. The news that forty-five "conscientious objectors" have been sent to prison for twenty-five years will have a magnificent effect in discouraging others from imitating their ways. The news that half a dozen German spies and their Sinn Fein accomplices had been sent to the scaffold, or the firing squad, or the electric chair, would have an equally fine effect in discouraging other spies and traitors.

It is high time for justice, whether in silken robes or in khaki, to get busy for the Nation's sake.

How interesting it would be to learn who gave "passes to army camps all over the country" to two men masquerading as clergymen and arrested as spies at Camp Mills!—*The Sun*.

And how satisfying it would be to hear that the masquerading spies had been stood up against a wall and shot! But can you imagine Pansy—oh, what's the use?

Shut Out the Huns

THE true state of affairs in the Curtiss Aircraft plant is thus far only outlined in the revelations made by the Senate Military Affairs sub-committee. But the mere outline, as reported by the *Sun*, is sufficient to leave no doubt that something is essentially wrong or rotten either in the management of that concern or farther back in the chain which connects it with the Government.

So far as the plant itself is concerned, one of the discoveries the sub-committee is understood to have made goes far towards explaining a number of others. On the roster of the company's employees are a number of Teutonic names. Some of the owners of these names were among the most trusted

men in the establishment. They were classed as "experts," several of these workmen of enemy nation origin. They held responsible positions. It was within their power to seriously cripple the factory's productive capacity.

Something has crippled it. The sub-committee found that whereas the Dayton and the Detroit aircraft plants were running smoothly and approaching quantitative delivery even in combat planes, the Curtiss plant has not as yet turned out a single one of these planes. Taken in connection with the large number of employees of suspicious nationality in the Curtiss concern, the bare statement of this fact is sufficiently suggestive.

With another condition the sub-committee is reported to have discovered we are more or less familiar from melancholy past experience. That is the swiftly succeeding and vast number of changes in specifications which flowed presumably from authoritative quarters. In the Liberty motor mess, in the ordnance and other branches of war work confusion this has occurred up to the point of all but complete paralysis of effort, although in these quarters the evil now has been to a great extent overcome. But in the Curtiss plant it seems to have continued rampant even up to the time of the sub-committee's visit of investigation. With each change valuable material, even including that precious spruce for which the forests have been ransacked, was thrown into scrap heaps and consumed in bonfires about which exultant enemy aliens, either within or without the factory, might well have danced with joy. Aside from this wanton waste, in itself little less than criminal in the stress of present conditions, the rapid-fire rush of alteration orders utterly demoralized the industrial conditions of the plant. For this reason alone it is surprising that the plant's productive usefulness was not completely paralyzed instead of being merely heavily handicapped. The wonder is, not that the Curtiss concern has failed to turn out any combat planes, but that it has been able to put out the few hydroplanes with which it is credited.

Now, without hazarding an opinion as to all the reasons for the state of affairs in the Curtiss Company as revealed in outline by the sub-committee's inquiries, there is already in evidence an error of management so gross that it alone would be strong presumptive explanation of the worst that has happened or that could happen. The swarm of Huns among the employees is sufficient to explain everything and anything in the way of failure. Why the company permitted the presence of these men, whose antecedents of origin is prima-facie evidence of their being capable of any and all forms of treachery, is past fathoming. Instance after instance has occurred where enemy aliens in concerns doing war work have come under rather more than suspicion, and have been peremptorily expelled from places into which only the most fatuous carelessness permitted them to penetrate. Only a few months ago a large establishment engaged in war work near Philadelphia was raided by Secret Service agents and over a score of Huns were unearthed. Some of them were open enemy aliens. They had lived here for years and had never taken any steps towards naturalization. Others were comparatively new arrivals, fresh from the foul Hun styes of Central Europe. One of them was a foreman. Another held only a slightly less responsible position. All of them had access to materials and participated in the construction of mechanisms on which the lives of American soldiers and sailors depended.

It is simply disheartening in the face of these repeated instances of next to criminal carelessness on the part of employers, and in defiance of the most elementary conceptions of ordinary caution, to find a concern like the Curtiss Company opening its doors wide to the admission of dangers so obvious. It is not only disheartening to faith in American common sense, but it is a matter that calls for instant and drastic action. Out of our factories, out of all forms of employment even remotely touching our war work, the Huns have got to go. Not in a single instance and not without the most minute investigation of antecedents, should a person of enemy nation origin, even in parentage if he be American born, be admitted to any employment opening to him any opportunities for that treachery in which the whole Hun breed are such past masters. If employers have not sense enough to take such precautions they should be debarred from any kind of Government work whatever. And in case of contracts already granted, the employment of Hun labor in carrying them out should be ground for their immediate annulment. Clean the Huns out of every war work shop. Sweep out the whole mess of Kultur litter. In that way and in that way only immunity from Hun treachery lies.

From an indignant correspondent in Ohio:

It is easy enough to criticise. Anybody can do that. But what are *you* doing to "win the war," as you call it?

Far less than we should like, you may be sure; our three stars, unhappily, represent all we have. Our chief regret is that we are not a Mormon and able to send a whole battalion.

The calling of great leaders in the industrial world—Schwab, Stettinius, Ryan—to the headship of great branches of the Government war service has been received with enthusiastic and unanimous applause. But nobody seems to be drawing from it any grand far-reaching moral. Yet if the conservatively-minded were not so much in the habit of piping low nowadays, they might feel that their turn had come for playing some of the fine tunes that have been monopolized by the people who think that everything is going to be brand-new in the world and that everything that was in it before was good for nothing. When the Government took over the railroads, what a chorus was set up about the calamitous "break-down" of our privately owned railroad system! Nobody thought it was in the least necessary, in order to substantiate this accusation of failure, to discuss the question whether, if the Government had been running the railroads, they would have been better equipped to meet a situation for which neither Government nor people was making any sort of preparation. The chances are that, taking one consideration with another, they would on the whole have been far less prepared for the crisis. But here now has been the Government grappling for a whole twelvemonth with ship production, airplane production, munitions production, for the very purpose of this war, and at last finds that it is to the organizing genius of private business enterprise that it has to turn to be saved. Isn't this at least as good a case of Government "break-down" as the condition of the railroads was of corporation "break-down"?

The Sorrows of Josephus-Et Al.

JOSEPHUS DANIELS is in deep grief. The innate and overpowering modesty of the Hon. Secretary of the Navy has been outraged. The bizarre—not to say risqué—character of the time-honored uniform of the American Jacky is the cause of Mr. Daniels' woe. He has solemnly decided that it is too décolleté—the fact that he pronounces it deck-o-leé-tee serves in no wise to mitigate his grief. Scrutinizing a group picture of stalwart Jackies, Mr. Daniels discovered that the blouses of several were so low in front that they revealed in all their nudity their white athletic Jersies, which he mistook for undershirts. The horrific discovery was sufficient to move the head of the navy to tears and rob him of his night's slumbers. But dawn found him with grim determination on his face. Neither time, nor expense, nor custom should be spared. Modesty must be preserved. No longer should the frail youth and beauty of the land be subjected to temptation by such wanton display of the intimacies of the sailor's uniform. And, as with Josephus to think is but to act, no sooner had the Navy Department opened on the following morning than the machinery was put in motion to reform the garb of our sailor men. To the officers whom he consulted Mr. Daniels confided his opinion that the V-shaped necks of the enlisted man's uniforms are "indelicate, indecent and vulgar." How long it will take to supply the 300,000 enlisted men with new blouses has not yet been determined, but in the meantime it is daily expected that the Paymaster will be ordered to purchase and issue 300,000 safety-pins and the Judge Advocate-General instructed to prepare a general order commanding all enlisted men to keep their blouses tightly pinned about their throats.

Incidentally, the General Board of the Navy has been engaged in an effort to reform the uniforms of the commissioned officers. Almost to a man, the commissioned personnel feels that the blouse which officers are required to wear, with its standing-collar, both blouse and collar being tightly hooked all up the front and at the neck, is not only uncomfortable but militates against efficiency. Association with the navies of other nations have emphasized the advantage of the open necked blouse for officers. Objection was made to a change, however, on the ground that it would impose on officers, who supply their own uniforms, an unnecessary expense. Then the General Board submitted the question of a change to the officers themselves, none under the rank of senior lieutenant—presumably on the theory that junior officers are not married and therefore can more easily live upon their pay—being permitted to vote. The officers of the Atlantic, Asiatic and Pacific fleets voted for the change 303 to 200, those on duty in European waters, 273 to 76, and those on shore duty 504 to 381, while 47 recorded themselves as indifferent.

No thought occurred to those in authority that objection would be raised by Secretary Daniels and they were about to prepare the order when Mr. Daniels interposed. On two grounds he objected, one being that the present style of tightly hooked blouse had so long been worn that it was distinctive and everywhere recognized as the American uniform; the other being that any change would be an extravagance in view of the shortage of wool and woollen goods. So the hopes of the commissioned personnel, not only of the navy but of the army, were dashed. For army officers wear the same style of blouse and find it equally uncomfortable and an

obstacle to the most efficient work, and they believed that were the navy to break the time-honored custom and set the precedent the army would be prompt to follow suit. The enlisted man in the army also wears a tightly hooked blouse, but whenever the temperature or the character of his duties demands he is permitted to doff his blouse and work in his khaki shirt, a privilege the officer is denied.

Having refused to permit a change which would add to the comfort, and therefore to the efficiency, of the 20,000 officers, Mr. Daniels now proposes to make a change which will subtract, in some measure, from the comfort of the 300,000 enlisted men. But of what moment is the comfort of the men, the preservation of a time-honored and universally recognized uniform, or even the conservation of wool, as compared with the preservation of the pristine purity of the Jacky and the salvation of the rudely shocked but undaunted modesty of the Secretary of the Navy?

Hats off to the sturdy patriot, Clarence Hungerford Mackay, who gives his beautiful mansion and great estate to the Red Cross for a base hospital and thereby sets a shining example for his well-to-do neighbors.

The Swivel Chair Forces

THE resolution of Representative Madden, of Illinois, calling for a report from every Cabinet officer as to the number of men of draft age now performing clerical work in the several Departments of the Government, and thereby exempt from military service, goes to the heart of what has grown to be a great abuse. In arguing for the adoption of his resolution, Mr. Madden informed the House on the authority of a member of the Committee on Agriculture, that the Secretary of Agriculture has admitted that there are in his Department alone, 2,000 young men of draft age. Mr. Madden's informant also told him that the Secretary of Agriculture has used his influence with local exemption boards to have these men excused from being called to the colors, on the ground that their services where they are now employed were "indispensable" to the Government.

"Indispensable" is a pretty big word with which to characterize the services of any man, especially of any man of the average capacity of the Governmental Department clerks. If the Secretary, always provided he did actually so use the word, meant that some of the draftable men were more valuable to the Government as clerks than they would be as soldiers in the ranks, his statement is not unreasonable. By reason of special equipment, specialized attention to problems bearing upon our war efficiency, or even of adeptness at their present tasks either from peculiar knack or acquired experience, there undoubtedly are in all of the Government Departments many young men of draft age whose transfer to the ranks would be a waste of energy. None of them, of course, is "indispensable" where he is. None of them is "indispensable" on the fighting lines or behind those lines in France. The most that could be said regarding anyone of them is that he is serving the country better in his present capacity than he could in any other.

And that is precisely the question which in each individual case will have to be decided on its merits and with discriminating judgment when the inevitable lining up for inspection of the swivel chair forces takes place.

Whether all of the Departments have as many draftable employees as has the Department of Agriculture can only be determined when the returns, under the Madden resolution, which by the way, is cordially supported by Speaker Clark, are all in. What is certain is that there are great numbers of them. It is likewise certain that among them are far too many, who have got these bomb-proof berths at home and who are no more entitled to exemption from military service than are thousands of other young men who are facing the enemy at the front. Through influences of one kind and another, they have been enabled to keep under cover where other and better men, who scorned to save their skins by such skulking devices or who were without the particular "pull" required, have gone into the ranks and are there doing their duty and laying down their lives for their country.

It is the weeding out of such parasites as these and forcing them to face the music with the other splendid young Americans who did not have to be dragged out by the heels to induce them to face it that is essential. This is the kind of house-cleaning in the Departments that is badly needed. Not only have favored ones been enabled thus to face the draft, but instances are available for citation where they have been raised to a military rank which real men and real soldiers only win by years of service or by special gallantry and brilliant deeds on the field of battle itself.

This is simply outrageous. It is an evil that demands instant correction. But, in applying the correction, there must be careful investigation and the application of sound common sense in every case. It is quite conceivable that the actual conditions, as they shall stand revealed after response to Mr. Madden's resolution, may be of a nature to move the corrective authorities to wrath. And any sweeping, wrath-inspired action in the premises may well result not only in injustices to individuals, but in actual detriment to the Government by the removal of men from places where their services are of more value than they would be elsewhere.

What is the use of Dr. Garfield adjuring us to lay in a winter's supply of coal when there is no coal to be had?

Wrong and Glad of It

WE stand corrected and rejoice in the fact. Vermont is not a slacker. To be sure we never said she was, although we did give a reluctant assent to statements about her war record which possibly might carry that implication. When such a venerable fountain of veracity as the *Springfield Republican* makes an assertion and if you see it also in the *Sun*, why then naturally you think it is so. And to that degree of confiding faith we plead guilty. We believed what these papers said about Vermont. We shouldn't have done it. We shouldn't have believed anything which any person or any paper said to the detriment of Vermont. But we did. It hurt to do it, but we did believe, on the authority of these two pillars of journalistic veracity, that the Jews, when they responded so magnificently to the country's colors, "had done better, far better, much as it grieved us to admit it, than had the boys of Vermont, which we had so long regarded as the crack State of the Union."

Since the publication of that unfortunate remark we have

heard from Vermont—copiously. And with every communication and with the voluminous documentary evidence with which each was accompanied, we have grown happier. The more the evidence which convicted us hopelessly of not knowing what we were talking about when we said what we did was piled up on us, the more our satisfaction increased. And in no way is that satisfaction more satisfactory than in spreading before our readers that overwhelming mass of facts regarding Vermont which leaves every detractor of Vermont's patriotism without a leg to stand on. And here are those facts, at least a few of them. Here are some of the things Vermont has done towards winning the war:

1.—Appropriated one million dollars for the public defense six days before the declaration of war.

2.—Spent over \$100,000 to equip her regiment prior to its call into the Federal service.

3.—Gives ten dollars per month extra pay, over and above that received from the Federal Government, to every Vermont soldier and is the only State in the Union, save Massachusetts, that gives State pay to her volunteers.

4.—Stands fifth among the States in voluntary enlistment credits for the first draft.

5.—Has one county, Windham, not yet called upon to furnish any men for the draft. Has eight counties that have been called upon to furnish less than fifty men each.

6.—Has more soldiers in France in proportion to her population than any other State in the Union.

7.—Is the mother of eleven admirals and has filled the maximum quota allowed her to enlist in the Navy.

8.—At Rutland in September held the first State War Convention of its kind where all of the Allied Governments were represented.

9.—The day after the declaration of war passed an espionage law carrying the death penalty.

10.—Has 30,000 of her young people enrolled in the Green Mountain Guard whose food production passed \$200,000 in value last season.

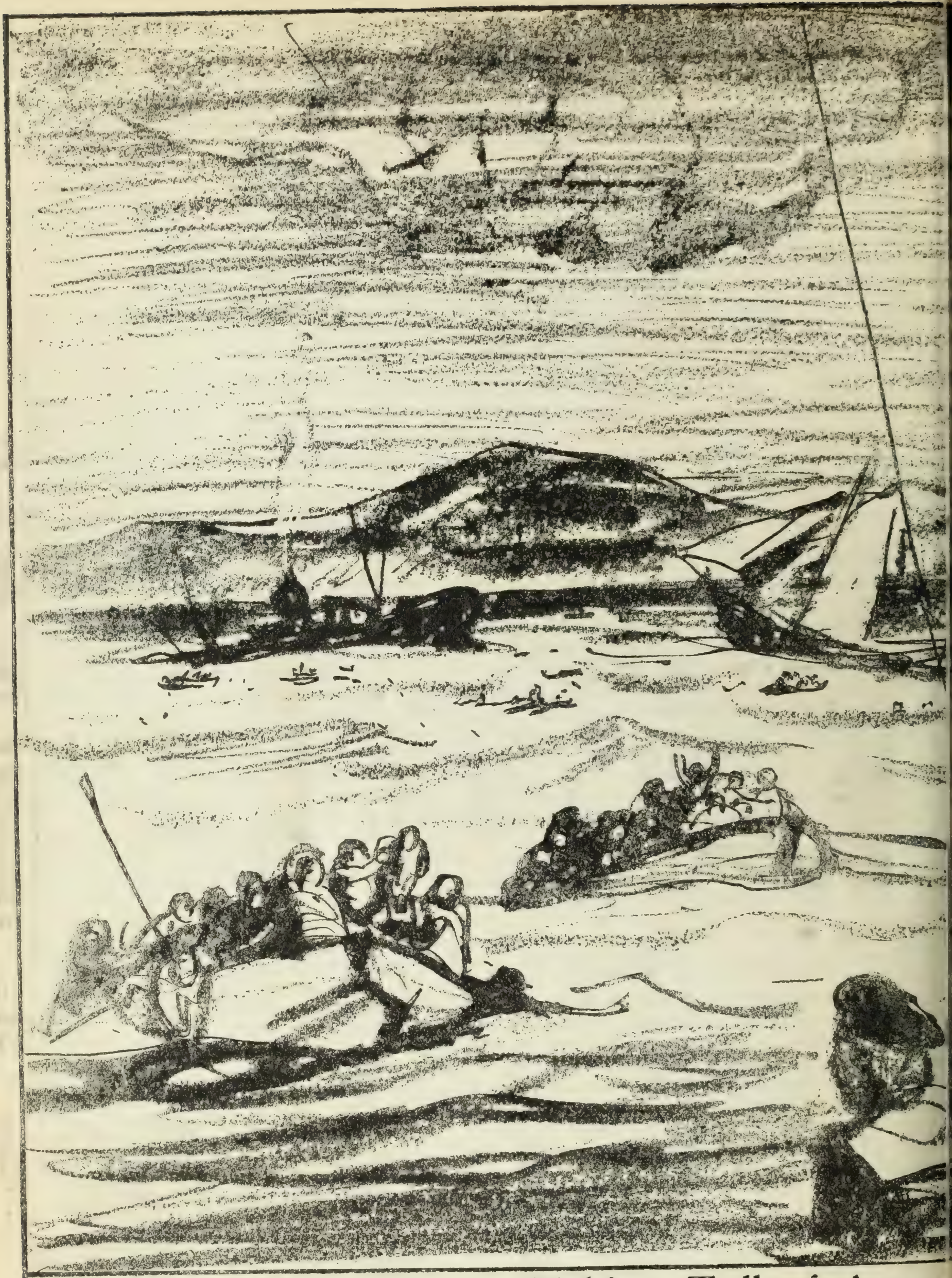
11.—Has exceeded her quota in every war endeavor—two Liberty Loans, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., War Library, War Camp Recreation, K. of C., and Armenian and Syrian Relief.

Now there are a good many other things Vermont has done towards winning the war. But what is the use of piling it on? We are buried out of sight under it as the record stands. Buried under it and happy with the burden. Of course we ought to have known better. Anybody ought to have known better. Anybody ought to have known that Vermont when it came to patriotism would be the banner State just as she has been ever since she submerged her own independence and annexed the United States of America.

"Over 700,000 in France," quoth Mr. Baker. Correct! And more on the ocean. Of the 700,000, about 450,000 are fighting men and of the 450,000 about 300,000 are fairly well trained for actual service at the front.

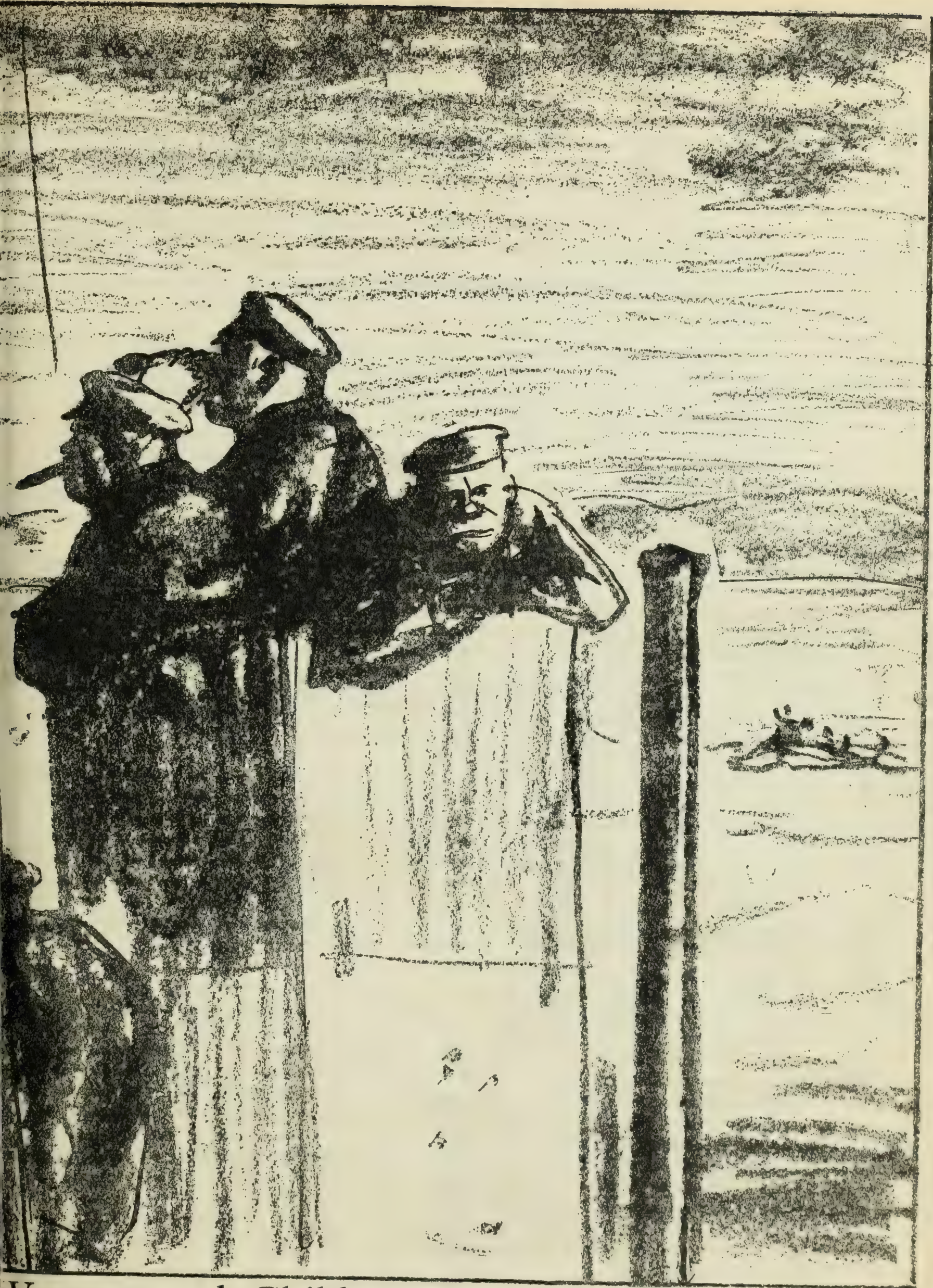
"For the good of the service," General Wood is to be kept out of the war, the *Evening Post* reports Mr. Baker to have said. For the good of whose service? (*To be continued.*)

Postmark on envelope: "Air Mail Service, Jun 3, 1918, v New York, First trip." Letter delivered at No. 1817 H Street, Washington on June 7. Good work!



Taking Toll of America

Does Mr. Baker Realize Now that t



Women and Children
Not "Three Thousand Miles Away"?

The Week

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1918.

THE Drive continues. So we remarked last week, and so we must repeat today. Or perhaps we should say, the attempt at a drive continues. After feeling of the Allied line at various points, an attack in force was made not on the Marne, where, as we suggested, the salient of the Huns was already as deep as prudence permitted and where efforts to widen it seemed futile, but near Amiens, the point at which we at first regarded the chief assault as likeliest to be made. Down the valley of the Somme would be the best possible approach to the Channel, and an advance in that direction would also be a fresh menace to Paris; beside which there is the superb cathedral of Amiens, second in splendor only to that at Rheims, which doubtless the Huns would like to batter down. The attempt is not, however, meeting with great success, despite the profligate expenditure of German lives. The French commander presumably thinks that it would not be wise to yield much more territory, even at the enormous price in soldiers' lives that the Huns are willing to pay. Resistance is therefore stiffening, and there have even been some vigorous and successful counter attacks, in which some ground has been gained and in which it is gratifying to record American troops have conspicuously participated.

The Allied line, we confidently believe, will hold. It may be further bent and pushed back, though we should doubt if any such process were carried far; but it will not be broken. Such confidence is welcome, yet it is not altogether satisfying. Something much more than defence is needed. The battle and the war cannot be won simply by holding the foe in check. General Foch has expressed a pertinent and profitable truth in saying that a purely defensive battle does not result in victory. What is needed for that is a successful offensive. That writes large the lesson for America. Our Allies have held the lines in successful defensive for nearly four years, but they can do no more. It remains for us to go in with sufficient force to take and to maintain the offensive. That is the only way in which the war can be won.

We are glad to observe, in this connection, that the War Department is preparing for the manufacture of large siege guns such as are needed for use against strong permanent fortifications. It is explained that they are intended for use against German fortresses, on German soil, when our army assumes the aggressive and invades the enemy's country. We accept that as an indication that there are those in the War Department who do not expect the war to be ended through negotiation and arrangement, but who look for an Allied advance beyond the German border. Such a movement would be most commendable. Indeed we should greatly regret to see the war ended before the Germans themselves received in their own country a full taste of its terrors. The Allied troops would of course not indulge in the nameless crimes which the Huns committed in Belgium and France. But merely their irresistible and triumphant presence would count tremendously toward shattering the German *morale* and dispelling the delusion of German invincibility with which the Hohenzollerns have sought to becloud their army and the nation.

American troops are increasingly figuring in the operations on the western front, and are now a factor whose force

can be felt; probably by both sides. There is no doubt that their presence and their fine achievements have perceptibly heartened our Allies. We shall not say that they have improved their *morale*, for that had shown no symptoms of impairment. But our Allies have been made to realize as they could not before that America is really with them, not only in words but in deeds. We have heard much of the joy and encouragement which were afforded by some of the President's addresses. With all possible appreciation of the inspiring quality of his rhetoric, a single company of American troops at the front, killing two or three times their number of Huns, is worth more than all the speechmaking in the world as an earnest of real belligerence.

The U-boat raid on our North Atlantic coast and shipping lanes continues, with repeated losses of vessels on our side and little assurance that the foe has been made to suffer for his temerity. The difficulty of safeguarding so great an extent of coast must not be underestimated, nor must we lay the flattering unction to our souls that we are more exempt from hostile invasion than are our Allies. Yet the general efficiency of our navy has been so great that we are justified in expecting our coast waters to be kept safe for navigation and our coast cities to be protected from bombardment. The search for a concealed submarine harbor and "mother ship" somewhere between New York and Mexico is doubtless being prosecuted with thoroughness and zeal, and we shall not be surprised to hear any day of its success. Of course, U-boats could come hither from the other side without any such station. But it seems far more likely that a station has been provided and is in use. No airplane raid has been made upon an American city, but that does not mean that none can be or will be made.

Attention is called to the fact that improvement of our coastal inland waterway system, which has often been urged, would afford to our coastwise shipping security against submarine attack. It is now too late, of course, to make such improvements in time for use during this raid, perhaps in this war. So it was too late in 1898 to provide a Panama Canal for the voyage of the *Oregon*. But the lesson was learned at that time, and was acted upon as soon as possible thereafter. We shall see if the present lesson is as effectively learned.

Much talk has been heard about "commerce vs. militarism," the great idea being that the threat of an economic alliance for the trade boycotting of Germany may scare the Huns off their high horse and move them to end the war by negotiation. We must regard it as piffle, at its best, with a possibility that it is, at its worst, German propaganda. We should strongly favor such an alliance, both as a war measure and as a permanent or at any rate long-continued arrangement after the return of peace. But there is no hope, and indeed should be none, of thus scaring Fritz into submission. We do not want the war ended through compromise. We should regard it as infamous for the Allies to say, in substance, to Germany: "Continue the war and we'll boycott you; but stop it now and we'll resume trading with you just as before." We must understand that the only ending of the war that can be satisfactory must be the defeating and crushing of the Prussian military power, and that the only satisfactory terms of peace will be such as will hold that

power in check and prevent it from again troubling the world. Let us form economic alliances against Germany, as widely and as completely as possible. But let us not for a moment forget that the war is to be won only in the field, and that the surest, quickest and best way to end it is, to KILL HUNS!

The military annexation of Austria-Hungary to Germany and the consequent unification of Teutonic military command has been followed promptly by the rushing of Austrian troops to the Italian frontier. It will not be surprising to hear of a drive in that quarter. For some time propagandist preparations for it have been made, vigorously and persistently, much as they were made before the drive of last fall, and it is now about time for them to be followed up with military activity. The Italians are scarcely, however, to be caught again in such a plight as that which lost them Gorizia, and we shall expect them to give a satisfactory account of themselves against the Tedeschi. Still, seeing the good psychological effect of our troops' presence in France, we cannot help wishing that a division or two of Americans were aligned with our Italian allies, too.

The total loss in shipping from submarine attacks and mines since the beginning of the war amounts to this:

	1914.	Tonnage.
August and September		399,947
Fourth quarter		281,416
	1915.	
First quarter		320,447
Second quarter		380,419
Third quarter		529,481
Fourth quarter		494,373
	1916.	
First quarter		524,195
Second quarter		522,289
Third quarter		592,039
Fourth quarter		1,159,343
	1917.	
First quarter		1,619,373
Second quarter		2,236,934
Third quarter		1,494,473
Fourth quarter		1,272,843
	TOTALS.	
United Kingdom		7,079,492
Other nations		4,748,080
Grand total		11,827,572

The total production, excluding that of enemy countries, during the same period was this:

	Tonnage.
1914, from August on	1,012,000
1915, from August on	1,202,000
1916, from August on	1,688,000
1917, from August on	2,704,275
Total	6,606,275
Enemy tonnage brought into service—total from August, 1914, to close of 1917	3,589,000
Grand total	10,195,275
	SUMMARY.
Total loss	11,827,572
Total gain	10,195,275
Net loss	1,632,297

This does not seem so bad. But the disquieting fact is that the average loss per month for the first quarter of this year was 600,000, although it fell off in April to less than 400,000. This would seem to presage a total loss in the

next year of approximately 6,000,000 tons. Great Britain is now producing at the rate of 3,000,000 tons. The remainder of 3,000,000 tons must be supplied by the United States before the total production can exceed the total loss. It is a big job, but we believe Schwab can do it, and take the lead before the first of the year.

Meanwhile, no let-up! Full speed ahead!

Secretary Lansing has contributed a delightful gloss to Kultur. Briefly it is this: When the German government gave us its most solemn pledge to stop U-boat outrages, its Ambassador at Washington asked it to give him advance notice before it broke its word. Yet there are those who naïvely suggest that we should enter into diplomatic discussions with the Huns, and give faith and credit to whatever they say to us! It surely is time for everybody except damned fools to understand that since the time of Frederick the Great the cardinal principle of Prussian policy has been that there should be no such thing as truth or morals in international affairs, but that in its dealings with others a government should always be ready to lie, and lie, and lie again with all the reduplicated perjuries, forgeries and repudiations that may be needed to serve its purpose. With a government which, in the very act of making a solemn covenant, plans for its repudiation, who can hold counsel or enter into contract?

The Jones "bone dry" amendment to the Agricultural bill has at least the merit of being more direct and explicit than the pernicious rider which it supplants. It puts up to Congress plainly the question whether the exigencies of the war require that grapes and apples shall be permitted to rot rather than be used for wine and cider, and whether a house-keeper who squeezes out grape juice and lets it ferment is worthy to be fined \$5,000 and sent to prison for two years. We should think that even if Congress were as slummy-minded as the creel insinuated it could readily discriminate between the manufacture of whiskey out of grain which is needed for food, and the making of light wines out of grapes which can be used for nothing else. But not being thus slummy-minded, we may expect it to be guided by practical common sense rather than by unreasoning fanaticism.

"At the peace conference," declares the delectable Dernburg, "we must not only demand complete commercial and maritime liberty but if necessary command them by force." We get him,—but what if he shouldn't be there?

"We are confronted with a gigantic climax to the war," shouted Herr Frerenbach to the "loudly applauding" Reichstag, and continued, "M. Clemenceau describes the situation as terribly, but he has one hope—the Americans—but we and our Allies who rely not upon foreign forces shall prove invincible under the protection of the All-Highest." Oh, to hell with your fake all-highest! Or, better yet, stuff the gink and fetch him along to amuse the marines.

"How many people realize," queries the London Chronicle, "that Great Britain is clothing American troops in France and providing nearly all their armament except artillery?" Oh, quite a few; also that France is supplying the artillery. But we are going to do better, mark you, after a while. At least, we hope so.

Hun Outposts Among Us

MR. A. MITCHELL PALMER is doing excellent work. He already has so far pulled the underpinning out from the German industrial penetration structure in this country that the entire fabric, built up with so much patience and adroitness during a long stretch of years prior to launching the great war for Hun world domination, is getting into shape to be brought down with a crash. In twenty-five or thirty years Germany has built up here in the United States a great business plant reaching into all parts of the country and even stretching forth its arms to embrace Porto Rico, the newly-organized Virgin Islands, Hawaii and the Philippines. At the time the war was let loose on an unprepared world—at that time when our own country was hovering on the brink of a deadly peril which Mr. Creel recently thanked God we were so unprepared to meet—at that critical moment in our history, this German industrial and commercial structure, erected in our imbecile fatuity right under our very noses, had reached the portentous magnitude of two thousand million dollars in money value. Its potential economic and political weight was beyond computation in terms of dollars, but was so formidable that the Huns not unnaturally thought our country would be wax in their hands to be moulded into any form that might best promote their ends. At the least, they regarded it of sufficient weight to keep our country out of the war, or, failing that, to be so strong a base for propaganda and fire-in-the-rear activity, as to render us practically impotent.

Not that our country was exceptional in this particular form of sneaking Teutonic aggression, France, Italy, even Great Britain herself and notably all the great British colonial possessions, were commercially and industrially undermined so far as possible in the same way. In the South American countries the work had been carried on even more extensively and effectively. Brazil, Argentina, Chili, Peru were notoriously fast becoming outposts of German world invasion. Further north, Mexico had long been regarded as Germany's very own to be used, as Mexico was used and is still being used, as a base for the more open, as contrasted with the skulking, form of German hostilities to our country and to all therein that we hold dear. But so far as the creeping, sneaking, treacherous methods of getting control through vast holdings of wealth-producing sources were concerned, the United States was par excellence the German chosen field of operations.

Of course, there was some dim consciousness here of what was going on; manifestations of German influence through economic and political pressure were too much in evidence to escape notice. They were so much in evidence as a matter of fact that had we not been purblind in our silly happy-go-lucky complacency we would have taken alarm long before the war storm broke. The outbursts of all but hysterical opposition in various quarters whenever any attempt was made to get action in the way of war preparedness was one of these manifestations. Under the influence of this form of propaganda, that species of pacifism of which the now Secretary of War, himself at that time a warm admirer and eulogist of things German, was an exemplar and a more or less vociferous oracle, became so widely diffused and permeated such high quarters, that those who, like General Wood, saw the deadly danger and against which they time

and time again warned us became at last quite heartsick and all but despairing.

But somehow we weathered that lee shore. We somehow fumbled and muddled past the rocks on which we were in such peril of splitting, which now are in plain sight. And none of them uglier than those concealed industrial and commercial reefs which Mr. Palmer has recently so thoroughly uncovered. But in uncovering them Mr. Palmer has pointed out a still existing danger. Those vast German businesses here which, as Enemy Alien Property Custodian, Mr. Palmer has taken over are nearly all going concerns. They are, many of them, making enormous profits. These profits are due to war conditions. Under the law these vast gains are piling up to the credits of the German owners and are to be distributed among those owners when the war is over. In other words, the Huns who precipitated the war are to reap rich harvests from the money spent here in conducting the war which they themselves brought on and in which the very existence of the country is at stake. Our Government, as Mr. Palmer puts it, now finds itself conducting a large organization at its own expense for the purpose of preserving property "placed here originally as a hostile act looking to the conquest of America. We may be put in the position of rewarding that hostile act by generous returns under our management on the capital invested."

Whether we are to do this ultra asinine thing depends upon Congress. That is the problem mentioned which demands energetic legislative attention. Upon the action of Congress in this matter depends the future stability of that enemy commercial and industrial structure, the underpinning of which Mr. Palmer's efforts have so encouragingly threatened. Will Congress vote to confiscate the profits alone and let the enemy base of operations remain intact? Will the vast properties created here for purposes treacherously inimical to the country be restored to their Hun owners after the war that those owners may begin all over again their sneak campaign against us? Or, confiscating profit, plants and the entire outfit, will Congress create such conditions here that the erection of another similar enemy outpost right in among us will be an impossibility?

We are not at the end of the war yet, probably not near the end of the war by several years, but when the end does come this will not be among the least of the questions peremptorily demanding settlement and settlement on a strictly American and not a Hun basis.

No Strikes Against the Government

SOME of the first fruits of government operation of the railroads are highly suggestive. We may pass over the reduction of passenger train service as a necessary war measure, which would probably have been effected just the same under private operation. So, too, the very considerable increase in passenger and freight rates may be regarded as necessary in order to meet the increased expenditures for betterments of the roads and for higher wages for the employees. It may, of course, be incidentally observed in this latter connection that the Government is simply doing what it persistently refused to let the roads themselves do. They would have improved their permanent ways and rolling stock, given fuller facilities to the public, and paid higher

wages to their employes, if the Government had permitted them to make even a much less increase of rates than that which itself has ordered. But let that, too, pass.

The point to which present attention is most pertinently to be called is the attitude which the Government, as the actual operator of the roads, has assumed, and necessarily assumes, toward prospective or possible strikes among the employes. This has been set forth with what we must hope to be sufficient distinctness and emphasis by the Director-General in a message to the heads of various large organizations of railroad workmen. Mr. McAdoo reminds them—indeed, warns them—that a strike now would be a very different matter from one under private or corporate operation of the roads. A strike a year ago would have been a strike of one party to a contract against the other party to the same contract, toward which the Government might have assumed the attitude of an impartial if not a distinterested spectator, mediator and adjudicator, with supreme authority over both disputants. Now it would be no such thing. It would be a strike of citizens against the Government to which they owe obedience; a controversy not between equals but between an inferior and a superior; since, of course, we must hold the whole, the State, to be greater than any of its parts. In such a controversy there would be, there could be, no impartial outside authority to serve as mediator and adjudicator. The functions of settlement would have to be exercised arbitrarily by one of the parties to the dispute.

In what masterful way a settlement might be, and might have to be, effected is suggested by the relation which a strike might sustain to the general welfare. A strike which interfered with and interrupted the orderly transaction of governmental business would at any time be a serious matter. We all know the odium which attaches to what is familiarly known as "interference with an officer in the performance of his duty," and the penalty which is imposed for the offence. But in time of war a strike which interfered with the Government's military undertakings, or in any way impaired its efficiency in prosecuting the war, would be an offense of the very gravest character. Morally, it would be a wrong to the whole nation, perhaps imperilling its success and integrity. Legally, it would by indirection be giving aid and comfort to the enemy, a performance for which the Constitution has a particularly unpleasant definition.

We are not criticizing Mr. McAdoo's warning. On the contrary, we heartily approve it, as pertinent, timely, and wholesome. But we would commend it to the consideration of some economic agitators—or agitated economists—who have been clamoring for Government ownership and operation of railroads as the very Beauty of Holiness, and at the same time have been championing the natural and inalienable right of workmen to go on strike whenever and wherever it pleases them so to do. They must see in it a demonstration of the utter irreconcilability of their two theories. Government operation of the roads is practically tantamount to abrogation of the right to strike. It makes that department of the civil service analogous to military service, and draws an uncomfortably close parallel between striking and mutiny or desertion.

What then? Are we to understand that Government operation is at once to concede to employes everything that they ask or want? That would be incredible. Or are em-

ployes willing to forego and renounce under Government operation the very things which they demanded from the corporations? That would involve a strange inconsistency. Yet what escape is there from the horns of this dilemma? "You would have it so, George Dandin!"

Karl Goes to Canossa

WE had occasion a few weeks ago to refer to the desperate plight of the Austrian Empire and its Emperor, inveigled into the Prussian net and struggling frantically to break the coils that are strangling the Empire to death and depriving the Emperor of the power of resistance. Austria has been Germany's tool from the beginning. But for Germany Austria would not have dared to go to war; but for Austria the pretext for war that Germany has been seeking for the past ten years would not have existed. Austria was flattered and beguiled by German promises of an easy victory and the realization of her long ambition of Balkan hegemony. Francis Joseph, a degenerate in his dotage, was easily persuaded.

His successor, the present Emperor Karl, might not have been so easily persuaded but in the end might have yielded, for the prize Germany offered was great enough to dazzle a young monarch of his traditions; but coming to the throne when and under the circumstances he did, it took him only a short time to see that instead of being the confederate, as his predecessor had deludedly imagined himself to be, of the Hohenzollern he was his victim, and whatever the outcome he would serve as the appointed victim and be offered up to sacrifice. Karl saw this, saw that he was doomed if Germany won and destroyed by Germany's defeat and tried through France to make a separate peace and save a part at least of his patchwork Empire.

Karl has paid the price of his temerity. Karl has made his pilgrimage to Canossa.

It was a former German Emperor, Henry IV, who more than eight centuries ago defied Pope Hildebrand and was promptly excommunicated, and who found it necessary to do penance and seek absolution by making that historic pilgrimage to Canossa, where for three days he remained in the cold seeking an audience, and was then sent home having been taught who was his master. Karl, summoned to the German General Headquarters by his master, although made to wear no hair shirt or to kick his heels in the cold of the papal courtyard, nevertheless was subjected to humiliation no less bitter, for there was forced upon him a treaty which ties him hand and foot to Germany. The German dream of *Mittel Europa* is now a reality and Austria ceases to exist as an independent sovereignty.

By the terms of this treaty Germany and Austria form "a close military alliance for twenty-five years, during which both parties to the alliance pledge themselves to employ the entire strength of their peoples for military purposes." Every male capable of bearing arms is to receive proper and thorough military instruction, and the production of arms and ammunition is to be specially provided for. There is to be no further pretence of a separate Austrian Army under Austrian control, for the treaty provides that regulations for the employment of the allied troops shall be drawn up according to one common principle, "the initiative of which

shall be left principally to Germany. The formation of the troops of the various states of Germany and of Austria-Hungary shall constitute one sole Army, without being considered strangers to each other."

Having thus made it possible for Germany to make such military use of Austria as she may see fit, the treaty further provides that "all preparations for future wars shall be made on a common understanding between the General Staffs. This will require, naturally, close collaboration between the General Staffs and the Government Ministers. All preparatory economic measures connected with eventual war shall be taken beforehand, in time of peace, and the necessary departments created." Armaments are to be on a uniform basis, so that each country may draw supplies from the other and not have to depend on a distant home base, and Austrian officers are to be trained according to German principles to be able to command German troops; and "railway lines and construction shall be erected and undertaken by both allies in common accord and on a unified plan."

Thus Germany has served notice on the world that win or lose, so far as she is concerned, this is not the last war; that if victor the law of the sword shall be the only law the world shall know; defeated, she will bend all her resources to recovering her lost strength so that she may again attempt to subjugate mankind and bring it under the iron yoke of Prussian military despotism.

It is a challenge flung to the world. It is the most insolent, brutal and bloody challenge the world has ever known. It is the measure of Prussian contempt. It is the proof of Prussian madness. With the war still pending, with Germany still uncertain what the outcome will be, she flaunts the world. "That! for your pacifists," she says with a snap of her fingers. "That! for the fools who talk about brotherhood. That! for humanity, mercy, civilization. Germany was born by the sword, and by the sword she shall live or die."

We are glad this treaty has been made, and we rejoice still more that its contents have not been kept secret. It should forever close the mouths of those persons, many of them well meaning but more of them agents of the enemy, who advocate a peace by compromise, that is a German made peace, which will leave Germany ready to begin the next war at her convenience. It ought forever to put an end to the foolish talk that we must deal mercifully with Germany; that in the day of our peril we must treat her as civilized, and in the hour of our triumph we must do justice but forsake revenge. Germany has shown by this treaty, as she has shown a thousand times during the last four years, that our concept of civilization is not that of the German, that the *Kultur* of the German is not that of the Anglo-Saxon or the Latin; that the objects for which Germany strives are to us repugnant. The world cannot exist half German and half civilized. This war has now ceased to be a war of nations or of peoples and has become a war of opposing schools of thought, of morals, of ethics, of principles, of everything that we know by the name of civilization. The world is in danger of being submerged by Germany, as in the past it was threatened by the flood let loose by Attila and the civilization of Europe was menaced by the hordes under the leadership of "the Scourge of God," who like the present leader of the Huns aspires to the dominion of the world.

In the fifth century civilization had to kill the Hun to save itself from extinction. After the lapse of fourteen cen-

turies we are again forced to the same extremity. There can be no peace until we have killed the Hun, there can be no hope for the future until we have taught Germany by the only lesson she understands, the lesson of force, that we are living in the nineteenth and not the fifth century. Germany is barbarism, and barbarism must be destroyed if the world is not once more to lapse into savagery.

The Brute's Achilles Heel

QUITE recently from Italy came full recognition of entire unity of Allied command from the Adriatic to the North Sea. Naturally the unit of command is Foch. Italy, therefore, would presumably strike when from Foch came the word to land her blow. If anything is to be believed in the news that comes to us from all quarters, Italy is now stronger than she has ever been since the war began. She is quite as able now to repeat the splendid onslaught which shoved the Austrians back to the very brink of overwhelming disaster as she was when her fine attack early in the struggle was made.

And even a layman can see how opportune now would be a repetition of that staggering blow at Austria. Delivered simultaneously with a determined offensive on the part of the combined French, English, Greek and Serbian forces on the southern Bulgarian front, there certainly would be a complicating factor injected into the Hun plans and problems in France and Flanders. With Italy measuring up even approximately to the high standard of offensive effectiveness she set in her earlier campaign, any dreams of Austrian aid in the present field of Hun endeavor must vanish. With a present Italian success proportionate to the first and with Bulgaria and Turkey pretty busy at their own respective rear entrances, it would really look as though the Beast and his ungodly "Gott" would have to come to his valet's help or see that valet once more in imminent peril of being wiped out of the running.

Recent telegrams from London present encouraging inducements for some such a counter-attack. The pictures of Austro-Hungarian internal conditions which these news despatches convey may be overdrawn or underdrawn. But back of all that smoke smudge there must be a good deal of fire somewhere. The Slav populations are undoubtedly getting difficult to control. They are credited with attacks on military establishments in the Adriatic regions. From Bosnia come stories of the ripping up of railroads and the massacre of Hungarian military patrols. The loyalty of the great mass of the Austrian and Hungarian populations is said to be undermined to a point verging on collapse by sheer suffering and war weariness. This is advanced as one of the reasons why the much advertised Austrian attack on Italy has been postponed—always assuming that any such an attack at this time was ever really intended and that the great rattling of sabres and rumbling of munition trains behind the Austrian lines was something more than the mere military feint it has come so much to resemble.

In London the opinion is rapidly gaining ground that now is the accepted time for both a political and a military offensive against Me und Gott's poor limping, bedevilled Austrian lackey. It is argued that a well-timed physical and moral support of the Jago-Slav efforts to obtain freedom from the Austro-Hungarian yoke would in itself give the Austrian army all it wanted to do right at home and that

the injection into the mess of a combined Italian and Saloniki forces assault would furnish a display of war fireworks to which the Huns on the French front could not long remain indifferent. Intervention to save Austria from being licked by somebody has been an intermittent but pretty steadily recurring job for the Huns ever since the war began and once more would not so much matter.

Still, the call for help might possibly come when it would be very awkward to render it. Right now, apparently, is precisely one of those times. And, instead of being ready to jump in and pull somebody off from Austria's back, there is a belief in London that the Huns are calling upon Austria to do some fighting on her own account. "Our duty is to attack in all theatres of the war," wired the Kaiser recently to Emperor Charles.

And to many it is beginning to appear very much like the duty of the Allies to relieve Austria of this obligation of attack, so far as the southern theatre of the war is concerned, by assuming that duty themselves. Furthermore, there are those who believe that when General Foch sees his way a little more clearly to stabilization on the front where just now he has his hands pretty full, he may launch both an Italian and a Saloniki assault, and that this may be one form at least of that counter-attack which he is nimbly fencing to land where it will apparently do the most good. However that may be, there is one thing that is pretty evident and that is that when all discounts for false and exaggerated rumors are made, Austria is in a bad plight and with every day is becoming more and more shaky. So far as present indications go, it would seem that in Austria and in Turkey the collapse that means the beginning of the end must come.

Is Ireland Settling Down?

IRELAND seems to be settling down again. The protests against conscription are quieted; partly because conscription, though ordered, is not yet applied and is not likely to be for some time, if ever, and partly, we imagine, because of a sense of humor—just to think of Irishmen being reluctant to fight! It is recognized, of course, that merely holding conscription in abeyance does not destroy the possibility of its being applied. But the public reminder of that most obvious fact is quite gratuitous and will probably be void of effect. Also the rage over the Sinn Fein arrests has subsided, probably because many Irishmen know and the rest pretty generally believe or assume that there was abundant reason and justification for them; a knowledge and a belief which will be much confirmed by the revelation of German-Irish conspiracies and all sorts of deviltries in this country. Mr. Dillon has materially changed his tone, apparently realizing that his initial impulsiveness carried him a little too far, and that nothing could more hopelessly compromise Home Rule than to have it in any way identified with Sinn Fein. As for Sir Edward Carson, he is strangely and most happily silent; though when we say that we feel an irresistible impulse for prudence's sake to "knock wood"!

The fact is that both phases of the present Irish problem have been immensely over-exploited, for political purposes. The Sinn Fein business, from beginning to end, has never been anything more than should have been dealt with and disposed of by the police and police courts. It would have been thus disposed of if men entirely outside of it had not "played

it up" for political effect. (We're not greatly blaming them, because that sort of thing has been done here a thousand times.) Mr. Dillon and other Home Rule leaders, who in their hearts loathe the whole Sinn Fein outfit, have seen a chance to take another crack at the Sassenach for not putting Home Rule into effect, and they have made the most and worst of it. And Sir Edward Carson would not have been Sir Edward Carson if he had not improved his opportunity of "viewing with alarm" the Sinn Fein deviltry as an infallible indication of what would prevail all over Ireland if Home Rule were granted, and of persuading many North of Ireland men that such would be the case. There are probably many sane, level-headed business men in Belfast who actually believe that if Home Rule were granted, within twenty-four hours their property would be confiscated and they would be driven from their homes.

The other phase, that of Home Rule and Conscription, is more serious and must, of course, be dealt with by the Imperial Parliament. It is interesting to remember that for several years Home Rule has been on the statute books, though it has not yet been put into effect. So conscription has for some weeks been on the statute books, though it, too, has not yet been put into effect. Now another Home Rule bill is being prepared, which when enacted may be put into effect. After that, conscription may be enforced; or may not. It probably will not greatly matter. Irishmen should surely not object to it after Home Rule has been applied. But if for any reason conscription should not be enforced, the loss would be slight, numerically. America is sending across in a single month more men than all that Ireland could provide. It might be better for Great Britain to go without those troops than to have a ruction raised about them.

Marse Henry!

Marse Henry Watterson,
How do you do!
Here's to the best of you!
Here's to the zest of you!
Here's to the rest of you,
Chipper and true!
You're great! And we say it
With due meditation.
We calmly resay it
Without reservation.
You're a wonder in years,
And your mind's so elastic
It even appears
Too enthusiastic.
You're bully!
We freely and fully
Admit it.
And how often, Marse Henry,
You hit it!
You've got everything
That a man ought to keep,
Your pen has a sting;
Your wit's never asleep.
You're a love and a dear—
God's happiest endeavor.
May you live without fear
Forever and ever!

—Thomas L. Masson in "Life."

Incidental to the Great War

From Private Abraham Flescher of Over There to Brother Robert Flescher of Springfield, Mass.:

Dear Bob—Just a few lines to let you know that I am O. K. and hope to hear the same of you. I got into an awful scrap with the Germans and they got a little the best of me. I lost my right arm and my left eye, but I am getting along O. K. just the same. I expect to be home for the holidays (Yom Kippur, in September). Break the news gently to mother.

Your brother,

Abe.

P. S.—Send me some chocolate soon.

Our best beloved Colonel ought to write a letter to Abe.

Our optimism regarding the part German-Americans would play was based upon true German sentimental and naive ideas concerning foreign politics. Now we have awakened from the dream and have found that their supposed allegiance to their old homeland ideals is mere empty sound.—*Berlin Lokalanzeiger.*

Said Isaac to Jacob: "Who says we ain't in this war? Didn't they change the name of the Vaterland to Levi' Nathan?"

There are three classes of men who, I think, understand human nature better than any others. A Catholic priest (and remember I am a thorough Protestant), a New York policeman and a company commander. No doubt you will think that is a strange mixture, but nevertheless I think that it is so. As a company commander I have to punish, reward, advise and lead, and it is not strange if I learn to know their practically every thought. They are in this to the finish, and are actuated by the highest ideals of patriotism and democracy. Seventeen of my men have won the Croix de Guerre.—*From an American Captain.*

On April 21, Lieutenant Dinsmore, American aviator, wrote to his father in Winnetka, Illinois:

And I want to say in closing, if anything should happen to me, let's have no mourning in spirit or in dress. Like a Liberty bond, it is an investment, not a loss, when a man dies for his country. It is an honor to a family, and is that the time for weeping? I would rather leave my family rich in pleasant memories of my life than numbed in sorrow at my death.

Ten days later he was killed.

Infinitely interesting is our contact with the American troops. They have occupied the sector immediately beside ours. We have seen them at work, and could form an idea, and it should be told and retold that they are marvelous. The Americans are soldiers by nature, and their officers have the desire to learn with an enthusiasm and an idealistic ardor very remarkable. There is the same spirit among the privates. They absolutely astonished us on a morning of attack. The cannonading, suddenly becoming furious, had just thrown me out of my bunk. No doubt about it, it was a Verdun attack. Taking time to seize my revolver, put on my helmet, and gather up several documents, I descended to the streets. When I arrived there they were already filing by with rapid, easy, decided steps, marching in perfect silence with admirable resolution, and above all with striking discipline, to their fighting positions. It was fine. You can have no idea how cheering it was to my Poilus.—*A French officer to the "Temps."*

The editor of the New York *Tribune* tells this in his most precious column:

Recently we sat in a refreshment room of a railroad station conversing casually with a foreign officer. Suddenly tall men in olive drab began to come in by groups to wash up. They were on their way. The officer, though he tried to go on talking, couldn't keep his eyes off the men, and his responses became more and more absent as they continued to crowd in.

"My God!" exclaimed, "where do they come from?"

Then we looked at them. Not one seemed less than six feet tall. They were a thin, hard, big-fisted, crag-faced lot of men,

the color of new bronze, each with two deep lines around the mouth, gentle with each other, speaking softly, but certainly the most formidable German killers you could find in all the world. We should not have noticed them particularly but for the officer's dazed appreciation.

"They are probably from somewhere in the mountains," we said, at last.

The officer gave us a strange look. Such men as these, and we took them so much for granted that we couldn't tell where they came from!

Yet there they were, clean, strong and wholesome, straight from the mountains, no doubt, for all the world like their grandfathers from the White and the Green who followed Baldy Smith to glory years and years ago.

WITH THE AMERICAN ARMY, May 15.

Corp. Spud Murphy, of Fall River, Mass., upon seeing half a dozen forms stealing through the darkness toward his listening post, gave warning to his two companions. Stealthily they crept forward until they had gone 30 yards, when they opened fire on a German raiding party, which scattered immediately. Suddenly a grenade came hurling through the air from an unexpected direction and knocked Corp. Murphy unconscious.

Fortunately it was dark or the man would have lain bleeding through the day. The section west of Montdidier is too active to expose soldiers to almost certain death by removing wounded in the daylight. Consequently Corp. Murphy arrived, still unconscious, at a field hospital several miles behind the lines a few hours later. His eyes, head, and face, except the tip of his nose, and his mouth, were swathed in bandages. And there were more yards of bandages around his chest and ribs.

The tag said that his left eye was gone; that a fragment of the grenade as large as a thumb was in the back of his neck; that his lung was punctured, and that air was escaping through his chest.

Life still existed inside the mangled body, though it was faintly flickering.

"Put him into bed," said the receiving surgeon. "Apply hot-water bottles. We dare not operate now, but we may save him."

Several hours later the major commanding the hospital entered the ward and was surprised to hear the voice of the corporal, who had recovered consciousness. The corporal knew that he was in bed and that there were other soldiers around him and he was puzzled. The major listened and discovered that the voice coming from the bandaged head was saying, "What is your name, Buddy? I'm Spud Murphy. Didn't I know you in the Philippines?"

The same question was put to each wounded comrade near by.

"How are you feeling, Corporal?" asked the major, approaching the bed.

"Fine and dandy," replied Spud. "Have you a cigarette?"

"Better get a few hours' sleep now," said the major.

The next morning the corporal was operated upon. Pieces of iron were taken from his body, the blood was pumped out of his lungs, and the hole in his chest was patched up. When the patient recovered from the effects of the ether, an orderly put a cigarette in his mouth. The corporal stretched on his bed, watched the smoke through one blackened eye, and said: "This is the life, ain't it, Buddy?"

If the Democrats really want to carry New York, they will nominate for Governor either James W. Gerard or Franklin D. Roosevelt.

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NO. 25

IS POLITICS ADJOURNED? The "Acid Test" Applied to Pacifist Ford

WASHINGTON, June 21, 1918.

WE reprint herewith the following closing paragraphs from the leading article, entitled "Is Politics Adjourned?" published in the July number of *The North American Review*:

III. PATRIOTISM BEFORE POLITICS

The readers of this REVIEW, as we remarked at the outset, are cognizant of our endeavors to eliminate partisan strife from the forthcoming Congressional elections and are familiar with our reasons for believing that it can be done to a very considerable degree, through patriotic co-operation, to enormous advantage of the country and without prejudice or disadvantage to either of the great parties. In pursuance of this object, on May 13 we addressed to the Chairmen of the two National Committees identical notes to this effect:

WASHINGTON, Monday, May 13.

MY DEAR MR. HAYS:

In consideration of the unprecedented condition of public affairs and of a quite common desire, so far as may be practicable, to eliminate partisanship from the coming Congressional elections, might it not be possible—even probable—for you and Mr. McCormick to reach an agreement, upon wholly patriotic grounds, to eliminate from political strife a certain number of districts in which the results cannot in candor be regarded as in the slightest degree doubtful? Take as bald instances, for example, Vermont and Arkansas—indeed, while I have not carefully analyzed the situation, I am disposed to think that fully 50 and perhaps 60 per cent. of the Congressional districts would fall within the classification of "certainty." Now, if I am right, or even approximately correct in this assumption, would it not be worth while at least for you and Mr. McCormick to meet, simply to talk the matter over and see if something along the line I have suggested may not be accomplished to the advantage of the country and the cause?

I appreciate, of course, that nothing at this late day could be achieved further than a mutual agreement upon the part of you two Chairmen to recommend to your respective electors in such districts as may be regarded as *certain* to vote this or that way not to interpose an opposing candidate—unless, of course, the one named by the recognized majority should be objectionable upon grounds of suspected disloyalty or for some other distinctive reason.

I hesitate, naturally, to address you upon such a matter, and am impelled to do so, I beg you to believe, only by the positiveness of the expressed convictions of many others, no less than of my own, that anything, however seemingly unimportant, that might be done to evidence to our friends abroad a unity of spirit and purpose at home, could not fail to be advantageous.

I cannot see how any harm or bother, political or otherwise, could eventuate from an informal and, of course, wholly uncom-

mitting conversation such as I have suggested, and I can perceive at least a possibility of great good.

Also, it goes without saying, I may be quite in error, with respect at any rate to practicability, but, feeling as I do, I cannot do less than take the risk of seeming to be so presumptuous as to propose that I try to arrange such a meeting as I have suggested. Simultaneously with the despatch of this note to you, I am, of course, sending one identical in every respect to Mr. McCormick. And I remain,

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE HARVEY.

WILL H. HAYS, Esq.,

Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Mr. Hays responded on the same day as follows:

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1918.

MY DEAR COLONEL HARVEY:

I have your note, and I like the idea. Anything I can do to keep politics out of this war I stand ready to do.

While, of course, as you point out, we cannot go past a certain point, I believe that something to this end might be achieved by a discussion of your suggestion, and with that purpose in mind, I will gladly keep any appointment that may be convenient to you and Mr. McCormick.

Sincerely yours,

WILL H. HAYS.

Another thing occurs to me, and doubtless has to you—that our meeting in this way might make more surely effective our determination to whack any disloyal head that may show up.

W. H. H.

Four days later Mr. McCormick replied to an identical note as follows:

WASHINGTON, May 17, 1918.

DEAR COL. HARVEY:

I want to acknowledge your kind letter of the 13th.

The matter about which you have written me has been brought to my attention before, and I have already given very careful consideration to this subject which I consider of very great importance. I want to assure you that the suggestions you have made will have my most careful consideration, and I thank you for writing me.

Faithfully yours,

VANCE C. MCCORMICK,

Chairman.

There the matter stands. The prompt response of Mr. Hays is undeniably frank, unequivocal and, to our mind, worthy of the highest commendation. Less could hardly be said in fairness, but in saying it we are far from meaning to imply the slightest reflection upon Mr. McCormick. His is a grave responsibility calling for the exercise of exceptional

prudence, especially with regard to a matter which he regards rightfully as of so great importance. Nevertheless, at the expiration of five weeks after the submission of a suggestion to which he had already given careful consideration, we feel warranted in making a direct appeal to the leader of the Democratic party,—to the only man who can meet the country's demand and resolve into accomplishment his own dictum that Politics shall be, as it ought to be, Adjourned.

Our letter to the two Chairmen presents the case as clearly as we can state it, but the wider possibilities of crushing disloyalty, wherever it may raise its ugly head, now or hereafter, through the patriotic co-operation which would inevitably ensue from adoption of the plan proposed are illimitable.

We have only to add, as an indication of the far-reaching effect and practicability of the idea, that if 3,000 majority in each of the last two elections should be accepted, except of course in special instances, as marking a district as safe for the party which carried it both times, the number of Congressional elections would be reduced from 435 to less than 100 and probably, by supplementary mutual agreement, to not more than seventy-five.

"Politics is adjourned."

Will not the President make it so?

We regret exceedingly that, since the above was written, the President has felt impelled to take action which seems to demonstrate conclusively that, in practice if not in theory, politics is *not* adjourned, so far as he and his party are concerned. On June 12, apparently by prearrangement, the Democratic conference of Michigan indorsed Henry Ford, nominally a Republican, but really a pronounced Pacifist, as their candidate for United States Senator and, on the following day, Mr. Ford announced from Washington:

At the urgent request of the President of the United States I have decided to accept the nomination for Senator from Michigan if tendered to me. Realizing that there are exceptional opportunities for service to our people during the present and coming readjustment, I am ready and willing to do everything I possibly can to assist our President in this great work. Every man must expect to make great future sacrifices and be prepared to serve wherever the greatest need exists.

A more brazen or less defensible act, belying his own words and breaking his solemn pledge to the Congress and the people was never performed by a President of the United States.

"We confess to utter inability to understand why Mr. Wilson desires Mr. Ford's election—unless it is to have a Senator from Michigan who can be counted on to vote as told," says the *Evening Post*.

That is to say, with full truth and beyond the shadow of a doubt, the Democratic party, under the dictation of a Democratic President, is going to try to "steal a seat" in the Senate, in utter violation of all the canons of honor, of patriotism and of common decency, at the very time when, as never before in the history of the Republic, harmony and unity are requisite to the saving of the Nation. Even the *World*, the ablest and most faithful supporter of the Administration, cannot restrain an outburst of wrath and disgust and, resuming, for the moment, its former high position as an independent journal, tells the whole story in these words:

When the President said to Congress the other day that "politics is adjourned" it must have been with some mental

reservations. The attempt, with his approval, by the Democrats of Michigan to force Henry Ford upon the Republicans as a fusion candidate for United States Senator may not be party politics exactly, for Mr. Ford is a Republican, but it bears a strong resemblance to political strategy.

Party fusions for patriotic purposes have been suggested in States and districts where there is a prospect that, with the loyal vote divided, candidates opposed to the war or otherwise in sympathy with the enemy may be elected. *Michigan is not such a State. Its normal Republican majority is large and the Senatorial candidates thus far suggested by that party answer every test of Americanism.*

Although a Republican, Mr. Ford is known as an ardent supporter of the President and his war policies. By making such a man their candidate in a State where one of their own number has no chance of election, the Democrats show an agreeable willingness to support a Republican, provided they have the privilege of naming him.

It is possible, however, that this clever performance may not promote the patriotic harmony so greatly to be desired at Washington. Mr. Ford's public statement that at "the urgent request of the President" he has decided to accept the nomination, is at least unfortunate, and it would not be surprising if it returned to plague him and others before many days.

Mr. Ford adjourned his politics and pacifism some time ago. Perhaps he will be more useful in the Senate than in industry, where great things have been accomplished by him. Perhaps no straight-out Republican candidate can hope to defeat him at the polls. Perhaps also the Republicans of Michigan will kindly let Democrats in Lansing and Washington pick their candidate for them and make no opposition.

But if there should be resentment in Michigan as well as in many other States over what in the mildest terms must be characterized as an exceedingly irregular proceeding, we shall have more fights than fusions, and the unity so ardently sought will be dangerously menaced. In all cases of proposed fusion our domestic peace will be promoted if the majority party be given first of all an opportunity to prove its mettle. Only where there has been outrageous failure of duty can minority dictation be justified, and *as for intrusion from Washington, the less we have of it the better for all concerned.*

A more forceful presentation of the case could hardly be made. There is no question of loyalty or of patriotism, except as to Ford himself. As the *World* truly says, "Michigan's Republican majority is normally large,"—two years ago it elected a Republican Senator by 106,701 majority,—*"and the Senatorial candidates thus far suggested by that party answer every test of Americanism."*

It is party politics, not pure and simple, but impure and unpatriotic. It is no more nor less than an unworthy attempt, on the part of the President of the United States, to put into the Senate a grossly unfit person whom he could rely upon to do his personal bidding as accurately as a rubber stamp.

We have said that Mr. Ford is unfit to be a Senator. In the words of the *New York Times*, which would if it could be favorably disposed to a candidate of the President, "he has demonstrated conclusively on many occasions not only his lack of acquaintance with basic international and national affairs, but a certain quality of mind which forbids the hope that he will ever be able to overcome that lack of equipment—an altogether too impressionable mind for public office." But he is worse than unfit. If he be judged by his record, he is not a true American; he is an "internationalist," a man without a country; a Pacifist; a Profiteer; a breaker of pledges; a cheat and a liar. Because of reported and undenied assertions that loans sought by the upholders of civilization should be tied to cans and dropped into the river, he was driven out of business in Canada and persons riding in Ford cars in Paris were stoned. With respect to world affairs he is a vagarious visionary. After inducing many deluded persons to embark upon his ridiculous Peace ship, he left them stranded to whatever fate might await them.

He is making enormous sums out of the war, in flat defiance of the repeated warnings of his sponsor, the President of the United States. He broke his solemn pledge to Olivet

College. He cheated his fellow manufacturers when, according to Governor Osborn, he "used his great influence (with the Administration or its representatives) to secure disproportionate and unfair allotments of coal." He lied when he ostentatiously announced that he was going to turn over his entire fortune to the Government for use during the war without interest and to give the use of his steam yacht free of charge,—neither of which he has done.

Worst of all, in the words of Governor Osborn, "up to the time the United States proclaimed that a state of war existed Mr. Ford was not only a Pacifist, but, consciously or unconsciously, a willing instrument of German propaganda," and he so enhanced the pro-German influences that Colonel Roosevelt, by request of thousands of loyal Americans in Detroit, went there expressly to denounce him and to help to remove the disgrace he was fetching upon the city—by declaring, at least as reported and undenied, that the flag of our country is only a rag to rally around and that he would not fly it except in response to an emotional public sentiment.

Such is the person whom the President seeks by political trickery to place in the Senate and at whose "earnest request" he consents to run, and, if elected, as the *Evening Post* says, to "do as told." And the ignoble Democratic leaders of Michigan gloatingly acquiesce because Ford not only has money to burn but is willing to burn it as freely as he did in advertising Mr. Wilson's superlative attributes two years ago.

We wonder if the President realizes what will be thought of his advocacy of Ford, the advertised no less than the advertiser, by our Allies, or comrades or whatever else the Baker-Creel outfit now call them, in Canada, which kicked him out, or in Paris, where they stoned his cars?

Perhaps he does not care. In any case, the newspapers report, "the Administration leaders in Washington are jubilant at this triumph in political strategy." And it is a cunning scheme beyond a doubt. As the *World* indicates, under the Michigan statutes, if no other Democratic candidate appears, half a dozen votes for Ford will nominate him and the great body of Democrats can go into the Republican primaries and, aided by personal adherents and Republican mercenaries, can probably nominate him there also.

"Probably," we say, because that is what the wiseacres of both parties are saying. But we don't believe it. We cannot dream that the true Americans of Michigan would permit such an outrage to be perpetrated upon their country and their country's noble cause, even at the behest of a President who, three weeks after saying "politics is adjourned," personally engaged in the wickedest political plot this people have ever known.

One fact is certain: Despite the disheartenment following the failure, now apparently rendered irretrievable by the President himself, of an earnest and sincere effort to eliminate partisanship from the coming Congressional campaign, the Republican party, in justice to itself and to the Nation, must fight out this Michigan battle to a finish. Its leaders should agree as quickly as possible upon their ablest and strongest man and then concentrate all conceivable energies, both before and after the primaries, in an effort to achieve his election. If they falter, they will be disgraced.

We do not believe they will hesitate under the inspiring

leadership of the National Chairman whose manly letter we have quoted. And they will win because—

This is the first real "acid test" of loyalty and patriotism, in the face of guile, hypocrisy and betrayal of a solemn trust freely bestowed by a great and generous people upon a public servant, not upon a personal master.

The American people are convinced that it is only by victory that peace can be achieved and the world's affairs settled upon a basis of enduring right and justice—President Wilson to President Poincaré.

"After that," said Secretary Baker to the West Point graduates, referring to the part they should take in bringing this war to a victorious close—"After that, as officers of the regular army, you will prepare, not for war, but to be ready for another war if anybody wants to start it."—*Tribune*.

Peace only with victory! Preparedness! Catching up with the country! Allah be praised; Roosevelt, also!

Our Pledge to Our Allies

A PECULIAR and most felicitous significance attaches to the President's message to the President of the French Republic in response to the latter's dispatch on the anniversary of the advent of the American Expeditionary Forces in France. It would be noteworthy simply as an indication of the extent to which Mr. Wilson's personal conception of the war has been developed and co-ordinated with that of the American people. Between his former dogmatic declaration that "it must be a peace without victory" and his present insistence that "it is only by victory that peace can be achieved" there is little difference in time, and there is of course not the shadow of a shade of difference in the character and purport of the war or in the imperative requirements of the conditions of satisfactory peace, but in the mental and spiritual attitude of the President there is a difference as wide as the world. It is a fine thing that he has thus opened his eyes to the true vision, and for that reason if for no other the nation would gratefully approve his message to Mr. Poincaré and would rally as one man to support him in the wise and patriotic stand which he has thus announced.

There is, however, a broader and deeper significance in the message than this revelation of the writer's mind. It is found in the expression of a pledge to send American soldiers and supplies at least until they equal those of France herself in numbers and in volume, and in the reaffirmation of our "close and intimate co-operation with the people of France." In that, and especially in the latter phrases, there is an implied definition of our relationship to our Allies which cannot be too clearly understood or too strongly maintained.

The President is speaking of "the people of the United States" as well as of himself when he refers to their "close and intimate co-operation with the people of France." But it is obvious, since he is speaking of two Republics, that if such relationship exists between the two peoples, it must also identically exist between the two governments. That is to say, France and America are in the war as equal partners and in exact accord. They fight as one, and they will make peace as one. Neither will pursue a policy in the war contrary to that of the other, and neither will undertake peace negotiations independently of the other or assent to a separate peace. That is the inevitable purport of the President's words. To suspect them of any other would be an intolerable imputation upon his wisdom and good faith.

There is, moreover, a logical corollary to this proposition

which should be obvious to all minds, but which also cannot be too clearly perceived or too strongly emphasized. That is, that these words of the President must apply equally to our relationships with the other Allies in this war. In ordinary circumstances we should not admit the homely rule of "love me, love my dog,"—or, more courteously, "love my friends,"—as binding among nations. We have always held it to be possible and proper for us to be friendly with one nation even while we were at war with another with which the first was friendly, or to be equally friendly with two nations which were at war with each other. Such indeed is the case to-day, between us and the few nations which still remain neutral in the war. But in the extraordinary circumstances which obtain in time of war among belligerents, the rule in question must be observed. One nation cannot logically nor rationally be at war with another and remain at peace with that other's belligerent allies; nor can one nation be allied in war with another and be hostile to or even not allied with that other's allies.

That is why it appeared to us illogical and to some extent mischievous that this country should recognize a state of war with Germany and yet should continue peaceful relations with other countries which were offensively and defensively allied with Germany in the war and were as a matter of notorious fact aiding and abetting Germany in her war against us. That is why it seems illogical that we should pledge close and intimate co-operation with France in her war against Germany and yet decline to assist her in her war against Germany's allies. If France and America fight as one and make peace as one, then wherever France fights America should fight, and not until France makes peace should America recognize peace in any place.

But to make the application of the principle more directly suggested by the President's thoughtful and convincing message: Since we are so closely and intimately co-operating with France in both war and peacemaking, we must similarly co-operate with France's allies, which thus become in equal measure our allies. Especially is this to be said of Great Britain, Italy, and Russia if ever and whenever Russia again "finds herself" and redeems her faith. For these nations are and long have been united in a common pledge to wage war together and to make or to accept no separate peace. The United States, it is true, has entered into no such formal treaty. But again and again through official utterances we have implied our jointure to that principle, and now again the President makes that implication clearer and stronger than ever before.

This is the logic of the case: We declare our close and intimate co-operation with France in the war. But when we do that we know that France is already bound by treaty to wage war and to make peace in common with these other powers. Therefore we take France for our ally with all her obligations. We cannot ignore them. If we pledge ourselves not to make peace excepting in concert with France, and we know that she is already pledged not to make peace excepting in concert with Great Britain and Italy, then by every rule of logic and law and morals we pledge ourselves also not to make peace excepting in concert with Great Britain and Italy.

It is most gratifying to call attention to this supreme significance of the President's message because we believe that nothing is more important in this war than our recognition and practical maintenance of precisely that principle. We unwaveringly hold with Washington and Jefferson against

permanent "entangling" alliances; but we equally hold with them in favor of whatever temporary alliances may be necessary for temporary and special purposes, and also in favor of observing good faith with all nations. The unsought necessities of this war compel us to make alliances with those nations which have common cause with us. Those alliances should be ungrudging and complete. After the war is over, the victory won, and peace securely restored, they may be dissolved amicably, by common consent. We are not at all enamored of permanent alliances between us and any other nations; unless in a league for peace. But while the war and its issues last, let us have an alliance in both name and fact. Let us and all nations that are warring for righteousness against the Beast unite their armies and navies, unite their supplies, unite their diplomacy, unite their terms of peace. A "close and intimate co-operation" is the President's apt phrase. Let us have that, in its fullest sense, and with all that it implies, with every nation that wars against the Hun.

Why should Mr. Hearst consider it necessary to consume so much wood pulp in partly bragging about and partly apologizing for his unadulterated and almost violent support of the Administration and all its works? Even the *World* maintains a becoming reserve and occasionally, as may be noticed elsewhere, breaks loose.

Officers and Men

THE announcement by Provost Marshal General Crowder that we will have 3,000,000 under arms on August 1st is indeed gratifying. We have long since become chary of War Department promises, and if Secretary Baker had made this announcement—but that's neither here nor there, because we have abundant faith in General Crowder and accept without question any statement he makes concerning affairs in his division.

The promise of 3,000,000 men on August 1st is gratifying, not because it represents as great a force as we should have in training and in the field by that date, but because the increase during the next month and a half will be equal to about 50 per cent of the entire number of men we have raised during the last fourteen months. If the announcement could be accepted as meaning that the War Department had decided to continue to call men during the next year at the rate they will be called during the next month and a half, we would shout with joy.

But alas we have reasons for believing that it is merely a mid-summer spurt, and that on August 1st we will drop back to the snail pace which has characterized us heretofore. We are reliably informed that between August 1st and January 1st it is Mr. Baker's intention to limit the number called under the draft to 875,000, which represents the number of men remaining in Class A. Why he declines to approve General Crowder's proposals to amend the draft law or at least go into Class B for men we do not know, but we do know that the present plans preclude the possibility of putting a really great army in France in the spring of 1919, although we might do so without overtaxing our available man power.

Consider the attendant circumstances: 40 per cent of the men under arms will be non-combatants which leaves

60 per cent of actual fighting men. Under the present plans this will give us roughly 2,300,000 men available for line duty early next spring. Then from this number must be deducted approximately 30 per cent on account of casualties, sickness and other disabilities, which will leave little more than 1,500,000 for the actual business of killing Huns. We hope and pray that President Wilson will support General Crowder's contention that we must either amend the draft law to take in men from 18 to 45 or else call men from Class B during the present summer and fall.

But there is another phase in the man power situation which is rapidly assuming alarming proportions. It is the shortage of officers. Since the beginning of the war the Allies have paid the most terrible price because they never had enough trained officers to lead their men. The experience of Russia may be discounted somewhat, because we could hardly expect Russia to supply enough competent officers to lead the immense armies she placed in the field in 1914 and 1915. In England, however, the case is not analogous. It was fair to assume that England, with her high rate of intelligence could readily train all the officers needed. But she failed. The War Office has found it impossible to turn out enough trained officers to cope with Germany's experienced leaders.

From the day when the Allied mission came to this country we have been warned and warned repeatedly that we could not train too many officers. General Pershing has repeatedly urged the department to train more and older men. Upon his return from Europe General Wood told the Senate Committee that the crying need in France was for more men between 30 and 40. He reported that the younger men were of an extremely high type, but that we needed men of more mature years to lead the troops.

Despite all these warnings and pleadings Secretary Baker has flatly refused to train men who might be expected to step into the shoes of majors, colonels and brigadiers. With the exception of those graduated from the Officers' Reserve Camps last year he has limited the opportunity for training to men of the draft age. It is true that thousands of men over the draft age have been taken into the staff corps, but we are not now interested in them at present. It is also true that special branches such as the artillery and engineers, within certain limitations, are open to men between 31 and 45, but the infantry—the branch which will suffer the greatest casualties—appears to be closed to men of ages which other countries consider ideal for the making of intermediate military commanders.

A little while ago it was reported that Mr. Baker had decided to lift the bars and offer commissions to older men, but there appears to have been no foundation for these reports. As far as we are able to ascertain he is obsessed with the notion that an army, to be truly democratic, should draw just as many officers as possible from the lists of the drafted men.

Mr. Baker also has been urged to train officers as soon as possible and send them to Europe, after the preliminary period for actual experience in the trenches, the argument being that they could then return to this country with enough knowledge of war conditions to train new men here. Although the possibilities of following such a policy have been unlimited, he has preferred to send thousands of men to France in charge of young officers who have never been under fire.

We are informed by a special correspondent of the *London Times*, who recently made a trip through the American camps in France, that the United States in the near future will make even a greater sacrifice than was made when the agreement was reached to brigade American troops with those of our Allies. He stated that the censor was unwilling to allow him to specify the nature of the sacrifice, but that it would be applauded as most generous and unprecedented.

We are now informed by one of the most reliable authorities in Washington that the sacrifice referred to consists in nothing more or less than accepting an offer made by the French government to attach French colonels to American regiments. It appears that so many French regiments have been combined under single commanders that General Foch finds himself in possession of a surplus of colonels. If at this early period in the war, when we have only begun to raise armies, we find ourselves short of officers, why in the name of common sense are we unwilling to prepare for the future by training matured men is a question which can only be answered by Mr. Newton D. Baker. It is preposterous to assume that our niggardly supply of regular Army officers will be sufficient to meet the ultimate demand and there are no others, either in the field or in training.

We doubt if the President could have made a better appointment to the Aircraft Board than that of Mr. William C. Potter, who has already rendered service of incalculable value as head of the production division under Mr. Ryan.

Universal Military Training

THE American Medical Association has contributed a strong document on the affirmative side of that question of compulsory military training which is destined to come up for speedy settlement very soon after the war ends. By a unanimous vote the Association, at its Sixty-ninth Annual Convention recently closed in Chicago, passed a resolution endorsing universal military training. It even went so far as to urge that such training be made a prerequisite to the right of suffrage. It insisted that all young men should have military training before they be allowed to vote. It strongly recommended the early adoption of universal compulsory military training as a permanent national policy.

In taking this position in such positive terms, the Association entirely eliminated the matter of war preparedness. It rested its entire case on sanitary and hygienic grounds. The whereas preliminary to the resolution itself recite the observations and experiences of medical men in connection with the formation of our present armies and the deductions they have drawn therefrom.

The recent selective draft medical inspection of the young men of the country has amounted to an inventory of our national health such as we have never had before. Its results were only moderately satisfactory. They revealed that a large percentage of our young men were unfit for military service, and that in the majority of cases were unfit from causes that were curable. They were causes which would not have existed had those suffering from them been subjected for a reasonable antecedent term to the regimen, discipline and exercise of military training. This is demonstrated by what

the Association characterizes as "the wonderful mental and physical benefits which have been manifested in the young manhood of America through intensive military training in the national army cantonments." In addition to these actually accomplished results, the Association holds that this training has done much to inculcate the knowledge and value of sanitation and personal hygiene in the individual, a knowledge, which with the hygienic habit-forming discipline of the army must inevitably add to the productive power and good citizen efficiency of every young man who acquires it, in whatever walk in life he may elect to follow.

Now of course against this hard common sense all the forces of pacifism, bolshevikery, and sentimentalism are bound to be arrayed when this inevitable post bellum issue is presented. The thank-God-we-are-not-prepared cohorts will be heard from in full volume and in strident protest ranging through all the gamut from rumbling organ groans to hysterical shrieks. They will have learned nothing from this war any more than they did from the revelations of our pitiful plight which the little scuffle with Spain brought to the surface. They never learn anything from any experience, however bitter and humiliating, which conflicts with their fads and their theories. The old foolish wails of "militarism" will go up at the first suggestion that we have any sane organization and preparation for national defense. The arguments and appeals of the highest authority we have on National Sanitation will be of no avail. They will be swept aside as mere subterfuges to cover sinister war projects.

And as for making military training a condition precedent to suffrage, it does not require much imagination to picture the uproar a proposition of that kind would cause. On this point the Medical Association's resolution is perhaps a little too sweeping. It reads:

Resolved, That the American Medical Association urge the early adoption of a permanent national policy of universal military training for all young men before the right of suffrage is granted to them.

Now, of course, there will be young men who from absolutely prohibitive physical infirmities will not be able to undergo military training. To exclude these from the ballot would be so obviously an injustice that no enactment would contemplate it for a moment, nor would any such enactment in all probability stand a test for constitutionality. In fact the enactment of any laws to meet the Medical Association's suffrage demand probably would have formidable constitutional snags to encounter before it became a stabilized portion of our governmental machinery. But the Medical Association is made up of doctors and not of lawyers. As doctors they saw the immense benefits that would accrue to the physical and mental efficiency of our rising generations of young manhood from the discipline and exercise incident to military training. So they have put themselves on record, as forcibly as they knew how, in favor of such training.

And the weight of such authority will be of immense service when the question comes before the country for decision. The opposition will be formidable. As the Administration and Congress are at present constituted, the result, if the matter were now brought to the test, would be rather more than doubtful. But, when it is brought to the test, there will be new forces in the political fields. The millions of men in the armies will be here and will be heard from. It is just about as certain that they will not be pacifists as

it is that they are not now, never have been, and never will be mollicoddles. The value with them of military training will not be a theory but a demonstrated fact. The vital importance of war preparedness will be something about which they will be qualified to speak out of the abundance of their experience and sufferings from war unpreparedness. And what the post bellum soldier vote says will be very apt to go, the pacifists, the practical politicians and the all 'round cranks to the contrary notwithstanding. We have a temporary injunction against war preparedness slacking in full force at this moment. When the war is ended the injunction will be made permanent, unless our reading of the tendency of the times is all wrong, and it will be the weight of the soldier vote that will do it.

It is a cause for profound gratification that American troops have at last victoriously invaded territory which the Kaiser claims as German soil, though in fact it is not that, but is good French soil which the Kaiser's grandfather stole. It is honor and glory thus to help France to retake Alsace.

The Railroad Agreements

THE Government and the railroads appear to be on the eve of executing the formal agreements necessary to carry out the arrangement under which the roads have been turned over to complete Federal control during the war and for a limited period thereafter. The provisions of the agreements, as tentatively drawn up, have been more or less of an open secret for some time. A circumstantial account of these agreements, with considerable extracts from their text, was published in the *New York Times* a few days ago. To a few salient points concerning them, it is worth while to direct special attention.

The provision for turning over to the railroads the income to which they are entitled under the agreements calls for payment "in equal monthly installments," the first payment to be made on the first day of the month following the execution of the agreement, and to include all the monthly installments which shall have occurred up to the date of the first payment. It should be observed that, if the agreements were to be signed as soon as possible, there will have been an accumulation of six months of these installments, and that every additional month of delay means a further piling up of arrears. To put the railroads, as soon as may be, in the way of providing their dividend payments, in normal fashion, out of their revenues, is certainly a thing which is desirable from every standpoint.

The stipulation as to arbitration of any dispute between the Government and the companies, as to the interpretation of the agreement, is precisely what it should be. It calls for the submission of such dispute to "a board of arbitration which shall consist of three members, one of whom shall be selected by each of the parties thereto and the third by the two thus chosen." This is not only just and fair in itself, and therefore the proper way to determine the specific disputes which may arise from time to time; it has also another kind of importance. By putting the relations between the Government and the corporations upon precisely the same footing as they would naturally be placed on in an arrangement between private parties, it emphasizes the fact that the Government in taking over the roads has no intention to ride

rough-shod over pre-existing rights.

Of greatest importance, from the standpoint of sound national policy, is the explicit reciting, in the formal contracts, of that disavowal of any purpose to make Federal control permanent which formed the subject of so vigorous a contest in Congress. As quoted in the *Times*, that recital covers only the declaration that the act is "emergency legislation enacted to meet conditions growing out of the war, and that nothing therein was to be construed as expressing or prejudicing the future policy of the Federal Government concerning the ownership, control, or regulation of carriers or the method or basis of the capitalization thereof;" but it may be taken for granted that there will also be explicit citation of the far more vital provision of the act which fixes a maximum limit of 21 months after the war for the return of the property to its owners. It was this that was so obstinately opposed by all who wished to grease the ways for Government ownership, and the final insertion of which was so gratifying a victory for honest legislation.

Recent events, it must be admitted, make the problem of the actual carrying out of the restoration look more difficult than ever. The wiping out of the railroads' individuality has gone on with great—and, it may be thought by many, unnecessary—rapidity. Anybody who may have imagined that the restoration would be an easy thing to manage must realize that he was sadly mistaken. But to know that a thing is difficult, or even doubtful, is a very different thing from granting that it is impossible and incontinently accepting defeat. We are glad to have reason to believe that the big railroad men of the country have no intention of viewing the matter in any such faint-hearted way. Let them hold firmly to their rights under the law, and, while loyally doing their full duty and more in the great emergency of the present, let them safeguard the future to the very utmost of their ability.

We are beginning to suspect that Charles E. Hughes Esq., has struck a hot trail.

The Postal and the Western Union

AT another time the controversy between the two great telegraph companies and the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America might come in for some public consideration on its merits. Under present conditions it is a matter entirely subordinate in public interest to the much graver question of the attitude of those companies towards the National Government in time of war.

The Government in this instance is represented by the National War Labor Board. This is a body organized for the especial purpose of adjudicating all questions between employers and employees which by threatened labor strikes may imperil the efficiency of the country's war energies. As President Wilson said in his letters to Mr. Clarence H. Mackay, President of the Postal, and to Mr. Newcomb Carlton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Companies, the Board was created by the Government itself "for the determination of labor disputes * * * with the sincere desire to arrive at justice in every case and with the express purpose of safeguarding the Nation against labor difficulties during the continuance of the war."

Up to the present time the work of the Board has more

than confirmed the wisdom of its creation. Its decisions have been accepted by contesting parties with commendable patriotism and in evident purpose to meet the Government fully in its effort to avoid anything calculated to hamper or cripple the country in this season of war emergency. When the differences arose between the telegraph companies and the telegraphers' union they were referred to this Board, which, after careful consideration, rendered a decision. This decision the telegraphers' union at once accepted. President Wilson then addressed the heads of the two companies in the letter above mentioned, appealing to them likewise to acquiesce.

The reply of Mr. Mackay was instant and as patriotic as it was prompt. He telegraphed to President Wilson as follows:

June 12, 1918.

In reply to your letter of yesterday, allow me to say that this company has done its very utmost since the beginning of the war to assume its full share of responsibility to the Government and to the public, and that in order to still further show its sincerity and earnest desire to be of service at this time of national trial, we cannot but respond to your request that we waive during the war our right to discharge employees who join the union, and you may rely upon our doing so.

CLARENCE H. MACKAY.

In other words, Mr. Mackay, like the patriotic American he is, accepted the War Labor Board's decision without a moment's hesitation. Whatever rights his company have in the premises, whatever opinion it may hold as to the merits of the question at issue—all these Mr. Mackay freely and instantly waives for the duration of the war. To this the President replied under date of the White House, June 13:

MY DEAR MR. MACKAY:

May I not express my warm and sincere appreciation of your kind telegram of this morning, and may I not say I was sure of the response my request would meet.

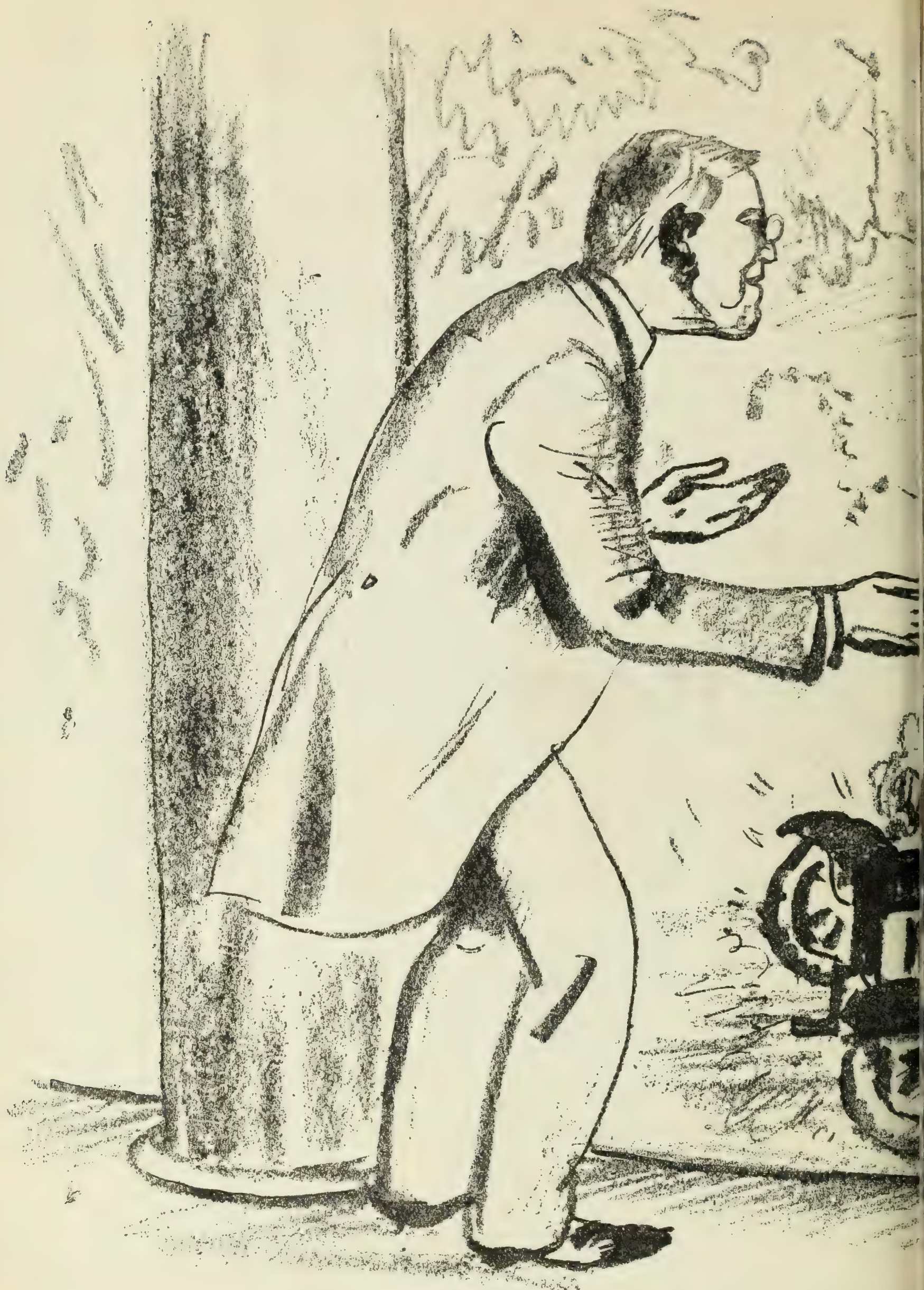
Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

And the "warm and sincere appreciation" of the President in this instance will be heartily endorsed by the American people. Mr. Mackay recognizes the fact that we are at war. He recognizes the fact that labor controversies and even clear conviction of existing rights must be instantly swept aside if they in the slightest degree threaten the country's efforts to win the war.

At this writing the attitude of the Western Union is in abeyance. Whether it will accept the Labor Board's decision is uncertain. The fact of even the delay and the uncertainty is unfortunate. There is something jarring and out of harmony with these tense times in the mere hesitation to meet the issue as frankly and as promptly as did Mr. Mackay. There was but one thing for the telegraph companies to do in the premises. The Postal did it and the Western Union did not. And there the matter stands.

William the Damned improved the occasion on the thirtieth anniversary of his accession to emit some more rancid hypocrisies and blasphemies about what he calls his "old German Gott," a something which, he said, had laid a heavy burden upon his shoulders. We wish he would stop it, at least stop calling it "Gott"; for the name is irreverently suggestive of God, whom civilized peoples adore. It would be a relief if William would call it Thor, or Mumbo Jumbo, or perhaps Moloch.



WILL YOU BE MY

"At the earnest request of the President of the United States, I have decided to



BER STAMP?

the nomination for Senator from Michigan if tendered to me."—Henry Ford

The Week

WASHINGTON, *June 21, 1918.*

A WEEK of strenuous action, save on the Western Front, where the lull is more significant of action than action itself could be. The fourth German drive this spring, and the second of the war with which the Huns expected to reach Paris, was halted because the slaughter was so great that even the Potsdam butchers faltered and were dismayed. If ever that grim and bloodthirsty refrain of the Marseillaise was realized, it has been this month of June, not in Champagne nor Picardy but in the ancient Ile de France itself: "Qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons!" Fair Provinces of France have been ravaged and desolated, but if there is fertilizing value in Hunnish blood, they will presently blossom as the rose; for never was slaughter greater than there. For this, without being savage, we confess ourselves to be glad. It was far better to have the drive stopped by the wholesale killing of Huns than in any other way. Checked by strategy, by failure of supplies, or in any other way, the German army would have been left intact, ready to fight again. But dead Huns can fight no more. There will of course be a renewal of the drive; for which we forecast and invoke a like result.

Lulled by the hand of death along the Western Front, the war was resumed with an access of fury in Northern Italy, from the Alps to the Adriatic, the Austrians striving to break through to make another Louvain of Venice and to ravage the rich Venetian and Emilian plains. The meaning of this drive is twofold. First, it was planned to strike simultaneously with what was hoped to be a successful German drive at Paris, and though the latter failed it was considered best to let the other go right on. Abandonment of plans so elaborate and so far advanced would have been an intolerable confession of defeat. Then also it was deemed best, indeed essential, to proceed with the drive as a desperate counter-irritant to what is undoubtedly an ominous crisis in the domestic affairs of the polyglot Dual Realm. Camouflage aside, there is no doubt that Austria-Hungary is in a parlous state. Hungary has long been sick of a war which if successful would be for the aggrandizement and glorification of the Germans, whom Hungarians hate. The Czechs and Jugoslavs are disaffected to the verge of mutiny. Even the German minority is permeated with sullen despair, ready for peace at any price and hostile to any ministry that will not seek it. In such a crisis, and under Hohenzollern dictation, the attempt was made to allay discontent and to revive waning loyalty by means of military activity. If another big drive could be effected, and a number of Italian cities and a province or two could be conquered, hope might be renewed in the Austro-Hungarian breast. Hence this drive; a counsel of despair, doomed to defeat.

Still, we wish that there were American troops on the Italian line; not because they are needed to strengthen that line, but because it would be well to give our Italian Allies such ocular demonstration of the fact that we are with them in the war.

What a relief it is to get from the War Department statements that, upon their face, convey the truth, the whole truth and nothing but! Did you notice how careful General March was, when he announced that 800,000 men had been

sent abroad, to add that this number included combatants, non-combatants and those on the sea. Mr. Baker has spoken invariable, to the best of our recollection, of so many "troops,"—which means to the average reader that number of fighting men and thus conveys an utterly false impression. Now note how unjustly this tacit deceit has worked. First, it has convinced our own people that we had put on the firing line twice as large an army as we had really placed and has tended, conformably to Mr. Baker's policy, to lull them into a sense of security and confidence, regardless of the actual facts; and, secondly, since only 65 per cent at best of those sent are combatants and approximately 15 per cent of those are raw recruits yet to be trained, it has induced the country to expect of, say, 400,000 soldiers what it had a reason to expect of 800,000,—as gross an outrage upon the lads who are proving their splendid quality as can be imagined. Thanks to President Wilson, at whose instigation we have no doubt the change was made, such information as we are entitled to will come from a real soldier pledged in honor never to misrepresent through half statements and never, under any circumstances, to deceive, by indirection or otherwise, the American people.

We have our doubts about the desirability of having American troops when sent across placed in training camps in Ireland. It is reported that some prominent Irishmen, including officials of high rank, are discussing it, with the expectation that what are called "Irish-American" troops will thus be landed in the Emerald Isle. We are not at all afraid that, as a Sinn Feiner is reported to have said, such troops would all be Sinn Feiners within a month. The loyalty of American soldiers is of too robust a fibre for such degeneration. It is more likely that the presence of our troops would cause all Sinn Feiners to disappear within the month. But we are not persuaded of the fitness of thus employing our troops, even passible, for such a purpose in the domestic politics of another country, even the country of one of our Allies.

Besides, there are no "Irish-American" troops. Americans of Irish birth or ancestry have eschewed the hyphen.

Some time ago the Allies showed themselves decidedly superior to the Huns in aerial warfare, despite the German bracketing of Zeppelins with Cherubim and Seraphim. Now we are told that we are also beating them in gas warfare. The chief of the Bureau of Chemistry of our War Department told a Senate Committee that the Allies had more gas at their disposal than the Germans, and used it more effectively, and also that they had better gas masks for their own protection. We are not surprised at this, any more than we are at the fact that our industrialists are now making better aniline dyes than were ever made by the Germans who once had a monopoly of the business. In their years of secret preparation the Germans got far ahead of other nations in many of the arts and devices of warfare. But in their brutish arrogance and blind conceit they failed to take account of the superior mentality and higher efficiency of the Latins and Anglo-Saxons, who have accomplished more in four years than the Germans did in forty, and who are quite able to take up the results of laborious German study and work and in a twinkling so improve upon it as to make it seem quite obsolete. We consider gas warfare a detestable thing, which

ought to be barred from civilized operations. But since the Huns began it, let them have it to their asphyxiated content. It is traditionally permissible to fight the devil with fire.

We need no longer pray "Oh, for one hour of blind old Dandolo." That octogenarian conqueror seems to have some promising successors. The annals of this war at sea contain no finer record than that of the two Italian Commanders who, with two little motor patrol boats, slipped through a cordon of enemy destroyers and torpedoed two big Austrian battleships, sending certainly one and in all probability both to the bottom of the Adriatic. One of the Commanders, too, is the same who last winter entered the harbor of Trieste and torpedoed an Austrian battleship there. No wonder that such achievements "thrill all Italy." They thrill the world; the Allies with exultation, the Huns and Tedeschi with dismay.

The splendid performances of Allied airmen continue, both in engagements over the lines, where we hear of a single American—a descendant of "Old Put"—bringing down five Boches in one day, and in the bombardment of places far within the German lines. In this latter activity it is especially gratifying to observe that our aviators are not merely attacking places in France and Belgium, which are temporarily held by the enemy, but are more and more crossing the border and raiding Germany itself. Karlsruhe and Cologne have been made to suffer, and only the other day some tons of explosives were deposited where they would do the most good at Treves, Dillingen, Hagendangen and elsewhere. Evidently the old "Wacht am Rhein" is inefficient toward airplanes. The boast "no foeman treads upon thy strand" may still hold good. But foemen are more and more numerously flying over the aforesaid strand and dropping big bombs at will.

Incidentally it will be observed—if indeed it be necessary to call attention to what is a matter of course—that these Allied attacks are confined to fortified places, army camps, munition depots, railroad stations, and the like. There is none of the deliberate bombarding of undefended residence places, schools and hospitals, such as the Huns have done so much of and have boasted so much about. We hope that there will be no wanton destruction of non-combatant places; though when we remember Rheims we are compelled to confess that if a bomb intended for a munitions plant at Cologne should be carried so near the big cathedral there as to give it a first class scare, we should bear the shock with Christian fortitude.

Activity in the Balkans has been renewed, with good results. The Allies are making substantial progress in the heart of Western Macedonia and are regaining much territory which properly belongs to Serbia, a fitting celebration of Kossovo Day. These operations are increasing the dissatisfaction and distress of Bulgaria, which on the one hand is greatly aggrieved by the Rumanian treaty and on the other is at the point of an open row with Turkey, while all around she feels herself to have been used as the mere catpaw of Germany, and of course to have suffered the usual fate of such tools.

Germany is going to declare the coast waters of the United

States a danger zone. They will be, for German U-boats.

When the House of Representatives got through with Mr. Creel, it left him where it found him, only somewhat better off. While voting \$1,250,000 for the use of his what-not of a bureau, it leaves him quite free to draw as he likes upon the President's secret fund, subject, of course, to the President's approval, precisely as before. And the sum appropriated for that fund is the same as that expended last year. We perceive no objection to the arrangement. The President is satisfied with Mr. Creel, "on the whole;" and if that, as Mr. Lincoln was wont to observe, is the kind of a man he likes, why that is the kind of a man he likes. In any case, we should dislike to see the President "personally crippled" and only regret that the reed he leans upon seems so slender. But we have never found much fault except with the bumptiousness of Mr. Creel anyway, although our views may change when we come presently to examine the record of his variegated career. He certainly did a first-class job, worth vastly more to the country than his entire year's salary, when he got the Mexican editors to Washington. Really, Mr. Creel strikes us as a zealous although not a notably accurate, reporter. What he needs is an editor.

John Kendrick Bangs is back from the front. He took a message of merry good cheer to the boys over there and he brought another message of equally good cheer from the boys to the home folks. And that is not all. The statement he makes as to the boys' conduct is all on the credit side. The statement as to their personal conduct, that is. As to their fighting conduct, we knew what that would be before they started. When the reports along that line began to come in there was no surprise here although there clearly was a little among our French and English friends. And, as for the Huns, their surprise passed that of all the rest. Even the Huns have had to admit that our lads will fight, fight like wild-cats,—like "devil-hounds" as they put it. But we lack training, lack experience and lack a lot of other things they are trying to console themselves with. Oh well, the boys will be able to satisfy them in all these particulars before the last great battle is won.

"At present," said Orville Wright just a year ago this month, "the difference between five years more of war and an early peace with victory for the Allies is 10,000 airplanes." We did not have any over there then of course but by this coming 1st of July in the Baker-Creel prophetic visions we were to have 20,000 at the front, was it not? So according to the Wright figures of 10,000 to do the job if the 20,000 were there the war ought to be at its wind up before the summer is over. But Mr. Baker has quit dreaming, real folks have begun working, the aircraft factory wheels are humming, and we are making a fine start towards getting there, even if we are about a year overdue.

The Kaiser sends the Crown Prince some more congratulations upon his "tremendous battle success." But up to the hour of going to press we have not heard of the Boches' capture of Verdun, nor of the bestowal of that Field Marshalship upon the Hohenzollern Hopeful.

A Call For Action

THE great question about Russia at this moment is not whether we shall make the right decision, but whether we shall make any decision at all—that is, any decision within the time when it is still possible for a decision to shape events. Are we going to be content simply to meditate on the perils of action, or are we going to weigh those perils against the perils of inaction and decide to act or not to act according as the one course or the other appears to be the wiser?

There is no reason to believe that the President's negative attitude—that attitude which has thus far manifested itself in a declination to give positive sanction to any scheme of Allied intervention—represents a definite decision on his part as to permanent policy. On the contrary, there is abundant reason to surmise that the development of events may lead him to give, at some time in the future, the sanction which he has thus far withheld. He has made no broad declaration that could hamper such action. It is safe to assume that he has refrained from doing so for the very purpose of keeping his freedom of action unimpaired.

That there is ample reason for hesitation it would be absurd to deny. Tremendous as are the incitements to intervention—appalling as is the prospect opened up by the steady strengthening of Germany's grip on the vast potentialities of Russia—it would be the height of folly to rush in blindly, to rush in merely because it seems intolerable to stay out and passively witness what is going on. Whatever move is made must be made with a clear calculation of eventualities and with definite preparedness to meet those eventualities. We have, above all, to reckon with the Bolshevik power—to give that power as little reason as possible to array itself against us, and at the same time to be as thoroughly prepared as possible to meet its antagonism if necessary. If Mr. Wilson is weighing these difficulties in his mind, it is small wonder that he does not find it an easy job to settle his doubts.

It is not an easy job. It is more than a difficult job; it is an impossible one. For the problem is not one to be settled by individual thought, or even by national consideration. The question is one of joint action by the nations allied against Germany, and the only way to grapple with it is to treat it as the joint concern of them all. We must go into council upon it with the nations with which we are already in council as to the conduct of the war on the Western front. England and France are no more desirous than we are to put their heads into the Russian hornets' nest with no prospect except to be stung. If they are anxious that something be done to make head against the German absorption of Russia, it is because they think that something can be really achieved by action directed to that end. Every day the signs become stronger of such desire on the part of our allies—a desire manifested also in many impressive ways within Russia itself. Is it not manifest that our first duty is to put ourselves in touch with our allies, to seek the same unity of policy and action in relation to the Russian problem that has been attained in the conduct of the war on the Western front?

It is a satisfaction to note the growing realization in the American press of the urgency of the Russian question. The *New York Times* has been making an editorial "drive" directed especially to pointing out the danger of ignoring

Japan's peculiar interest in protecting herself against the menace of a Germanized Russia—a Russia which would mean to Japan either the total extinction of her national aspirations or the formation of an alliance between herself and Germany as the only means of self-preservation. This may be looking somewhat far ahead, but have we any warrant for saying it is too far? President Wilson is himself on record, in more than one of his chief public declarations, to the effect that the weakening of Germany in the West would be utterly unavailing to protect the free nations of the world if it were counterbalanced by an accession of German power in the East. Are we not running right into the teeth of just this conclusion of the war?

The *New York Tribune* throws the brunt of its argument upon that aspect of the situation which has been insisted upon by the *WAR WEEKLY*—the crying need of a policy determined by a council of the leading Powers arrayed against Germany, including the United States. As the *Tribune* forcibly puts it:

Great Britain, France and Italy have found a way to fuse their thoughts. There is a Political Council, mainly composed of Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando, Premiers, respectively, of the three countries. The United States, now the dominant partner, is not equally represented. We do not directly participate in foreign political councils.

The weakness of the Allies is that there is no way of laying down a programme far ahead, as the Germans do, and pursuing it steadily to the logical end. No technique has been evolved for doing so. We have not even realized the problem clearly.

In the larger sense there is no Allied plan for winning the war—no great world plan.

We allow circumstances to oblige decisions. The Germans often create the circumstances.

In the fighting on the Western front we are striking our pace. The splendid qualities of our regulars and our marines have already begun to tell appreciably upon the fortunes of the gigantic battle in France; and before long we shall be hearing of achievements of like kind and on a greater scale by our National Army and our airmen. But we must not forget that, splendid as this work will, we all trust, prove to be, it has been a long time coming, and the delay has been purchased at most usurious cost. Let no such heavy reckoning be piled up against us in the great issue which is looming up in the East. However complete the German failure may turn out to be in France—and it would be rash to count it as sure to be complete—the time that intervenes between now and that failure will be utilized to the utmost by the Germans in Russia. Apart from the bare possibility that the Teutonic Powers may collapse through internal troubles, there is no escape from the conclusion that Germany, balked in the West, will confront the world at the close of the present year with at least the show of a mighty re-enforcement of her strength in the East. And that show will be a solid reality—a reality which will hearten her own people and present a staggering problem to her enemies—unless in the meanwhile something has been done to restore to Russia some part at least of her old vitality and her old potency. If that can be done and is not done, upon those who may be to blame for its not being done will rest an awful burden of responsibility. Let us hope that neither the wisdom nor the courage necessary to avoid this burden will be lacking to the President in whose hands rests the shaping of American policy.

As we write, we hear, upon what seems to be excellent authority, that a momentous decision has been reached and that due announcement may be expected at almost any moment. We can only hope and pray that the report will prove correct. We have watched and waited long enough.

(Special Dispatch to The Tribune)

Washington, June 17.—“There will be scenes which will make the marrow of Wilson's bones turn cold,” declared a German newspaper, in commenting on the exploits of a German submarine in American waters and predicting events to come.

It is to laugh!

Daniel's Brave Fight

THE Secretary of the Navy is conducting against fearful odds a determined and admirable fight for the preservation of the discipline and morale of the Navy, especially that of the Navy Pay Corps. As everyone familiar with the administration of the navy knows, the Navy Pay Corps, on which fall the numerous and varied responsibilities which in the army are delegated to the Quartermaster General, has made a remarkable record during this war. Admiral McGowan, at the head of the Pay Corps, from a period somewhat antedating the actual entrance of the United States into the European war, has displayed a prescience, an energy and a determination which have saved the navy from the widespread and caustic criticism which the Quartermaster's Department of the army has received and merited. No shortage of uniforms and supplies has hampered the fleet. Destroyers and battleships have been prepared to go wherever and whenever ordered and neither officers nor Jackies, regulars nor reserves, have died from exposure because of lack of uniforms and proper clothing, nor have they been compelled for days to delay the execution of orders nor to endanger their physical wellbeing because of inadequate and improperly cooked rations. As has been said, the credit for this efficiency belongs to the chief paymaster, Admiral McGowan, and his highly competent staff. And if Secretary Daniels was for a time alarmed and even angered by the celerity and determination with which Admiral McGowan placed contracts, insisted upon prompt deliveries and refused to await the thrice deliberate deliberations of the Council of National Defense, all that was forgotten when, pursuant to an investigation, Republicans and Democrats alike joined in unanimous commendation of Mr. Daniels' administration of the Navy, basing their verdict to a large extent on the work of Admiral McGowan and his corps.

The pending naval appropriation bill provides for an additional pay director with the rank of rear admiral, and further provides that the office so created shall be filled “by selection,” that is, shall be filled with that member of the Pay Corps who, in the judgment of competent naval officers, is best fitted for and most deserving of the increased rank. Against this second provision, that the promotion shall be made “by selection,” a determined fight is being waged and the leader of the opposition to Secretary Daniels and the head of the Pay Corps is no less influential a personage than Mr. Bernard M. Baruch. Against the wish of Secretary Daniels and Admiral McGowan, Mr. Baruch would substitute favoritism for selection. He desires the pay and emoluments of the newly created office for a favorite of his own, Assistant Paymaster S. Hancock, who now enjoys the rank of lieutenant commander, who stands about 150 from the top of the Pay

Corps and sixtieth among paymasters with the rank of lieutenant commander. There is, it should be clearly understood, no criticism of Paymaster Hancock. There is, however, decided opposition to the exercise of such favoritism as would promote him over the heads of 150 officers in the Pay Corps, for no reason other than that he has won the regard of Mr. Baruch.

While cheerfully conceding that Mr. Hancock is an efficient officer and has ability, it is contended that such favoritism would be sadly subversive of the discipline and morale of the Corps; that neither by length nor character of service does he deserve such signal preferment; that were the place filled by any of the ninety paymasters with the rank of captain and commander, or even by many of the fifty odd paymasters with the rank of lieutenant commanders, their earlier attainment of the retirement age would pave the way for the promotion of others of Mr. Hancock's seniors before they reached retirement age. In a word the preferment of Mr. Hancock at this time would fill the Pay Corps with bitterness and a sense of injustice which would militate gravely against its morale.

That Secretary Daniels may have the courage to stick to his guns, even though it involve the displeasure of the all-powerful Mr. Baruch, and that the latter may not be successful, either in inducing Congress to eliminate the words “by selection” or in prevailing upon the Commander in Chief to order Secretary Daniels to do Mr. Baruch's bidding is the earnest wish—almost the prayer—of all who have the interests of the Navy Pay Corps at heart and all who have any appreciation of the tremendous factor it has proved in the efficiency of the fleet afloat.

Untimely Zeal

WHY can not the many “movements” of varied value which engage so much of the country's attention in times of peace move on out of sight for awhile, now that we are at war? Why can they not get out of the way and let those with the overwhelming burden of this deadly struggle upon their shoulders have leeway to carry on the enormous tasks under which they are staggering? Why can not the prohibitionists and the woman suffragists, for example, see that this is not the time to harass Congress with noisy demands for immediate action?

Heaven knows Congress has enough on its hands of pressingly urgent business, business that demands constant laborious attention during all the trying climatic conditions of a Washington summer, without being worried by fanatical insistence upon something which is not urgent, which can well wait and which can even be advantaged by waiting. This applies with especial force to the prohibitionist demands. A nation-wide prohibition amendment to the Constitution is now in process of ratification or defeat as the case may be in the manner the Constitution prescribes. Those who favor the amendment have, or say they have, every reason to be encouraged. State after State, even including Massachusetts, has ratified it. In the course of comparatively a few months its fate either one way or the other will be known. In the name of all that is reasonable, then, why not give Congress a rest on the subject? Why not turn the prohibition batteries on the State legislatures, where the real contest now lies, and spare the national legislature, where the preliminary battle has been fought and a memorable victory won?

Surely this is not much to ask at a time when all minor matters should give way to the one supreme purpose of winning a war on which the very existence of our country depends. It is not much to ask, but it seems that it is too much for the zealots to give. They are off in full cry, Tray, Blanche and Sweetheart, at the heels of Congress once more with that venerable, but still resonant, wind-bag, William Jennings Bryan, at their head. If there is any "movement" going, count on brother Bryan to get into it and work it for all the political capital it is worth. And so we find him right there now leading the forces in Washington that do not propose to let Congress catch its breath with a moment's recess during all the dog days of summer.

To be sure, zeal for prohibition with brother Bryan is to a certain extent a question of geography. As Mr. Anderson, of the Anti-Saloon League, pointed out, the Peerless One at least had a pretty sharp case of whiskeyoloid in Maryland when he spoke for the rum candidate and against the candidate of the temperance element. But he is convalescent from that now. He has shoved himself up to the front of the group demanding immediate enactment of a bone dry, nation-wide prohibition law for the duration of the war. When President Wilson, supported by Mr. Hoover, opposed the Randall rider to the agriculture appropriation bill on the ground that it would supplant beer and wine drinking by whiskey drunkenness, the more restlessly aggressive prohibitionists saw an opening. They demanded immediate enactment of a total prohibition law for the duration of the war—a legislative short cut to what the pending constitutional amendment contemplates accomplishing in the orderly constitutional way. To Mr. Bryan this was as a trumpet to a war horse. He plunged at once into the thickest of the fray. That the kicking up of this untimely rumpus would be more or less obstructive to the vitally important war work with which the entire attention of Congress is, or should be, exclusively engaged, may or may not have appealed to his pacifist proclivities. At all events the fact that it is so obstructive was at least no deterrent to his zeal.

But, in that connection, there is one thing to be said for pacifist Bryan that can not be said for pacifist Baker. Bryan was loyal to his convictions. When his pacifist views were not tolerated, when the choice was squarely presented to him of getting out or seeing himself reduced to a rubber stamp endorser of the acts of other and stronger men into whose hands all real authority of the Department of State had passed, he had the self-respect to resign. He left behind him about all of public confidence in his statesmanship he had ever had, but he did save his personal dignity. In this he has claims upon public respect in sharp contrast with those whose demonstrated incapacity has long ago lost them the confidence of the country and of their superiors, yet who still linger on lacking the personal pride and moral courage to relieve those superiors of the painful duty of relieving them. Probably Mr. Bryan was the worst Secretary of State the country ever had, and there is not much doubt that Mr. Baker is the worst Secretary of War the country has known. In that respect the balance between the two is pretty nicely adjusted. But right there the similarity ends with the dissimilarity at present all in Mr. Bryan's favor. And, besides, Mr. Bryan is comparatively harmless in his present field of endeavor. More or less of a pest and nuisance, to be sure,

just as he has ever been in his public life, but now just a bother, not a danger. His pacifist capacities for mischief are now purely obstructive, not destructive as in the case of those who still hang on to power, even though that power be growing with every day more and more shadowy as with every day public confidence in those nominally holding it diminishes.

"In my judgment," said Secretary Baker, "the sentences should be executed. . . . I have not the least doubt of the procedure in these cases, nor am I uncertain as to the correctness of the results reached." Good! Let us hope that he will maintain that tone, and not suffer relapse when the death sentence of some spy or traitor comes before him.

Sinn Fein Not Ireland

THE characteristic cowardice of Pacifists and Hunnish propagandists to which we have hitherto referred is cropping out again in grand style. Jeremiah A. O'Leary, he of the paradoxically named "Truth" Society, has been captured. We all remember how bold as a lion he was when he was writing insults to the President and trying to induce weak-minded neighbors to commit crime. Be Jabers! He was not afraid to face the whole Sassenach world in arms! But the moment the outraged law began to reach out for his precious carcass, he was shy. He skipped, vamoosed, absquatulated, skedaddled, and hid himself away in an obscure hamlet at the farther side of the continent. No martyrdom for Jerry, thank you, if a false name and a chicken coop could hide him from the sheriff.

Similarly his brother and the rest of the Sinn Fein-Potsdam gang seek any devious pathway of escape, save that of boldly facing the truth with the courage of their convictions. Especially do they resort to the particularly dirty trick of trying to implicate and befoul the very country to whose cause they pretend to be so devoted. Brought to book under indictment for violating the laws of the United States, they raise the cry that they are being persecuted for Ireland's sake. Dear old Ireland, out of professional agitation in whose behalf some of them have long made fat livings! Such an attempt was impudently made the other day in court, and was most properly rebuked by the presiding judge, who made it clear—as indeed it was without his making it so to every intelligent and right-minded man—that no man was on trial because he was an Irishman, and that indeed none could be. His words are worthy of repetition and remembrance as the exact truth.

"I consider," said Judge Hand, "the Irish among the most loyal elements of the population of this country, and they have given a splendid proportion of men to military service. Irishmen are not on trial, and would not be permitted to be on trial before us, even if the government desired it, and I am sure the government does not."

It cannot be too clearly and constantly borne in mind in all the controversy over Irish affairs that Sinn Fein is not Ireland. Its adherents over there are no more representative of the Irish nation than the I. W. W. are of the American nation; and they have no more relation to Ireland's legitimate demand for Home Rule than the I. W. W. have to American Democracy. They were the most venomous enemies of Mr. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, Mr. O'Connor and the other Irish

statesmen who took up Parnell's unfinished work and carried it to the completion which is now about to be consummated; and by such men, by the real mind and heart and soul of Ireland, they are regarded with distrust, contempt and detestation. In Ireland itself they have never presented anything more than a problem for the police to deal with.

It is over here that they have sought their most important scene of operations. Remembering how sympathetically America has ever responded to Ireland's call for aid, whether for food in famine or for encouragement in the Parliamentary campaign for self-government, they have thought that they could trade upon the same generous sentiments. Vainly imagining that Americans could not distinguish the false from the true, they thought to persuade them that they were the simon-pure advocates of Irish emancipation, for their own gain. Failing in that, and having done their utmost—also happily in vain—to compromise and to discredit the real cause of Ireland, it was quite natural for them to turn traitors to the country which had given them asylum, opportunity and competence. America's crisis was their chance to raise the devil.

A recent Allied air raid on Cologne caused the death of 146 persons. The people of Cologne were thrown into a state of "the most absolute panic."—*Press Dispatch*.

Do it again!

When the Boys Come Home

"WE ought not to forget that when the boys come home at the close of the war, at a time when I shall be wearing an asbestos halo, I suppose," said Uncle Joe Cannon in a recent speech in Congress, "they will take possession and direction, and worthily so, of the affairs of government, because they will have the rare experience and rare patriotism that will come from their service."

To all of which we heartily subscribe, with one reservation. If Uncle Joe supposes he will be wearing an asbestos halo at that time, why then we suppose nothing of the kind. He will not have to get measured for a halo for years after the war ends, no matter how long it lasts. And even when he does get into the halo class it will not be an asbestos one that he will wear. He won't need that kind. It will be the sort that goes with a harp which will be served out to Uncle Joe. Besides, the Huns will have a corner on all the asbestos in the market long before Uncle Joe gets around. Bill the Brute's 957 different varieties of uniforms alone will all have to be of asbestos, if that Gott of his who reigns over the resort does not go in for a little frightfulness sport and just for the humor of the thing turn his old pal Bill loose just as he is without one plea.

No, no. Uncle Joe is away wrong on the halo proposition. But as to the soldier boys taking charge of things when they come back, there is not the remotest doubt about that. It will be a clear track for all the offices and all the honors and all everything else the Government and the people have to give when Johnny comes marching home again. As Uncle Joe put it, it will be North and South just as it was after the Civil War when in politics, in business, in the constructive policies of the country it was a case of make room for the war veterans every time. "They became the great con-

trolling factors, not only in what we ordinarily call politics," said Mr. Cannon, "but in broader fields than that. They were found as engineers, they were found as lawyers, they were found as doctors, they were found as politicians."

And even at the forefront of all these and other callings the veteran soldiers, north and south, for years after the Civil War were found and found worthily meeting the responsibilities that were thrust upon them. A stronger, bigger, more virile generation than that which followed the war of '61-65 never was known in the country. The names of that war-bred group of statesmen, professional men, men of broad vision and masterful achievement have loomed large over the country's history from that day to this. Do we quite measure up to their standards now? Has there been something of deterioration in these later years? Maybe so. But it is no matter either way. Men of just as strong fibre, men of just as great military and legislative genius, men of just as lofty and self-sacrificing patriotism are in the making right at this moment in our home cantonments and on the flaming battle lines there in France. Muscles and nerves and brains that survive the ordeal of that hideous hell's furnace will come out of it tempered to as high, and perhaps even to a higher degree of fineness and firmness of fibre as did even those the Civil War's fiery fury produced. It is a generation of American giants that is in process of incubation just now. We shall hear from them later on. When they come back they will take charge of things. Nothing could keep down such men as they will be. And instead of trying to keep them down, every effort, every impulse of grateful patriotism will be to lift them up. They will own the country and they will deserve to own it for they will have saved it. That will be a great day when the boys come marching home again with their bronzed faces and their tattered battle flags flying and all swinging along in rhythmic step to the stirring music of their bands! And there will be a great review in Washington, of course, a review of an all American, no north no south, no east, no west, army—just a veteran battle scarred army of all America. A fitting complement and patriotic climax to that other review there of over half a century ago, the closing scene of another war of which this war will bury forever the last lingering trace of resentment.

Well, that glorious day is not here yet. But it is coming. It is not so very far distant perhaps. And it is well that our young soldiers in the field abroad and here at home in the making, do not forget what is ahead of them when that day comes; do not forget what a heritage of love and honor and power awaits them when they come back to the country they will have fought to save and which will be their very own in a sense and in a reality it never was before.

Does Mr. Baker really think General Wood is crazy?

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"They Shall Not Pass!"

VERDUN has been extended for four hundred miles. From the Alps to the North Sea the watchword of the Allies is "On ne passe pas!" They shall not pass! And they do not pass. They press forward, wave on wave. They gain some ground, at such a cost in human lives as never was paid before for land in all the history of the world. But they do not break the Allied line. Whether the drive be toward Ypres or Amiens, in Champagne or in the death angle of the Ourcq and Marne, they do not reach their objective. They have not passed. They are not passing. They will not and they shall not pass.

That is the story of their four successive spring drives, made in the course of less than three months, of which the fourth came to an end last week. It was the fourth and also the feeblest. The first was decidedly the strongest and most effective. That was the fierce rush toward Amiens, just three months ago; so fierce and far that only an unquenchable faith in God and the necessary triumph of the right saved men from dismay and despair. At that time the Huns advanced about 35 miles and occupied 975 square miles of land. Worst of all, they captured 90,000 prisoners and 1,300 guns. Even so, they "paid too much for their whistle." Their losses were so tremendous that when three weeks later they essayed a second drive, at Ypres, their effort was comparatively weak. Their greatest advance was not more than ten miles and less than 200 square miles of land were gained, while the number of prisoners was not more than 20,000, and that of guns taken was scarcely 200.

More than six weeks then elapsed, from the beginning of that second drive, before another was undertaken. That was in Champagne, and because of the long rest and the bringing in of fresh levies from Austria and from Russia it was made more vigorously and effectively than the second, though it did not reach the proportions of the first. The maximum advance was not more than 32 miles, the area occupied was perhaps 950 square miles, and 65,000 prisoners and 900 guns were taken. Close upon the heels of this came the fourth, which began and ended last week. It pushed the German line forward not more than six miles at any point, and gained not more than 180 square miles, and took only 15,000 prisoners and 150 guns.

For thus maintaining their own lines unbroken, and holding the Huns back from all important objectives, the Allied armies are entitled to grateful praise. They have done magnificently, especially since they have been able to inflict upon the enemy far greater losses than they themselves have suffered. Yet they have not won victory. That is the fact which must be borne in mind. They have prevented the enemy from winning, that is all. Defence, however successful, is not decisive victory. It does not win a war. Long enough continued, indeed, the process might by attrition wear out the attacking force and thus compel it to desist. We do not believe that Germany can put enough men into the field to purchase the rest of France at the rate at which she has paid for what she has taken in these four drives. But for her to realize that and therefore to desist from further drives and assume the defensive instead of the offensive, would not be the victory for the Allies which they are seeking and which they must have.

It would be folly to hope, however, for even so much as that Germany has reached that point, or that realization, and

will therefore desist from further drives. On the contrary, we must look for repeated renewals of her drive toward Paris or toward the Channel; for at least two major reasons. One is, that at a considerable part of the line the Germans, though checked, have reached a more advantageous position from which to renew the drive as soon as they have recuperated their strength. The other is, that they dare not stop driving, for fear of what may happen behind their lines. There is no doubt that the appalling losses which they have suffered in these four successive drives have aroused strong feeling throughout the army and the nation. To stop now and tacitly to confess that these losses have been fruitless might exacerbate that feeling to a dangerous degree. So the leaders of the Huns must shove forward more "cannon fodder" again and again, hoping that somehow they will be able to gain some important objective; in which we believe they will fail. "They shall not pass!"

There is another consideration, which we may be sure the Huns have in mind. That is, the rapidly growing American forces at the front. It is cause for gratitude and for exultation that at last our men are beginning to count for something on the battle line. Their influence has been increasingly felt in the repelling of all four of these drives; and we may be sure that it will be felt still more in the case of any and all future drives. The Huns no longer ridicule the idea of an effective American army in Europe. They see that such an army is being developed; that indeed it already exists; and they are desperate to gain a great decision in their own favor before the American army attains a strength that will be irresistible.

The moral should be plain. It is that we should continue sending troops abroad with the utmost possible speed. The breathing space between two drives gives the Huns time to bring up new levies from Austria-Hungary and Russia, and to get many slightly wounded men back into the lines. It should, and we believe it does, afford opportunity for the sending of more American troops from America to France, and from the camps there to the trenches. For in that lies the hope of victory. Our Allies might continue to stand successfully on the defensive, taking two lives for every life they gave. But they could not, within the expansive limits of human possibility, assume the offensive and win the decisive victory which the world needs. That must be done by the American Expeditionary Forces, by their being increased in numbers until they are able to take the continuous aggressive and make drive after drive against the Huns.

The demand for men and equipments and for their transportation to France is thus just as urgent and commanding as it was in those anxious days of March, when the Huns were sweeping toward Amiens and the Channel Ports. When your enemy is stopped for a moment is the time for putting in more strength and stopping him permanently. When his drive ceases is the time for yours to begin. Every day of Hunnish cessation of attack should see additional thousands of Americans landed in France and rushed to the front in preparation for that great counter-attack which alone can bring us the victory which we require. The rule is therefore speed, speed, speed; with the cheerful confidence that when the time comes for our advance upon Berlin no Hunnish leader will be able to say—and to make it good—"They shall not pass!"

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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President Wilson's Pacifist Candidate

WASHINGTON, June 27, 1918.

WHETHER or not President Wilson expected that Mr. Henry Ford would blurt out that he had graciously consented to become a candidate for Senator from Michigan, at the "urgent request" of our Chief Magistrate, in prompt sequence of his own official adjournment of politics, we have no means of ascertaining; nor do we feel that it would be polite to inquire. Doubtless a suitable and conclusive, though not necessarily satisfactory, statement will issue from the White House in due time. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that Mr. Ford, upon reflection, has reached the conclusion that he was not merely asked but actually commanded to seek the high position to which with much reluctance he condescendingly aspires.

"I did not do it," he said to the reporters in Detroit, somewhat plaintively as it seems to us. "It wasn't my intention. One may have a good intention and yet have a bad motive back of it. I had no part in this. I have been commanded to run for Senator."

Having exculpated himself from an obviously anticipated accusation of having a "bad motive," as the basis of his excellent intention, Mr. Ford leaves the public to guess who might have been thus actuated. For ourselves, we not only hesitate but flatly refuse to surmise. But Mr. Ford continues with the happy confidence of one who has yet to turn out of his great factory one out of the hundred "chasers" promised:

They speak of political incompetency, and ask if I will take part in the Senate work? If necessary I will move my whole force down there, then they will know that I have arrived.

Well spoken, say we, not as a threat as from a Coxey's army we may be sure, but as evidence of good faith and preponderant capacity in up-to-date statecraft and novel legislation. Indeed, continued Mr. Ford:

All those old formulas will be discarded. I am not interested in the technique of politics. An entirely new adjustment is coming. The old phrases and remedies, and political inventions will be left behind. We will have to meet the great constructive problems of humanity. People are not interested any money in false issues. No more of this profiteering. That will have to be stopped.

What precisely Mr. Ford means by the "technique of politics" we do not pretend to understand; nor, we sus-

pect, does he, although there seems to have been no lack of comprehension on the part of his commander-in-chief. That we "will," or shall, "have to meet the great constructive problems of humanity," is an indisputable fact, but we confess to a sense of bewilderment at the assertion that people "are not interested any money in false issues," as reported by the commonly accurate *New York Times*. Probably he said or meant to say "any more"; people are always interested in money,—even campaign managers, as Mr. Ford himself must have discovered when Mr. Vance McCormick sought his moral support in the latest political campaign. As to profiteering, we would engage in no controversy with Mr. Ford, who speaks as an expert, but we hopefully coincide with his view that much of it will be stopped when Mr. Charles E. Hughes shall make his report and when, if ever, the Attorney General shall publish the names of the swarm of petty Democratic politicians who, too, as the saying is, "have not been idle."

"Mr. Ford," the *Times* continues, "deplored the fact that he had been made the target of attacks by Chase S. Osborn,"—as well indeed he might. And yet, assuming a Christ-like attitude, he added, "The more he abuses me, the more he injures himself,"—which, we venture to suggest, is yet to be determined.

"You still speak in terms of pacifism?" persisted the reporter.

"Yes," was the prompt response, "and a Pacifist I shall always be. But we were compelled to fight for it this time, and real Pacifists make hard fighters. In this war I fight for peace. I would fight for no other motive."

Would he fight to beat the unspeakable Huns to their knees? Not he. He would load a ship with deluded ginks, land them on foreign shores, leave them to shift for themselves and scoot home himself in comfort under the cover of darkness. Thus would he achieve Peace.

But make no mistake. Mr. Ford, though hardly so "devilishly sly" is as cute as Mr. Baker himself. Asked whether he was a Republican or a Democrat, he replied with a cunning twinkle in his eye:

Years ago, when I was just past my twenty-first birthday, my father said to me: "Henry, you are a man now and a citizen,

and it is time for you to vote." He took me to the voting place and advised me to vote for James A. Garfield for President. I did so.

If so, of course, he voted for a dead man, but we would not, after the inconsiderate manner of the *Times*, charge that up against him; confessedly it was his father who did not know that the candidates were Blaine and Cleveland.

We have to wonder what the President now thinks of this latest conscript whom he drafted into his political service, at so great cost to his own reputation for sincerity and square dealing. Of the opinion of the country there can be no question. Nor does there seem to be the slightest hesitancy on the part of the Michigan Republicans to meet the issue forced upon them by Mr. Wilson with all the vim they possess.

Despite the ridiculous election laws, the task, in our judgment, is not so difficult. All they have to do is to put up against this Pacifist an out-and-out Patriot,—and if the Patriot doesn't win in a walk the State of Michigan ought to go hang itself.

AUSTRIAN EMPEROR WON'T LET CABINET GO.—*Headline in the Evening Sun.*

There are others.

During an enemy raid Major Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., displayed high qualities of courage and leadership in going forward to supervise in person the action of one of the companies of his battalion which had been attacked. On the day of our attack upon Cantigny, although gassed in the lungs and gassed in the eyes to blindness, Major Roosevelt refused to be removed and retained the command of his battalion under a heavy bombardment throughout the engagement.—*Citation of the French Commander.*

A chip o' the old block, by George!

Italy Renascent

ITALY has been occupying the center of the stage. Her commemoration of the third anniversary of her entrance into the war has been marked with a belligerent renaissance not, indeed, surprising to those who know her spirit and the circumstances of the last year, but none the less admirable and gratifying above all words. Also, it is instructive and admonitory to us in a high degree, and not without some element of implied reproach to us and to our other Allies. It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that between the Italy of the disastrous retreat from the Isonzo, and the Italy of the impregnable defence of the Piave. But the difference is not in topography, nor in numbers and equipment of men, but in spirit. The line of the Isonzo was really better fitted for defence than that of the Piave, and the Italian army was there as numerous and as well equipped, in proportion to the foe, as it is today. But in the former case the troops were corrupted and deluded by German propaganda, and were made to feel that they were neglected and deserted by the Allies; while now they have "found themselves," their eyes are opened to the truth, and they are heartened by the co-operation of the Allies.

That is all; but how much it is and how much it means may be measured by the results of the change. We have said that it is instructive and admonitory to ourselves. That is because we have ourselves been and indeed even still are subjected to similar seductive arts of German propaganda, which we may expect to be continued as long as our easy-going tolerance is maintained, and against which we need to exercise all possible vigilance, discretion and resolution,

if our morale is not to be impaired as was that of Italy. As for the implication of reproach, it is in the circumstances that even our European Allies neglected to send aid to Italy until the eleventh hour of her desperate extremity, and that the United States sent her none at all until the dawn of this marvellous renaissance. A major reason why German propaganda succeeded as it did in Italy last year was because the Italians were made to feel that they were left alone. Just a few thousand French and British troops co-operating with them, a mere fraction of the numbers that were hastily rushed thither to avert catastrophe, would have sufficed to hearten the Italians, to sustain their morale, and to counteract the suggestions and temptations of the Huns.

As for us, we have sent hundreds of thousands of men to France, where they are of course needed, without sending any at all to Italy, where also they are needed. One of the most welcome features of the defence of the Piave was the presence, at last, of a few American aviators, who, we are told, did effective work; and then the announcement that a substantial body of American troops would be sent thither without delay. We shall regard the advent of our flag among the Alps or on the Venetian plain with no less satisfaction than in Flanders or Champagne. In France the announcement was made, "Lafayette, we are here!" We listen hopefully for the sequel, "Garibaldi, we are here!"

Let there be no misapprehension. The Italians do not need us simply for reinforcement of their army. They have enough men of their own to deal with Austria, and they are probably contributing more men to the forces of their Allies on the other fronts than they are receiving or will receive from them. It is the assurance, the ocular demonstration, of fellowship and of allied co-operation that they need. We should all think it a monstrous thing for Italy to conclude a separate peace, and we may be sure that she will never do it. But where is the moral difference between her concluding a separate peace and our leaving her to wage a separate war? If we are all going to make peace together, we must all make war together; and that is why we should like to see at least a few representatives of every one of the belligerent Allies—British, French, Belgian, Italian, American, and the rest—on each and every war-front. It would be a visible and outward sign of an inward and spiritual union that would be of simply inestimable moral effect.

One other feature of the Italian situation calls for approving notice. That is, the fine diplomacy of Italy toward the Jugo-Slavs, the Czechs and the Poles. There was not long ago danger of serious rivalry, jealousy, friction and what not other trouble over conflicting claims between Italia Irredenta and the Slav provinces. That appears to have been entirely dissipated, and today there is a perfectly harmonious understanding between the Latins and the Slavs. They both realize that their cause is one. The supreme necessity, without which, nothing, is the utter defeat and downfall of their common foe. To that end they are both working and fighting, Slavic troops by the side of Italian on the Piave. It is a fine lesson in diplomacy as well as a fine exhibition of military prowess, that renascent Italy has given to the world.

Who holds aloof because of a mistaken belief that Bolshevism is Russia.—*New York Times.*

Foolish question No. 10,436!

A Double Fourth of July

THE fourth of July is a date, and the Fourth of July is a sentiment, and this year in the sentimentally commemorative sense, we are going to have two Fourth of July. The date of the first one in order is July 4; the date of the second is July 14. One is in honor of the Declaration of Independence; the other in honor of the Capture of the Bastille. One is the great American and the other the great French patriotic holiday. Both are to be appropriately celebrated, not only here but in France.

Maurice Demour, Member of the French Chamber of Deputies, has started a movement in Paris for celebrating our Fourth of July there and throughout France, just as organizations here representing every branch of war activity have arranged for a nation-wide tribute to France on the 14th of July. Ex-President William Howard Taft is at the head of the movement here, and for the duration of the war at least, both the Fourth and the Fourteenth of July are likely to be red letter days here and in all probability in France.

A fine idea and one that is very apt even to survive the war. It will be an education in understanding and comradeship valuable to both countries. Our ties with France, always strong, will thus take on a new strength, a new reciprocity and a new significance when the blended traditions of suffering, heroism and shoulder-to-shoulder fighting for a common cause against a common enemy are mingled with the traditions of that other war of long ago which first brought the two countries together in arms under the leadership of Washington and of Lafayette.

It is interesting to speculate upon the far-reaching results which will flow from the close contact of millions of our young men with the habits, manners and people of France. The barrier of language for one thing, although of course not broken down, will be greatly disintegrated. Personal friendships, warm attachments and beyond doubt many matrimonial alliances will bind our people here with the people over there in a way that nothing save just such contact as that of this war could have brought about. Very many of the English soldiers have already taken French wives. Our own boys who left our shores unmarried are not likely to all come back bachelors. What an amazing world shaking up and world mixing up, what a vast getting acquainted event this unheard of international upheaval is, to be sure! What an expanding of knowledge, what a broadening of view points, what an extermination of foolish prepossessions and prejudices and misunderstandings! It is bewildering to think of it; still more bewildering to think of its potential far-reaching consequences.

Indeed we shall be in a certain way under a debt of gratitude to the Huns for what their blind greed and covetousness will have brought about in this respect. We shall know them, we know them now, for one thing, as we never knew them or even dreamed of them before. The tradition of Hun treachery and Hun barbarity will carry with it a semi-ostracism of Huns, and things Hunnish far down into the generations yet to come; just as the traditions of respect and affectionate esteem and admiring regard for France and the best of things French will reach into and influence generation after generation here and will go hand in hand with those traditions of our own which are most intimate and most cherished with us. And then, too, many of our brave boys will sleep the long sleep in honored and tenderly cared for

graves there in France. We know that now. We shall know it with even a keener consciousness in time to come. And that again will bring us in closer touch and will weld another indissoluble link between us and "over there."

And, too, out of all this welter of Hun-wrought misery will come a clearer and a better understanding among all of us making up the far-flung groups of our grand old English tongue. For these things at least, we may thank you, Mr. Hun. All that was needed to teach us that we want precious little to do with you was to know you as you have taught us to know you. All that was necessary to teach us to honor, respect and cordially admire our French and English neighbors was to know them as the Hun war has given us the opportunity to know them.

Who knows? Out of all this awful ordeal of fire and blood and devastating misery, there yet may emerge another and a greater and vastly broader anniversary day than either the Fourth or the Fourteenth of July; an anniversary on which Great Britain and all her widely scattered family, France and all her colonial brood, Italy and all under her bright flag and we, here of America, and all under the Stars and Stripes, may unite in one great day of thanksgiving and celebration over a new birth of liberty and over a new deliverance of mankind from the clutches of a ravening beast of prey! That, indeed, will be a Fourth-Fourteenth of July, an international jubilee worth perhaps all the bitter sufferings the civilized world is even now enduring that it may come.

The strapping Western boys in Camp Funston used to call the 89th "the Leonard Wood division," but just before they embarked they rechristened it "the Orphan division."

We have a cowed Press and you know it.—*Senator Hiram Johnson to his colleagues.*

We respectfully suggest to Senator Johnson that he subscribe for the *New York Herald*, the *Boston Transcript* and the *Chicago Tribune*, none of which seems to be terrorstricken as yet. (N. B. We take for granted that he is a constant reader of this humble journal.)

Senator Smoot Looks Ahead

A SENATE debate on so restricted a topic as the increase of pay of boiler inspectors would hardly suggest much promise of developing matters of nationwide, much less world-wide, interest. Yet in the few remarks Senator Smoot made on the subject he did inject into the discussion an outline of problems of precisely that breadth; problems which he made it very apparent are demanding the careful attention of our best industrial and commercial intelligence.

After making the point, based on past experience, that Government salaries once increased are never decreased, and urging that increases now made be limited to the duration of the war, Senator Smoot said:

I was undertaking to say what I thought would happen, not only in this country but in all the world, after this war. There will be a changed condition, Mr. President, and there will be thousands and millions of men seeking employment, and I should like to see our Government pass laws to-day to take care of the situation we all know will come. What are we providing by way of legislation that will take care of the great industries and businesses of this country after the close of the war? We have

not even a commission to examine into what changes will take place in the reconstruction. England has, France has, Italy has, Germany has. They are studying the future from every standpoint. The war will not have closed 30 days before the English ships and the German ships and the French ships will be plowing the seas for materials for the purpose of manufacturing goods with a view to controlling the commerce of the world, or as much of it as possible. A programme is being mapped out for the immediate conversion of plants manufacturing munitions of war to factories to manufacture goods required in times of peace. We are doing nothing, and if something is not done soon along the line of preparation, just as surely as we live there will be millions of men walking the streets of this country without employment, and it will be then that such wages as are provided here will seem large; and there will be dissatisfaction among the other employees of the Government, and particularly among employees doing the same class of work in the States and in the large cities of the country, who will not be compelled to pay such salaries.

There is a breadth of vision in all this quite characteristic of Senator's Smoot's habit of thought. But that in the urgency of all our war preparations there should have been, up to the present at least, some neglect in the study of after-the-war industrial and trade conditions was inevitable, however regrettable. England and France have been at war for four years, and, pressing as the conflict's exactions have been upon them, they have still taken time to consider ways and means to meet the confused conditions that will come in the war's wake. In England particularly the manufacturing outlook has been carefully studied. Enormous munitions factories have been erected on plans based on possible demands under peace manufacturing conditions. Out of the armies there, and in all the countries engaged, will come millions of men trained to great potential efficiency by their military discipline. For these, employment must be found. Factories turning out all sorts of peace products should be made ready to receive them as speedily as possible. So far as that could be done in the stress of the times England at least has formed plans and arranged for equipment. The same is true of France, and, perhaps to a less extent, of Italy. In Germany the matter has received and is still receiving characteristically thorough attention.

Here, as Senator Smoot points out with so much force, we have done nothing. Whatever attention individuals and corporations may have given to the matter, there has been no unity of Government effort, no organization created, no commission appointed. That there should be action on the subject Senator Smoot's vigorous presentment of the situation demonstrates. Without such action, without intelligently formulated plans, we are rather more than likely to find ourselves handicapped in the post-bellum world-wide scramble for trade just as our war unpreparedness found us handicapped when we were forced into the conflict. It was obvious from the date of the *Lusitania* slaughter that we could not escape war participation. Yet we did nothing. It is obvious now and long has been that we have got to plunge into a world-wide commercial struggle when the war is ended. And, again, we are doing nothing.

Senator Cummins supplemented Senator Smoot's remarks with the following pertinent observations:

A few days ago I introduced a resolution which declared as the sense of the Senate, that there ought to be an agreement made between ourselves and our allies now, which in effect would be that at the end of the war, no matter when that may be, the shipping of all the allies shall be at the disposal of the various countries for the return of the troops and war material in Europe. Otherwise, if we have four or five million men in

Europe, and a corresponding amount of war material, during the two or three or four years that will be required for our shipping—if we have no aid from our allies in that respect—to return our troops and our materials to our own shores, the other countries of the world will be using their shipping for the purpose of expanding and enlarging their international commerce.

Senator Cummins adds that he cannot understand why the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to which the resolution was referred, does not make some report upon it. Senator Cummins' inability to understand this will be shared by the country generally. Yet that resolution and the matters Senator Smoot so impressively outlined are, as Senator Cummins put it, of "infinite importance," precisely as Secretary Lane pointed out in his admirable Memorandum to the President. So why not get busy?

Dr. Scherer has been regarded as one of the most capable and brilliant men who have given their services without compensation here during the war period.—*The Sun*.

He certainly knows how to write.

Secretary Baker has some sense of humor, as is evidenced by his intimation that Col. George Harvey is "aiding the enemy." —*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.

That explains it, of course; we innocently supposed he was serious.

Mr. Burleson and the Western Union

SEVERAL weeks ago, when Mr. Burleson had completed the demoralization of the Postal System we consoled ourselves with the belief that at least we knew the worst and might arrange our affairs to meet the new condition because the Politicalmaster General of the Administration could do nothing further to interfere with the Nation's transmission system. At least we might rely upon the telegraph companies and avail ourselves of their night-letter system. Of course this was an expensive method of guaranteeing deliveries, but then luxuries like Mr. Burleson must be financed somehow, and so instead of writing we wired, grimaced and paid the bill.

But we were mistaken. We take it all back. Mr. Burleson's powers as a wrecker are much greater than we believed they could possibly be. Not content with having deprived us of the normal facilities of the mails he now reaches out and by the re-discovery of an ancient and forgotten statute attempts to reduce the telegraph facilities to the level of the Postal System.

We refer, of course, to the arrest of Western Union messengers apprehended in the act of carrying night letters from city to city. In order to understand fully the facts in these cases it is necessary to review the circumstances out of which the system complained of by Mr. Burleson arose.

When the United States entered the war the telegraph wires converging at Washington were immediately congested by government business. Both companies gave the government the right of way and incidentally turned over to the War and Navy Departments hundreds of trained operators, while they opened schools to teach unskilled men and women. It was physically impossible for the Western Union to continue to give the public the service it had been accustomed to

and to handle the government's business. The company had to deprive its customers of service or find a new means of getting the messages through. The night trains offered the solution. The company immediately adopted a system of operating a messenger service between cities where deliveries could be made by train without delay.

It seems to us that in adopting this system the company was actually trying to do its bit to help to win the war. The only interest the customer could possibly have in his message was to have its delivery guaranteed in the form in which he wrote it. The rail system not only caused the loss of no time and cleared the wires for other messages, but actually assured the sender that the message would be delivered verbatim—without mistakes incident to transmission by wire.

Everybody was happy except Mr. Burleson. He found that the system could be destroyed by the enforcement of a statute, passed when the Post Office Department was in its infancy and the old individual firms were still running private mail routes. We have no doubt that when the law was passed it was essential to the up-building of the Postal System by driving competitors out of business; we also have no doubt that its authors had no idea that it would ever be used as Mr. Burleson is now using it.

In announcing the arrest of the Western Union messengers post office officials informed the public that the system had been in operation for many months. This being true, in the name of common sense why did not Mr. Burleson apprehend the criminals long ago?

Is it possible that the Post Office Department knowing of the existence of this technical violation of the law deliberately winked at it until the Administration became enraged at the Western Union for declining to respond to its request that the company accede to the demands of the American Federation of Labor? If so, its performance is as despicable as it is characteristic.

Open and Secret Diplomacy

WE must use discretion in diplomacy. Because it is desirable for statesmen—as well as chief cooks and bottle-washers—to discuss, at times, some matters in private and in confidence, is no cause whatever for making all international relations matters of Star Chamber secrecy. Contrariwise, as Tweedledum or Tweedledee says in the story, just because our Constitution—as well as common sense and public morals—requires all treaties to be made public, is no reason under the everlasting canopy for conducting all international negotiations in town meeting.

If this seems like saying “an undisputed thing in such a solemn way,” we hasten to protest that it is by no means an undisputed thing. On the contrary, the controversy which arose over Senator Borah's recent unsuccessful motion for open debates on treaties, and over the President's dexterous—not to say ambidextrous—explanation of what he did and did not mean by “open diplomacy,” indicates that too many minds suffer from lack of clarity of vision on this subject, so as to fail properly to discriminate between the processes and the results of diplomacy.

The former, the negotiations and discussions, may at almost all times properly, and must at some times necessarily, be confidential, and therefore be conducted in private. Every experienced diplomat realizes that. Every thoughtful and

intelligent man should realize it. Individual merchants and corporations, however openly and above-board they may transact their business, insist upon private and confidential consultations among themselves, and nobody disputes the propriety thereof. So and much more so must there be private and confidential consultations on the most important and most delicate business of all, the adjustment and readjustment of international relations. And precisely the same reasons which make it obviously unfit for, let us say, Mr. Lansing and Lord Reading to discuss Anglo-American relations in a public forum, make it desirable for the Senate to discuss in private the result of those diplomats' conference. To that extent we shall expect to see the principle of “secret diplomacy” maintained.

When, however, such confidential conferences result in the framing of treaties, and those treaties are ratified, publicity becomes imperative. That, at least in this country, is surely “an undisputed thing.” Our Constitution by direct implication requires it. And as the evil—it is often a great evil—of “secret diplomacy” lies not in the negotiations but in the resultant treaties, it follows that that evil cannot exist in this country or in our foreign relations. A secret treaty to which America is a party is a legal impossibility. More and more the same is coming to be true of other nations, and it will be a good thing for the world when it is universally true. Let the negotiations continue to be confidential, but let the actual treaties invariably and immediately have the fullest publicity.

One form of “secret diplomacy” and only one can exist under our system, if indeed it is diplomacy at all. We refer to those “diplomatic notes” or “gentlemen's agreements” which are occasionally employed instead of treaties and which some have unwisely been declaring to have the same weight and binding force as treaties. They may, it is true, be kept secret. But it is not true that they have the weight or force of treaties. They have in fact no legal validity whatever, being quite unknown to our Constitution. The only force they can have is a purely moral one, and in order for it to be recognized they too must be made public as are treaties. On some rare occasions such compacts have been of value, but their liability to abuse makes it very desirable that they be limited to infrequent use, at times when nothing else would serve. It would be an ominous thing for the making of them to become a common practice. With them thus restrained, we may possess our souls in patience, unafraid of “secret diplomacy” in a land where that fearsome monster is constitutionally inhibited from existing. Although seemingly in flat contradiction, therefore, both the President and Senator are right,—as one of them usually is.

Hurry, General Crowder, and fill the big camps! Nearly all of them are three-fourths empty. And do, for Heaven's sake, accelerate the training of officers! That is the most vital need of all. Of course, if Senators Martin and Swanson demand that Petersburg, Virginia, be substituted for Plattsburg, New York, it will have to be done; but why not keep Plattsburg going, too, and even add three or four more schools? American soldiers should have American leaders.

Where do you suppose the Marines will turn up next? We know but can't tell!

A Pitiful Spectacle

IN a telegram to A. F. Seested, General Manager of the Kansas City *Star*, Vice-President Marshall says:

Richmond, Ind.—A. F. Seested, Kansas City *Star*:—Message just received. Did not accuse you or anybody else of disloyalty in discussing what I thought was unjust criticism of the President's course. Did say that you were not a citizen when war was declared, but deny anybody's right to say that I meant thereby to accuse you of disloyalty, for I had no such purpose.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL.

Now what Vice-President Marshall did say in his Indianapolis speech and what prompted Mr. Seested to send him the telegram of inquiry to which Mr. Marshall replied as above quoted, was this:

"Which newspaper (the Kansas City *Star*) has as its General Manager a man who was, at the declaration of hostilities against the Imperial German Government, an "alien enemy" of the United States, and which newspaper had published the Rose Pastor Stokes letter and other seditious documents."

So Mr. Marshall did not say, as in his telegraphic denial he says he said, that Mr. Seested "was not a citizen of the United States" when war was declared. He did say that Mr. Seested was "an alien enemy of the United States." He said furthermore that the paper over which the "alien enemy" had authority had printed "seditious documents" while the United States was at war. If this means anything on earth it means that an alien enemy, through a newspaper of which he was responsible manager, had promoted sedition against our Government while we were at war. If, as he says, Mr. Marshall had "no purpose" to accuse Mr. Seested of disloyalty why did he say things the only sane interpretation of which was that Mr. Seested *was* disloyal? For what other purpose could he have referred to Mr. Seested as an "alien enemy" in connection with his alleged publication of "disloyal documents"? For if "seditious documents" in time of war are not disloyal then, pray, what is? And if Mr. Marshall did not purpose to accuse Mr. Seested of disloyalty why did he not say so at the time? Right then and there, at that precise point in his Indianapolis speech when that damaging insinuation was thrown out—that was the time, the imperatively insistent time to say that he had no purpose of accusing the man of disloyalty. Then, and not some time later in a telegram of equivocal ingenuousness, was the occasion Mr. Marshall should have seized to set Mr. Seested right in the minds of those who could draw no other inference from the speaker's own words than that the man he was characterizing as an enemy alien publisher of seditious documents was a disloyal man. We venture to say that in all Mr. Marshall's audience there was not a single person, of ordinary intelligence and ignorant of Mr. Seested's antecedents, who did not interpret the speaker's words as intended to cast a cloud of disloyalty over the man to whom he was referring. If he did not mean to impugn Mr. Seested's loyalty why did he refer to him at all? Why did he refer to him as an "alien enemy"? Why did he refer to the publication of "seditious documents" in the Seested paper? Probably he had some purpose in doing so. If it was not to insinuate a charge of disloyalty, what was it?

And it is to be remembered that it was not from the lips of any ordinary, irresponsible speaker that Mr. Marshall's audience heard the words carrying so damning an implication. It was from the lips of the Vice-President of the United States.

Before a representative of the United States Government next in rank to the President himself utters words which can have no other interpretation in men's minds than an implied accusation against a citizen of an offense of the gravest character; before uttering such words as these the only inference permissible is that the speaker knew minutely whereof he spoke; that he had not even in his own mind formulated such a charge against a citizen without the most searching inquiry and with the full purpose of weighing with scrupulous care every fact bearing pro or con upon the matter. Had Mr. Marshall done that in the case of Mr. Seested he would have discovered that the "enemy alien" was a Dane; that his father fought against Germany when that international brigand stole the part of Denmark in which he lived, just as she subsequently stole a part of France; that Mr. Seested, then a mere child, became a German citizen just as the French people of Alsace-Lorraine became German citizens when those provinces were torn by brute force from France and were thus incorporated in the German Empire; he would have discovered that Mr. Seested came with his father to this country as a boy; that he was educated here and that it was only through a trivial technical error that the naturalization he had for years supposed accomplished was defective, and that the error was corrected and the naturalization completed as speedily as possible after the defect was discovered.

Now, if a pettifogging shyster lawyer in some Indiana or other country village had taken advantage of as flimsy a flaw as this to discredit somebody he wished to damage in order to aid in, say, a chicken-stealing case, it would be comprehensible enough and would cause no particular comment. It might possibly suggest that the shyster in question was rather an uncommonly contemptible shyster, and even that probably would long ago have been matter of record among the neighbors. But when the Vice-President of the United States, the man who presides over the stately deliberations of the United States Senate, the man whom the Supreme Ruler in the inscrutable causes of his displeasure may see fit to place over us as our Chief Magistrate—when such a man appears to have lent the weight of his great office to insinuations so deplorable as those under which Mr. Marshall's Indianapolis speech left Mr. Seested, we can only stand in amazement. And still more, when the injustice he has done is brought home to him by direct inquiry from the person injured by an innuendo so petty and unworthy—still more must we marvel when in response to such inquiry a Vice-President of the United States resorts to evasions and shifty word juggling such as the telegram we have quoted so painfully suggests that Mr. Marshall resorted to in his reply to Mr. Seested. It is a pitiful spectacle; there is no other word for it—a pitiful spectacle and as disheartening and depressing as it is pitiful.

If it is for such things as this that "politics is adjourned," then in Heaven's name let politics instantly reassemble in full and continuous session for the duration of the war. Its worst wranglings, its worst wallowings in the mire of partisan vituperation and chicanery can hardly get down to a lower, more contemptible, more demoralizing level than that of which we recently have had such deplorable instances.

"I am persuaded that Russia will spring at our throats when the time comes," declared Deputy Hofer in the Reichstag, and then he was squelched by President Lohmann. But our own President may find a bit of significance in the remark.

Latin America in the War

WHAT of our southern neighbors and allies? There is pending legislation, a strong suggestion, that some of them will presently be sending organized bodies of troops to the battle-front. It would be difficult otherwise to account for the proposal that we shall train on our own soil, equip and transport to the scene of war the troops of any allied nation which may desire such service. It is not to be supposed that our military authorities would seek such an enactment if there were not a prospect of its being utilized, and it is still less supposable that the troops of any countries save those of Latin America would be sent to us for such purposes.

We need scarcely say that such participation in the war by those nations would be most heartily welcomed. We should regard with warm approval the training and equipment of their troops in the United States for a number of reasons. It would conduce to their highest efficiency. It would co-ordinate their military methods and principles and discipline with our own. It would confirm them in their happily growing confidence in this country, and greatly strengthen those friendly relations, political, commercial and social, between them and us which German propaganda has for years been viciously endeavoring to disturb and to destroy. As Jefferson said in a similar case, "nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting side by side in the same cause."

Nor would their participation be insignificant or merely nominal, from a military point of view. It is true that only six of those nations have as yet actually declared war against Germany, and that these six include only one of the largest. Yet if they were to contribute soldiers at only one-half the ratio to their population that is credited to France, they would be putting into the field an army about three times the size of that which we have thus far sent abroad. Brazil alone could contribute a million and three-quarters men, Guatemala more than 400,000, and Cuba nearly 200,000, while Nicaragua, Panama and Costa Rica could send substantial contingents. Just for the sake of the increase of Allied man power, it would be well worth while to get them into the war.

Another good result would be the more definite alignment of these nations, and probably through them of the other Latin American countries, on the side of the Allies and against Germany in commercial and diplomatic relations after the war. Notice would be served upon Germany that there would no longer be room for her propaganda on this side of the Atlantic. Her systems of alien colonies within American states, and of political ownership under the guise of corporate enterprises and concessions, would be reduced to impotence. She would find America, North, Central and South, unified against her designs even more completely and effectively than it was against the designs of her predecessor in iniquity, the "Holy" Alliance, a century ago.

With these auspicious circumstances developing, it must be cause for profound regret that there should be so much as one false note in the harmony between us and our southern neighbors. It is difficult to account for our unfortunate attitude toward Costa Rica, unless on the theory that our diplomacy in that direction still suffers from the demoralization and degradation which the egregious Bryan inflicted upon it when he openly proclaimed it to be a field for partisan loot. The

simple facts seem to be that the former President, Gonzalez, was strongly pro-German, that he was ousted by a pro-Ally revolution, that his successor, Tinoco, is staunchly and aggressively pro-Ally, and yet that our Government refuses to recognize Tinoco because, while he is loyally recognized and accepted by the people of Costa Rica, some technical detail of his election did not comply with the arbitrary rules which we have prescribed for our neighbors. The insinuation that commercial interests are involved, and that some influential capitalists and promoters in this country object to Tinoco and would like to have the pro-German Gonzalez restored, for the sake of lucrative concessions, is, of course, to be rejected with scorn. It is inconceivable that such motives should prevail at Washington.

But it certainly is strange and regrettable that while we are going to such lengths to encourage the co-operation of Latin America in the war, we should maintain so unfavorable an attitude toward one of those countries which occupies a geographical position of supreme strategical importance, which enjoys an exceptionally high standard of governmental stability and responsibility, and which in a notably valiant and generous manner resisted German propaganda, defied German enmity, and placed itself with all its considerable resources at our service as our ally in the war.

AMSTERDAM, June 25.—Foreign Minister von Kuehlmann declared in the Reichstag that Germany cannot bind herself to pledges regarding Belgium, according to advices received here to-day.

Nobody asked you, sir, she said.

The sooner work begins on those ten 20,000-ton troop-ships for use on the Pacific, the better.

Can it be that environment is responsible for the vast difference in the quality of the speeches of Mr. Marshall delivered in Washington and in Indiana?

From the *World* of June 25:

Once set afoot, as both may be this week, Prohibition by act of Congress and Woman Suffrage by constitutional amendment will do more to distract attention from war abroad and create antagonisms at home than all the high-priced German propaganda of which so much complaint has been made. The more we quarrel among ourselves the less intent we shall be upon our conflict with the enemy.

From the *Sun* of the same date:

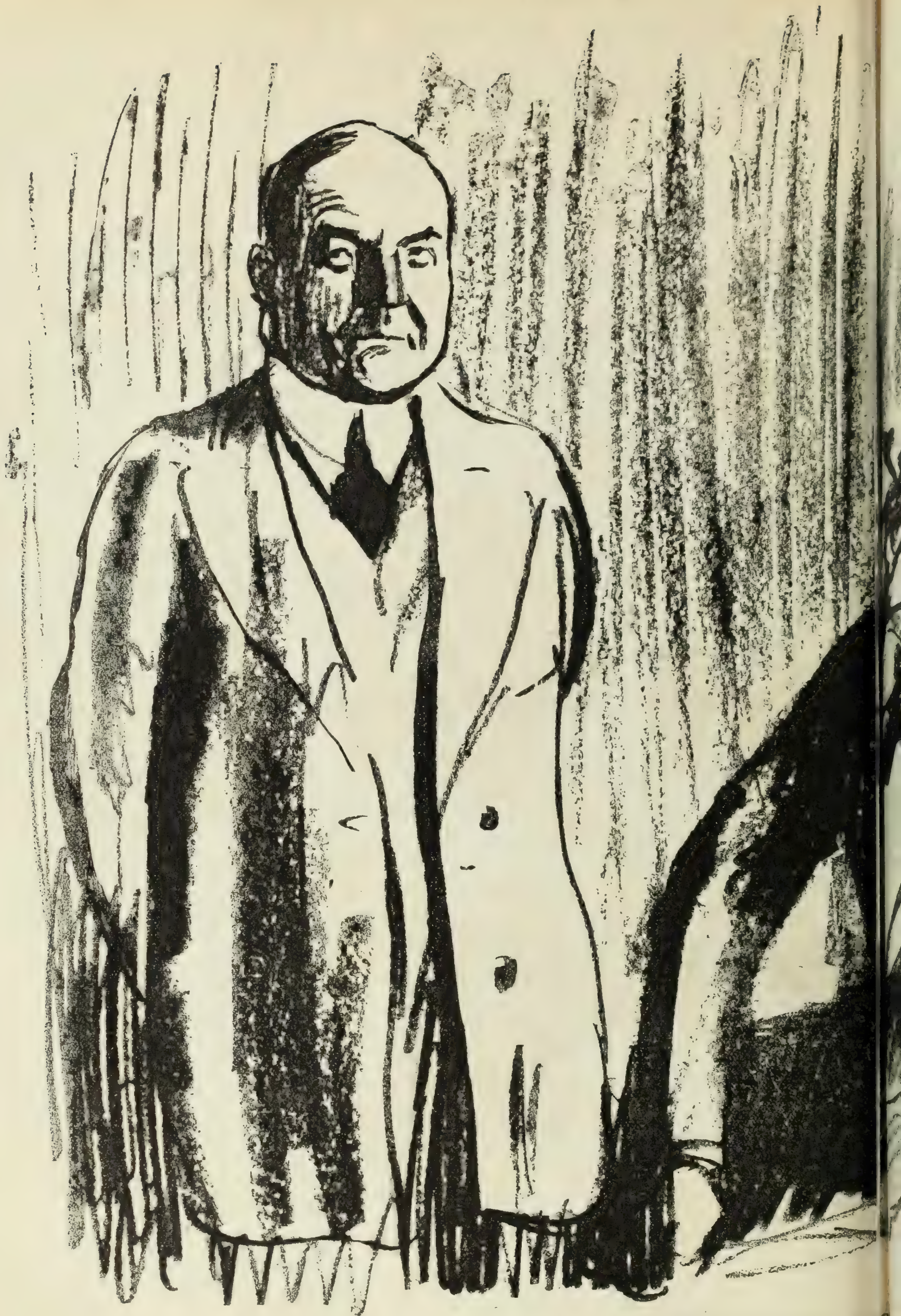
WASHINGTON, June 24.—The full measure of President Wilson's influence in the Senate was brought to bear to-day to secure the immediate passage of the suffrage amendment. At a conference at the White House attended by Senators Hollis (New Hampshire), Shaffroth (Colorado), Ransdell (Louisiana) and Robinson (Arkansas) the President went over the situation fully and sent the four Senators back with a message to their party associates that suffrage must pass at once.

Was the faithful *World* talking in its sleep?

Poor little Costa Rica! Unlike the starling, but no less pitifully, she can't get in.

Our first axiom must be that, completely to achieve its object, a battle must not be purely defensive. A purely defensive battle, even well conducted, does not result in a victor and a vanquished. It is simply a game that must begin over again.—*General Foch.*

A saying as trite as it is true and not unfamiliar to the readers of this paper.



Query: Who is behind McCormick?

CHAIRMAN HAYS TOLD

"Oh, come on, Vance, let's be patriots first,—a



MAN McCORMICK:
"The President and adjourn politics this Fall!"

The Week

WASHINGTON, June 27, 1918.

IT has been a glorious week. We shall not err if we regard it as one of the most significant and hopeful of the whole war; which is just the very strongest reason why we must not spoil it by overrating it. The salient feature, of course, has been the splendid victory of the Italians on the Piave; bracketing the name of that river with that of the Marne for all time. We should have been content and even exultant if General Diaz had merely held his ground in a successful defensive. Instead, he took the aggressive and transformed what at first seemed merely a check to the Austrians into a disastrous rout. The fifty-ninth anniversary of Solferino was celebrated with an achievement greater than Solferino and Magenta and all the victories of that war rolled into one. It was the greatest military triumph of United Italy since the fall of Rome, and was one of the first-magnitude battles of the world war; not in men engaged, though they were numerous, nor in losses inflicted upon the foe, though they were staggering, nor yet in territory occupied and strategic advantage gained, though these were of immense importance, but rather in its triumphant demonstration of the indomitable and conquering spirit which now possesses our Peninsular Allies. Metternich's "geographical expression" has become an expression of spiritual ethnology worthy of the descendants of the Consuls and the Caesars. A pity 'tis that we were not there.

We have bracketed the Piave with the Marne. Note, then, the admonitory significance of the analogy thus formed. The Marne was a deed of glory and of victory. But it did not end the war. Rather, it merely began it. We see now, and have long seen, how fatally foolish it would have been to regard that triumph as decisive, and as cause for relaxing our efforts. Equally foolish would it be to-day to reckon the Piave as decisive, as marking the certain turning-point of the war, or even as ending the Austro-Hungarian offensive. We wish that it might mean all those things; but we know that it does not. The Teutons could well afford all the losses that they have suffered on the Piave, if only thus we were deluded into thinking that there was no longer need of our utmost effort. The greatest benefit that we can gain from this wonderful Italian victory is that which we may be sure our Italian Allies will gain—have already gained—from it, and that is, a renewed and increased determination to put forward still greater effort and higher speed and fuller sacrifice and more complete devotion for the prosecution of the war to the bitterest of ends that ever the Huns have known. We used to have an old church hymn which ran,

"Ne'er think the vict'ry won,
Nor lay thine armor down;
The fight of faith will not be won
Till thou obtain the crown."

That would not be an inappropriate battle hymn for the Allied arms; and particularly for the American contingent.

The week elsewhere on the battle front has been generally favorable, though without any striking features. That circumstance, also, must not be misinterpreted. It would be folly to think that in Flanders or Picardy or Champagne we have yet whipped the Hun to a standstill. There will presently be another furious drive; be sure of that. It may

come before these lines are printed and read; for the senior partner of the "old German Gott" knows well the necessity of doing something to distract attention from the catastrophe which has befallen his wretched tools in northern Italy. Checked decisively in the drive in France, routed and flouted in the Italian drive, to sit still now would be to acknowledge defeat. So we may look for another drive, and it is a good guess that this time it may be against the British lines, toward the Channel Ports. Hindenburg knows that to gain them would be much more important than to gain Paris, despite the Kaiser's hankering after that much-postponed dinner and the Crown Prince's itching palm to steal the altar plate and jewels of Notre Dame as souvenirs for his mistresses. Mr. Lloyd George is quite justified in saying that the next few weeks will be an anxious time. They will be, for us as well as for the men at Amiens and Ypres. But there may be some little allaying of that anxiety in our launching a million tons of shipping in July and sending a hundred thousand men abroad every week.

While we are no more enamored of Socialist doctrines than we ever were, and while we are not at all inclined to regard even the sanest Socialist as representative of the workmen of America, we are not disposed to carp at the President's sanctioning the going of John Spargo at the head of a delegation to the coming conference of the British Labor Party. Seeing that the conference in question will be largely composed of Socialists, we suppose that Socialist delegates from America will have a better reception and hearing than would non-Socialists; if indeed the latter would be received at all. Seeing, moreover, that one of the chief questions under consideration will be that of entering into negotiations with German Socialists, we are quite willing to have Mr. Spargo for a spokesman. It will be remembered that he was formerly a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party; that he differed radically from his colleagues over the breaking of diplomatic relations with Germany, holding that our Government was amply justified in taking that step; and that he withdrew from the Committee and from the Socialist Party altogether over the question of the war, holding that the war had been deliberately forced upon us by Germany. Since then he has consistently advocated waging the war unrelentingly to a victorious close, and has opposed any negotiations whatever with Germany until she is thoroughly beaten, holding particularly that the Socialists of Germany had shown themselves false to their principles and therefore unworthy of further recognition by the Socialists of America and the Allied nations. That will be sound doctrine for the Socialists of Great Britain and France to hear from the ablest Socialist of the United States.

There probably is great distress and there are probably great disturbances in Austria, and even in Germany. It may be that all the news about such things is true. We hope that it is. But we should be infernal fools if we let it have any other effect upon our war work than to speed it up still higher and to put still more "punch" into our policy. Either the news is true or it isn't. If it is, all the more reason for striking swifter and harder and thus making the end come the more quickly and the more completely. Our enemy's distress is our opportunity. If it isn't true, but is invented or exaggerated for purposes of camouflage—well, we have been

fooled once too often by that device to be fooled again by it. We have not heard of Germany's slackening her campaign against the Allies out of pity for the privations which they are suffering, or in expectation that those privations will cause them to yield to her. Neither will the Allies be such fools as to withhold their hand from smiting the Blond Beast for all his whining with pain and fainting with hunger. Every revolt within the Central Empires should be the signal for a harder blow from without; every symptom of failing German strength should inspire the Allies to increase their strength.

The German Government is considering legislation to restrain emigration after the war. It should worry! The other nations will see to that.

The House did well to pass without a dissenting vote a bill authorizing the deportation of alien Anarchists no matter how long they have been in this country. We should hope so. There are some offences for which there is no statute of limitations.

We hope we are not vindictive, not even against Pacifists; but we must confess to a large degree of satisfaction at the sentencing of the disciples of "Pastor" Russell to prison for twenty years each, and we certainly cannot agree with some—such as the New York *Evening Post*—who seem to regard the punishment as excessive and as one that might just as well be imposed upon all Quakers, who are also opposed to war. There is a vast difference between a Quaker, who is content with personally practising non-resistance, and a "Russellite" who conspires to prevent other men from obeying the law. We believe in respecting the religious faith and practices of all men, so far as possible. But we should not respect the faith of a Thug or a Head Hunter, whose religion taught and impelled him to commit murder as an act of worship. Neither should we respect the "conscientious scruples" of men whose consciences impel them to conspire against the lawful Government of their country and to persuade their fellow citizens to become law-breakers and traitors. A few more such sentences as those imposed upon the "Russellites" will probably cause a considerable transformation of consciences in some quarters.

We pay little attention to propaganda prophesying the imminent dissolution of the Dual Monarchy, but we were cheered greatly on Monday when apparently trustworthy reports announced that the kronen had fallen from 39 to 20 in the Swiss markets, all within 24 hours. Gold doesn't lie.

The greatest service Henry Ford could render the greatest number of people would be to install an additional spring in each tin Lizzie!

The Republican National Chairman certainly is "speeding up" in fine style. "The one important thing, now," he said the other night, "is to win the war. Everything else is chores. Behind that purpose must stand firmly and with a willingness to sacrifice all political advantage, every political party and every individual member of every political party, in order to be at all worthy of consideration." He said that

in New York, and was there enthusiastically applauded. We hope that his words were heard as far as Michigan, and that they will there be acted upon in the election of a real man as Senator and not a Pacifist rubber stamp.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* declares that if the Kaiser had told the German people in August, 1914, what he now admits to be the truth concerning the origin and purpose of the war, they would not have supported him as unanimously as they did. Apparently even the Germans are at last finding out what a liar William the Damned is.

The suggestion which is made in London, that now would be a good time for an Allied (including American) drive in the Balkans, is worthy of consideration. There is little doubt that Austria-Hungary is in a bad way, and it might be that a vigorous blow at the southeast would hasten her process of dissolution. The inclination of the Jugo-Slavs to revolt should materially expedite and facilitate an Allied advance in Serbia and those Serbian provinces which Austria stole. Besides, Bulgaria and Turkey are increasingly disagreeing if not actually quarreling. When thieves fall out, honest men—sometimes—get their dues. An American declaration of war against both Bulgaria and Turkey, and the appearance of American troops with the other Allies pushing up the Vardar valley, would have the effect of a notice of house-cleaning in the "lumber room of Europe."

Turkey, we observe, purposes to keep fighting until she has regained Palestine, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Cyrenaica and Tripoli. And then, we suppose, stand astonished at her own moderation!

The proposal to fly airplanes across the Atlantic, instead of carrying them on shipboard, is highly interesting, from two major points of view. One is the relief which it would afford to our shipping. Airplanes, especially the large battle planes which are being constructed, are bulky, and the shipment of some thousands of them would take up a vast amount of cargo space, which we should like to see utilized for the transportation of men and supplies. If all those planes could go across with their own power, through the air, the gain would be immense. The other point is, that if airplanes could cross the Atlantic, they could cross Germany. It is suggested that planes should go from Newfoundland to the Azores, and thence to Portugal. Now the distance from St. John's to Fayal is about three times that from Verdun to Berlin. If, therefore, a plane can fly from St. John's to Fayal without a stop,—and of course there could be no stop between those places,—it could fly from Verdun to Berlin and back again without landing, and still have a few hundred miles to spare. Moreover, Allied vessels could reach a point in the North Sea still nearer to Berlin, perhaps not more than 250 miles from it, and airplanes might be launched from them. The prospect of a few hundred American airplanes cruising over Berlin and Potsdam, depositing tons of high explosives where they will do most good, is calculated to make us thank God and take courage.

The tenseness of the situation would be relieved in no small degree if one could only get matches that would light.

Russia Still to the Fore

NOT since the first battle of the Marne has news so heartening come to the freedom-loving peoples of the world as that to which we have been thrilling this week. The rolling back of the Austrian tide from the Piave makes us all instinctively turn to the hope of an approaching collapse of the chief partner of Germany in her colossal crime. But four years of bitter experience have taught us the peril of yielding to the natural promptings of such hope; and there could be no more convincing demonstration that the lesson has been learned than is furnished by the soberness with which the good news has been received on all hands.

Of this soberness the most important manifestation is to be found in the fact that the Russian situation, instead of being thrust into the background by the new and inspiring developments in Italy, appears to be the object of more general and more intense interest than ever. In the Washington correspondence of the New York *Evening Post*, for example, attention is centered upon the possibility which the great Italian victory opens up "of an effective political drive having relation not only to the disruption of Austria and the segregation of Bulgaria and Turkey, but the salvation of Russia as well." "Salvation," to be sure, might, in itself, mean anything you please; but that what is really meant is some form of active intervention sufficiently appears from the correspondent's statement that "the demand for *action in Russia* is becoming more and more intense and cannot be withheld much longer, in the opinion of diplomats here."

That this demand should become still more intense if the defeat or demoralization of Austria becomes more pronounced, there is the best of reasons to expect. For the more Germany is disappointed in her hopes of support elsewhere, the more she will concentrate upon the exploitation of the potential resources of the once great empire now lying helpless at her feet.

This is no more than has been certain to come, ever since Germany gained her supremacy in Russia; but when it is actually going on, and growing visibly from day to day, the peoples who are pouring out their life-blood to break the German power cannot be expected to view the process with passive acquiescence. The restlessness of which there have for many weeks been strong indications must become more and more general, and more and more pronounced.

Fortunately, too, there is little or no difference of opinion, in important quarters, as to the form which, broadly speaking, intervention in Russia should take. On all sides one hears much the same thing. The effort must be international. It must comprise both economic aid—especially in the form of industrial organization and rehabilitation—and military force. It must be accompanied by the clearest possible declaration and guarantee of abstention from imperialist aims, or encroachment of any kind upon Russian independence. Japan must play an important part in the operation, especially on the military side. And finally, most essential of all, the headship of the whole undertaking must be assigned to America, because her disinterestedness is beyond question. With these conditions fulfilled, and with due wisdom and sagacity in the specific formulation of the plan, the chance of signal gain would seem to preponderate vastly over the risk of injurious consequences. And it must never be forgotten that that risk, whatever it may be, has to be compared not with safety, but with the appalling possibilities of the

situation as it stands, with Germany left to play her tremendous game undisturbed. M. Painlevé, the late Premier of France, has said what is in the minds of all who are thinking seriously about the situation. He admits that the problem is "most delicate and difficult," but he declares that "intervention is now necessary in order to prevent Russia from becoming a German possession."

Not without important bearing on the issue—the issue of intervention or non-intervention—is the remarkable portrayal of Russian conditions which is given to the American public by Herman Bernstein, who has just returned to this country after a six months' observation of the Bolshevik régime. Mr. Bernstein is an ardent Socialist; and he is also a trained journalist, an able observer, and a man thoroughly familiar with the Russia of the past and of the present. His account of the state of Russia must be read *in extenso* as it appears in the New York *Herald* in order to be appreciated. Here we can only say that it confirms the worst impression which more fragmentary presentations from correspondents and returning travelers have been conveying, from time to time, for many months. It is impossible to read it—we believe it will be impossible even for the most sentimental of "idealists" to read it—without the feeling that the betrayal of civilization for which Lenine and Trotsky are responsible has been as disgraceful and revolting as it has been represented in the most vehement of the denunciations which it has evoked. And while this does not in itself bear directly upon the problem that confronts us and our Allies to-day, its connection with that problem is not remote. For everything turns upon the question whether the crew now in control at Moscow are to be regarded—not theoretically but practically—as representing the Russian people. That there must be a profound sentiment of revulsion, waiting only for a chance to crystallize and manifest itself, seems an almost necessary inference from such a tale of disgusting oppression, disorder and faithlessness as is here spread before us; and Mr. Bernstein himself, in an interview in the New York *Times*, declares his own opinion without hesitation. "It is nonsense," he says, "to talk about the Russians not wanting the Allies to intervene. Nine-tenths of the Russian people would welcome the advent of the Allies with open arms."

However often this question is taken up, and whatever the conclusion to which we may be impelled, there is one element in the case that must be insisted upon as essential and primary. M. Painlevé may be wrong, Mr. Bernstein may be wrong, everybody who thinks we ought to intervene may be wrong, because nothing in the future is certain. But one thing there is which is a solid fact, irrespective of any speculation as to the future. When a group of allies are confronted with a vital problem of policy, they must act upon it as partners in a common cause, not as individuals each pursuing his own predilection. In common counsel and united action lies the only hope of an effective course of policy. America must not stand aloof; she must go in for a joint achievement here as she has, with results already so richly rewarding, gone in for joint achievement in the field. And the prospect that we shall soon do so grows better with every week. One obstacle—and that perhaps the most formidable although the most unsubstantial—seems to have disappeared altogether. We are hearing nothing more of any imaginary abstract principle that makes us impotent to act. We are down on the bedrock of facts—of realities and not phantasms—and we may hope soon to hear of decisive action.

Three Interesting Letters

WE receive so many interesting letters nowadays that, if we were to print all of them, we should have to double the size of the paper. Nevertheless we like to get them, and we derive from their pronouncements of criticism and approval no little enlightenment. Here are three.

The first is from Congressman-at-large Jeff. McLemore of Texas, to wit:

SIR.—In the issue of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY of June 8, 1918, in your controversy with Congressman Shallenberger, among other things, you have this statement—

The McLemore Resolution, which forbade to American citizens the exercise of their undoubted rights upon the high seas.

Evidently you obtained your information of the McLemore Resolution from prejudiced newspapers, which were exceedingly unfair in their criticisms of the Resolution at the time it was before the House and since then whenever they have had occasion to refer to it. Just to keep the record straight, I am quoting you the Resolution, which is as follows:

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States do, and it hereby solemnly does, request the President to warn all American citizens, within the borders of the United States or its possessions or elsewhere, to refrain from traveling on any and all ships of any and all the Powers now or in future at war, which ship or ships shall mount guns, whether such ship be frankly avowed a part of the naval forces of the Power whose flag it flies or shall be called a merchant ship, or otherwise, and whether such gun or guns or other armament be called "offensive" or "defensive"; and in case American citizens do travel on such armed belligerent ships that they do so at their own risk.

The Resolution was based on Secretary Lansing's Note of January 28, 1916, which was a reply to the Note of the German Government in which it was stated that in its submarine boat warfare Germany would regard all armed merchant boats of the nations with which Germany was then at war, as armed vessels. (To this Note of Secretary Lansing's, Germany made reply on February 11, 1916, and for your own convenience I am enclosing you a copy of that reply together with a copy of Secretary Lansing's Note of January 27, 1916.) In introducing my Resolution I followed the course pursued by England in the Russo-Japanese War, in which she warned her subjects in the Far East against traveling on the boats of either Russia or Japan. That warning was issued through the English Consulate at Shanghai and was as follows:

All subjects of the Crown are notified that the British Government will not undertake to be responsible for the safety of any British subject leaving this port on a ship of either of the belligerent nations.

In offering my Resolution I also had for a guide President Washington's proclamation of April 22, 1793, which outlined the policy of the United States toward the European Nations then at war, and in which American citizens were warned in language far more vigorous than that contained in the McLemore Resolution.

Now that our country has entered the war, I feel that this is no time for crimination and recrimination; still justice to myself demands that I defend my own position and repel unjust criticisms, from whatever source they may come.

When I introduced my Resolution we were not at war, nor did many people at that time believe there was any likelihood that we would ever be sending our soldiers to Europe. The sinking of the *Lusitania* had been recognized by our

Government as "A Closed Incident," and my only motive in introducing my resolution was to keep us out of the European conflict; and if I sinned (which I do not admit), I did so honestly and conscientiously and because I thought in so doing I was best serving my Country.

Most respectfully yours,

JEFF. MCLEMORE.

In view of the novel legal situation which arose from the use of submarines, Secretary Lansing proposed to the belligerent Powers that they subscribe to "a general agreement to adhere strictly to the present provision of international law to stop and search merchant ships, to ascertain their belligerent character, and remove the passengers and crews to safety before sinking them. On the other hand, merchant vessels should not be permitted to carry any armament at all." And he added:

There is grave doubt of the legal right to carry armament on merchant ships, and it is submitted that all nations should be animated by a desire to save the lives of innocent people, and therefore should not insist upon the exercise of any supposed technical right.

This is the provision to which Mr. McLemore refers as having constituted the base of his resolution, but the important fact should not be overlooked that, before he introduced it, Germany had rejected the proposal, had given notice that, "after a short period," her sea forces would receive an order to treat armed merchantmen as warships, and had closed its Note with this impertinent suggestion:

The German Government informs the neutral Powers of this state of affairs in order that they can warn their subjects from further intrusting their persons or property to armed merchant ships of the Powers at war with the German Empire.

It was not solely in response to Mr. Lansing's statement, but equally at least in acceptance of Germany's suggestion that Mr. McLemore proposed to "warn all American citizens" that if they should travel upon such ships they would "do so at their own risk." It is quite true, as Mr. McLemore points out, that Secretary Lansing used the following words in his Note:

The United States Government has been very much impressed with the arguments that have been advanced in certain quarters that any merchant vessel which carries guns in any position capable of use against warships has forfeited her non-combatant character and may be regarded as an auxiliary cruiser, and is seriously considering the announcement of a purpose to treat these vessels on that basis because of the changed conditions in maritime warfare resulting from the introduction of the submarine and its defenseless character.

But this was not the view of the President, who insisted that the right of American citizens to travel upon armed merchantmen was absolute, and added:

For my own part, I can not consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the nation are involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit—all but an explicit—acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere, and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesman, even amid the turmoil of war, for the law and the right. It would make everything this Government has attempted, and everything that it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations, meaningless and futile.

It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions. Once accept a single abatement of right, and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands piece by piece. What we are

contending for in this matter is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign nation. She can not yield them without conceding her own impotency as a nation, and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.

In common with both Houses of Congress and with a great majority of the American people, we upheld this declaration of the President; but we never denied the authority of the Government to waive its right as a matter of expediency, precisely as England did in the instance noted by Mr. McLemore; nor did we ever impugn the loyalty or patriotism of those who advocated such a course. That remained for the President to do when he wrote to Mr. Davies, the Democratic candidate for Senator from Wisconsin:

The McLemore resolution, the embargo issue, and the armed neutrality measure presented the first opportunities to apply the acid test in our country to disclose true loyalty and genuine Americanism. It should always be a source of much satisfaction to you that on these crucial propositions you proved true.

We cannot but regard the application of Washington's proclamation as strained to a degree. Our first President simply and properly warned American citizens that they would receive no protection from the United States if they should "violate the laws of nations with respect to the Powers at war, or any of them" by aiding one or another in any way. The idea that George Washington would or ever did refuse the protection of the Government to an American citizen in the exercise of a lawful right is inconceivable.

With respect to the sinking of the *Lusitania* having been "recognized by our Government as 'a closed incident,'" we should like further information as to how, when, where and by whom it was done. To the best of our information, it is still open and undetermined; indeed, we should not be greatly surprised at a fresh outbreak of correspondence relating thereto at any moment.

We can only say, in conclusion, that it is not we who have accused Mr. McLemore, whose personal integrity was certified by more than 300,000 of his constituents against only 45,000 for his adversary, of having acted dishonorably in any sense of the word. It is President Wilson who holds, even at this late day, that he, in common with many others failed "to disclose true loyalty and genuine Americanism." Wherefore inevitably, we assume that Mr. McLemore must anticipate determined opposition from the Administration in his canvass for re-election—mebbe and mebbe not.—EDITOR.

The second is from the Hon. Herbert M. Baker, Judge of the County Court of Weld County, Colorado, and we make reply as we go along.

SIR,—On several occasions after reading your WAR WEEKLY or your magazine, I have started to write with the purpose of remonstrating with you against your policy of carping criticism of the Administration and members of the Cabinet. On each of these occasions I have destroyed what I had written, partly because I believed that it would be of no avail to remonstrate with a person absolutely incapable of fair-minded judgment, and partly because the habit of writing to editors is a vain and foolish one. I have continued reading THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and WAR WEEKLY for the sole reason that I have admired and enjoyed the brilliancy and stinging satire of your style, in spite of your lack of logic and erratic conclusions. In normal times and upon ordinary subjects, one might take pleasure in the art of your writing with little attention to the subject matter thereof; but these are not normal times and you are not dealing with ordinary subjects.

Your editorials are causing a great deal of harm, not personally to the men whom you attack, but to our country at large. You seem to be entirely devoid of any knowledge of the psychology of the average man, and write without any regard to the effect that it will have upon the reader. There are certain

magazines, among which those you edit are notable, that have caused immeasurable injury, particularly for the reason that everywhere they are read they cause discouragement and despondency. I am not speaking without knowledge of the facts. But for this "sniping", if I may use the word invented by the British Prime Minister, there is no doubt that many additional dollars would have been subscribed to the last Liberty Loan, and that which was subscribed would have been much more readily obtained. Your attitude lowers the morale of our soldiers in the camps; it makes the relatives of the soldiers fearful for their safety and proper care; it throws a blanket of gloom and doubt over everything, when the atmosphere should be that of determination and hope. As a matter of fact, the progress that the Administration has made has been an agreeable surprise to all of us, and, measured by your editorials in the early part of the war, has exceeded anything that even you expected.

Without stopping to discuss the extent, or, as His Honor puts it, our utter dearth of knowledge of the "psychology of the average man," we have to doubt that our persistence in demanding intelligent and determined conduct of the war and our reiterated appeals for subscriptions hampered the latest, by no means the last, Liberty Loan; in any case, it did quite well. If our denunciation, based upon the report of General Gorgas, of the shocking neglect of our soldiers in camp, helped to create a public resentment which ultimately made for reform, we are greatly gratified. We gladly concede that, as a direct consequence of constant prodding, the recent progress in actual warfare has surpassed our expectations, for the quite simple reason that practically no progress was made in the first nine months. In common with His Honor, we have been "agreeably surprised."

I do not care to be charged with failing to distinguish between the support of the President and the support of the country. The distinction is more theoretical than real. There are times when the support of the Administration is synonymous with the support of the country and when he who fails to give freely, cheerfully, and generously of that support is failing in the first tenet of true patriotism. This is one of those times. The Administration is the Government, and typifies the country. It would be difficult to imagine how one could be loyal to his nation and disloyal to the officials who are charged with carrying out its policies. An efficient Government is hampered under constant attack; an inefficient Government may accomplish wonders when supported by a united people.

We cannot admit that the executive branch is the Government, despite its own apparent consciousness to the contrary. Neither do we believe that a demonstrably efficient Government can be made by unwarranted attack to suffer materially, nor that an inefficient Government can "accomplish wonders" under any circumstances.

One hesitates to charge a person of your justly earned reputation as a writer, and an editor of one of the most highly respectable magazines in the United States, of being under German influence. It would be difficult to imagine, nevertheless, a more effective way to use German money to spread German propaganda than to subsidize such magazines as THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW constantly to criticize and attack the officials of the American Government, with or without reason.

In view of His Honor's courteous expression of confidence in our patriotism in his closing paragraph, we shall take the liberty of passing this amiable implication of treason.

We in the West have been troubled with the I. W. W., by the pacifist, and by a large German sympathizing population. In spite of these drawbacks, there now exists if not as noisy, at least as truly earnest, a support of the war as there exists along the Atlantic seaboard. My personal opinion is that the West has been more intelligently alive to conditions than the East has been. Certainly, so far as the material results are concerned, our work has been more effective in proportion to our population and wealth. We are becoming tired of the nagging, heckling, snapping, fault-finding, and scolding on the part of a few Eastern magazines, which have relegated to themselves some kind of super-patriotism that raises them in their own opinions above the ordinary citizen. We have come to recognize these influences to be more dangerous to the successful issue of our arms, through their demoralizing effect at home, than all others combined. As I said, one hesitates to charge—particularly when he remembers the high position some of them hold—that they are

under the pay of the enemy; but one is at a loss to understand the forces that guide them, when he looks about him and sees the harm that they every day are doing.

We have never drawn invidious distinctions, as to patriotism or loyalty, between various sections of the country.

Before I close, I desire to say something with regard to General Wood, concerning whom you seem to be much perturbed. You speak of him as "the most expert and most trusted General of our army." His reputation as "the most expert General in the army" is much shattered among those who have watched his activities at Camp Funston. I suggest that you use the same sleuthing instincts in an investigation of the work that General Wood has done at Camp Funston that you did with regard to the Ottawa despatch. If you do, I am certain that you will arrive at very different conclusions from those you now hold concerning the "trust" with which General Wood is held. The investigations should be made at Camp Funston, however, not in Washington.

We have no personal knowledge of the work of General Wood at Camp Funston, and we doubt if His Honor has. But if he had attended the monster mass meetings at Denver addressed by General Wood, he would have learned quickly what the fathers and mothers of the boys in his charge thought of it, and if he had witnessed the touching scene at Camp Mills, when the General bade them farewell, no question would have been left in his mind as to how they themselves regarded their commander. In view of the fact that the Administration has ordered General Wood to train another division in Funston, it is easy to understand why His Honor objects to judgment being formed in Washington; but does he not thereby classify himself with those whom he denounces as disloyal to the country because they criticize acts of the Administration?

I am writing this letter in the faint hope that perhaps you will at least perceive that constant criticism of the Government is doing more than any other one thing to crush the ardor and enthusiasm of the people generally towards war and to destroy the results of the great efforts that we unfortunately have had to make to bring home to the people a realization of the seriousness of our position and the righteousness of our cause. In spite of appearances, I still have sufficient confidence in your personal patriotism and love of country to believe that if you are convinced of this obvious and indubitable fact, you will immediately change your policy. Until this happens, kindly cancel my subscriptions to your periodicals. They will be refused from the mails hereafter.

HERBERT M. BAKER.

So far from perceiving that criticism has crippled the Administration, we are fully convinced that it is to the criticism which followed quickly and sharply upon the Chamberlain exposures that the country owes the arousal from apathy of those responsible for the conduct of the war and for the improvement in conditions which has ensued. Indeed, the one certainty that appears to us as "obvious and indubitable" is that the good work must continue. Consequently, while expressing due appreciation of His Honor's faith in our excellent intentions, we cannot comply with his request that we "change our policy" of commending heartily whenever possible and of condemning caustically whenever necessary.

Reluctantly, therefore, chiefly on our own account—because we dislike to sever relations with one like His Honor who speaks up—but partly out of consideration for sweating Mr. Burleson, who ought not to be asked to place an unwanted infant upon a doorstep away out in Weld County, Colorado, we cancel His Honor's valued subscription and return whatever is coming to him in the form of a check.—EDITOR.

The third is from Mr. Erastus Brainard, the well-known publicist of Seattle:

SIR,—I have just finished reading your *Peril of the Future* in the N. A. R. In it you ask "how are we going to win? That is what we want to know."

That question was asked of me in 1915. My reply was "I see just one way; by the back door." "What do you mean by that?" I was asked. "I mean this war will probably end when the Japanese send an army into the East front through Siberia."

Personally I still think that will be the speediest and most effective way.

During my twenty-eight years residence on this coast I have made a careful and thorough study of Japan and the Japanese. In 1906, when there was a famine in northern Japan, I raised a shipload of provisions for the sufferers and received the thanks of the Japanese Government through Count Hayashi, then Foreign Minister. In 1913, when Secretary Bryan went to California, I was in San Francisco and a Japanese called on me and asked my opinion of the situation there. I asked him why he came to see me, and all I could get out of him was that he had been sent, because the Japanese know I had been their good friend for several years.

I could write a long article telling many things, but I will content myself by saying that in my opinion it would work no future hardship on us if we were to accede to Japan's entry into the war through Russia, as times have changed since Hector was a pup. We certainly need Japan's aid to help win the war, and the diplomatic relations can be readjusted after the war to mutual satisfaction.

More power to your pen, which has all the masters of ironic style, including Dean Swift, beaten to a frazzle.

ERASTUS BRAINARD.

[These are all we have room for this week.—EDITOR.]

Mr. W. G. Button, of Philadelphia, wants to know why, according to the *Boston Transcript*, "five hundred pajamas were purchased recently at \$10 each", when "most of us have to get along with those costing \$2 per pair or less." We don't know. Perhaps Editor James T. Williams, Jr., can find out through his Washington correspondent. But did Mr. Button never hear of the deaf old Bishop who, when asked at dinner if he did not like bananas, replied that personally he greatly preferred the old-fashioned nightshirt? Or Former Senator James E. Martine's famous observation that there is "nothing like nature's raiment for perfect sleep"? These are war times, you know, Mr. Button.

A subscriber residing at No. 115 Devonshire Street, Boston, writes that his copy of the *WAR WEEKLY* dated June 8, arrived on June 18, "just twenty-four hours after the one dated June 15." Oddly enough, other conscientious objectors make the same complaint and one goes so far as to suggest that the edition for June 8 may have been held up by the Post-office Department for examination in Washington. Upon looking over the paper, however, we find nothing in it that could possibly have irritated Political-General Burleson, except, perhaps, an amiable letter from Mr. Baker to Representative Shallenberger. So we guess it was only the usual inefficiency.

900,000 sounds good to us. It's so, too.

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Undiplomatic Notes

WHEN last month we declined to throw up a hat at Mr. Baker's refusal to be "tied down to numbers" in fixing the size of the army now contemplated upon the ground that we should feel easier if he would name a minimum of "at least five and preferably seven millions," we were duly reprimanded by the Administration organs, which gleefully insisted that his words, "without limit," plainly implied the raising of a much larger force,—probably even ten millions. We did not believe it and said so. Now the figures are out and they are exactly 4,125,000 of all sorts and kinds, of whom, according to Chairman Borland, who makes the announcement, 3,000,000 are to be "equipped for field operations." It is not enough, of course, not half enough; and yet sufficient, in the optimistic Mr. Borland's mind, "to cross the Rhine in full force and strength," which is utter nonsense. Nevertheless, we are getting on and, if we can keep them up to the scratch, will get somewhere some time.

It turned out just as we feared. Secretary McAdoo ought never to have gone on that exhausting jaunt at all. He has more than enough to do in Washington. It is up to the country to take care of bond issues anyway. Fortunately Mr. McAdoo has an excellent "sub" in Comptroller Williams and ought now to stay in Colorado until he shall have fully recovered his strength,—a consummation to be wished more devoutly than ever since the return of the insinuating Mr. Baker.

We fear that conventional man is so firmly welded to his idols that Dr. Edward P. Mitchell's crusade in favor of the abolition of boiler-plate shirt bosoms and collars, for the conservation of starch during the war, is doomed to failure. Why not begin by cutting off the tails of "full dress" suits? That would make at least for a saving equivalent to that achieved by the women folks when they shortened their skirts.

The acceptance of the principle of a single command, which was advocated by the President of the United States and carried through under his constant pressure, is one of the most important single military things that has been done as far as the Allies are concerned.—GENERAL MARCH.

A well-deserved tribute to the sagacity, determination and tact of the President. Incidentally, away back in December, THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW declared that "unless history is at fault, the appointment of a Generalissimo" was the only "true solution" of the problem of command. But we went further and called for a General Staff of the highest order, upon the theory that no one mind can visualize the vast operations of this unprecedented conflict. And we repeat now that, until such a directive organization, based upon substantially the German system, shall be created, General Foch and the Allied armies will continue to fight at serious disadvantage. The record proves this beyond question. As General March says, "the unity of command,"—meaning, not by the Kaiser nor by Hindenburg, nor Ludendorff, but by an exceptionally qualified General Staff, whose members actually vote upon all broad questions of policy and strategy,—"the unity of command which Germany has had from the start of the war has been a very important military asset."

Another and a greater opportunity, wholly in line with

his initial achievement, awaits the President and we have faith to believe that he will grasp it with both hands.

Evidently Colonel George Harvey has, to use the language of the subway and the surface, "got the goat" of the Secretary of War. Passing comment in Colonel Harvey's WAR WEEKLY is construed by Mr. Baker as a "strange and malignant attack" upon himself. And, reading further, "my chief thought is that the truth will give the people of the country confidence in the army and in that way Mr. Harvey will be prevented from helping our country's enemies by his extraordinary and depressing lack of information."

Far be it from the *Herald* to rush in where even the bravest of angels would fear to tread, but in the light of a well remembered statement made before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and of certain assertions concerning the separation of a brother Baker from connection with an airplane contract somebody should suggest that, speaking of dwellers in glass houses and of subtracting from popular confidence in the War Department, lack of information on the part of a Secretary of War is likely to prove more depressing than any lack on the part of an unofficial individual can possibly be.

Perhaps George will do it.—*New York Herald.*

All in due time. We are busy for the moment with bigger things.

Our long and highly esteemed contemporary, the *Fort Worth Record*, rises to remark:

Colonel Harvey makes this criticism: "Neither our allies nor ourselves have formulated any plans for actually winning the war. We are simply expecting Germany to lie down. We have not even a great policy in common except as to defensive fighting in France."

Colonel Harvey is mistaken. Our country has loaned billions of dollars to the allies.

Our country has sent a million soldiers over the seas.

Our country is preparing to send another million before the coming of 1919.

Our country is preparing to train and equip 5,000,000 soldiers for over the sea service if necessary.

"How are we going to win? That is what we want to know?" queries Colonel Harvey, self-acclaimed patriot, self-appointed critic of the Administration and so-called win the war Democrat.

How are we going to win?

By fighting the militarists of central Europe to the death; by sending millions of trained soldiers over the seas; by defeating the armies of the two emperors; by the destruction of their naval bases and the lairs of their under sea pirates; by the dynamiting of their supply camps and Krupp gun works; by raining dynamite bombs upon the German empire, upon the people of Germany in city and hamlet and country as they have been rained upon the inoffensive inhabitants of the British isles, the cities of France, the fire-swept centers of population in Belgium.

Fine, fine! And yet we repeat that neither we nor our Allies have formulated any comprehensive and far-reaching plans for actually winning the war. We and they are just fighting; that's all.

The *Lokal Anzeiger* of Berlin protests against the German Government's proposal to billet the German soldiers in private families following demobilization at the end of the war as one that has "sent a shudder through Germany," and publishes the following letter:

I hope as a father and husband that your paper will agitate restlessly against this unheard of scheme to thrust the demobilized soldiers into our private homes.

What can our Government be thinking of to devise such an intolerable intrusion on German family life? I cannot imagine the official responsible for the idea can be the husband of a young wife or the father of grown up daughters. The whole enterprise is too horrible to contemplate.

It is something which threatens the very foundations of the German family and it must not be allowed.

They seem to know one another over there pretty well, after all.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

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Six months: One dollar.

VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING JULY 6, 1918

NO. 27

Mr. Baker Puts On the Brakes

"We seemed to be going ahead at last, intelligently and determinedly, and now lol smiling Mr. Baker descends upon Washington like a cloud of poison gas and the wheels begin to slacken."

—From the WAR WEEKLY of May 4th.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1918.

TRANSPOSE the letters in BAKER and you have BRAKE—and that is what our Pacifist Secretary of War has been from the beginning of the great conflict, both before and after we engaged in it, and what he is today. Bearing in mind the fact that the movement of troops which has resulted in the landing in France of a moderately respectable force of fighting men was initiated in his absence, we cannot recall a single substantial contribution made by him to the winning of the war. Ordinarily, speaking in pursuance of our unvarying policy of putting blame where it belongs, we should have placed the responsibility for what has come to be known as our first "wasted year" upon the Commander-in-Chief, but we cannot do so justly in this instance. The President believed and said that, in Mr. Baker, he had found the attributes of the most efficient public official he had ever known. Being thus convinced, he naturally relied upon and upheld his Secretary with characteristic steadfastness, or obduracy, or whatever you may call it, quite regardless of evidences to the contrary which seemed manifest to many others, even to the extent of accepting as correct Mr. Baker's blithesome estimate of his own satisfied self in his testimony before the Senate Military Affairs Committee. To what extent the President should be held accountable for his error in judgment is a matter of opinion; for ourselves, we are disposed to make much allowance for a mistake committed in good faith and from a sense of personal loyalty; but the lamentable fact remains.

That is why we viewed askance Mr. Baker's artful proposal, now shown to have been wholly disingenuous, to raise an army "without limit" in numbers and without specification of either maximum or minimum. Hence our surprise and gratification at his announcement on June 17 that he would not object to the adoption by Congress of General Crowder's recommendation that the draft ages be expanded from 21-31 to approximately 18-45. Recalling that originally Mr. Baker had urged an absurdly inadequate restriction to those between 21 and 26 years old, only to be voted down by

Congress, we almost jumped to the conclusion that he had either learned that we are really at war or that he had recessed his natural proclivities along with his politics. This impression, moreover, was confirmed on the following day when the faithful *World* recorded that "amplifying his statement withdrawing his opposition to extending the draft ages, Secretary Baker said today that the only reason for his having hesitated to submit a recommendation to Congress on the subject was a desire to learn the effect upon vital industries." Perhaps we had misjudged him, after all; but alas, no! Eight days later, fortified by General March, he appeared again pollyfoggling about the capitol and smilingly announced that he had changed his mind or view or what-not and that he was opposed to any change whatever in the draft age. What had happened in the meantime to induce this complete *volte-face* he did not deign to reveal to the astonished Senate, but he did finally put out a rambling statement, from which a few excerpts may be quoted to indicate the twisting and turning of a mind which seems actually incapable of straightforward utterance. The War Department, he declared, was "constantly anxious to expand its military programme" and was "now very actively considering an increase, and if that increase is possible," after the Senators return from their recess in September, "further appropriations of men and measures" might be "recommended," but there was "no chance of being placed where we would not have all the men possible to ship abroad."

This is the same old story, the same old shifting of responsibility for delay and then again delay. It is precisely what Mr. Baker said in January,—that it was idle to draw men for training from industrial pursuits when there would be no way to send them to France. And yet when absolute necessity called, the ships appeared as if by magic and now Mr. Baker not only boasts of that achievement, chiefly of the British, as if it were his very own, but reverts to his former whine on the very day when Chairman Hurley, in Chicago, was promising "ships to the limit, whatever the number of men" to be transported "might be."

"The War Department," continued Mr. Baker, "has from the beginning been expanding its military programme. We are many months ahead of what was our original hope in regard to the transportation of men. We are constantly seeking ways to expand that, and we are in the midst of a plan now to expand it again. Should we so expand the programme it may turn out that we will need an increased number of men, and it may turn out that the best we can do won't require it. When we have determined on what is best we will then ask Congress to provide additional money and men. For the present there is no such necessity."

"It may turn out that we will need an increased number of men and it may turn out that the best we can do won't require it."

The same old song! The war may be over! Schwab may not produce the ships! We may all be dead! Anything, anything for an excuse for doing nothing!

There should be no misunderstanding of the situation, which is simply this: Under the present programme, Class 1 will be exhausted on September 15, when an army of 3,450,000 will have been provided. Thereafter, under the existing law, calls can be made only upon classes 2 and 3,—a wholly impracticable proposition, since these two classes comprise chiefly munitions, shipbuilding and other workers whose services in their present occupations are essential to the prosecution of the war. The utmost that could be obtained from the present enrolments would swell the total to only 4,000,000, and this could not be done, according to the Provost Marshal General, without creating an acute and hazardous industrial condition. As matters stand, the clock stops, and the army "without limit" is fixed definitely and finally at 3,450,000. Senator Wadsworth depicted the situation accurately and succinctly in these words:

It has been intimated in the Senate this morning by the chairman of the committee, who merely recited what was said by the Secretary of War, that it would be all right for the Congress to wait until some time in September to decide this question, and that within 60 or 90 days thereafter the troops can be obtained. May I ask what is to be done during the months of October, November, and December? Is the calling of troops to be suspended after the middle of October while the preparations are being made in the Provost Marshal General's office for the calling of additional troops under an expanded draft at the expiration of 60 or 90 days?

Mr. President, supposing there does not appear very clearly at this moment any absolute necessity for an enlargement of the American Army after October 15, is it wise for us to proceed upon that basis? Can we not get out of that habit of mind which leads us to endeavor to meet emergencies after they overtake us, a habit of mind that has been all too prevalent, Senators, in this country and in the management of this war at large, not only by ourselves but by our Allies? Can we not anticipate the emergencies that may overtake us? Is it not safer? Is it not making war with greater effectiveness for the Congress at this day and date to place at the disposal of the President a sufficient number of registrants under the draft to enable him to get just as big an army as he wants to meet any emergency, and preferably to prepare for that emergency before it comes?

It passes my understanding how those responsible for the conduct of the military preparations of this great Republic can solemnly advise us at this day that for the time being nothing more is desired; that we do not have to do anything yet. Oh, if we could wipe out of our dictionary the words "not yet"!

The country has been led to believe that there is to be no limit to this Army; this bill contains a provision in effect lifting any limit as to the size of the Army. Does that provision mean what it says, or is it simply declaratory, to arouse enthusiasm, to reassure? The statement of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Fall] to the effect that the law as at present drafted puts a rigid limit upon the size of the Army can not be controverted. How are we going to square ourselves with the American public if we leave a rigid limitation in the law and say to the people in the next breath that there is no limit to the size of the Army? What is the purpose of that statement?

I took the President of the United States at his word; I rejoiced when in New York he suggested "Why limit the size of the Army?" I rejoiced when he stated that we were going to stand by Russia just as we are standing by France. The American people rejoiced in it. But leaving the draft law as it now stands upon the statute books negatives the whole programme in so far as it is related to the utterances of the President and that provision of the bill which says that the Army shall be without limit.

Provost Marshal General Crowder, whose extraordinary achievement in raising the present army won from the Senate, with but one dissenting vote, an unprecedented recommendation that he be made a lieutenant general, has pleaded day in and day out for expansion of the draft ages as an urgent necessity and away back in March he formulated a complete plan for handling the entire situation, but to absolutely no purpose. His proposals still repose in the archives of the War Department and it is doubtful if he has been even consulted regarding the programme—if any is in process of making—for 1919 or, indeed, has ever seen his Commander-in-chief. However that may be, both Houses of Congress were not only willing but eager to carry out the suggestion of this experienced officer and would have done so with substantial unanimity if Mr. Baker had not reversed his position and put on the brakes.

What can it all mean?

The bill did not *direct* the President to call additional men; it simply *authorized* him to do so, if he should deem it necessary or advisable to do so. It is the first grant of power the Administration has ever refused and pretty nearly the only one it has not demanded. Why this change of heart?

Is politics back of it all? It seems incredible; and yet the intimation was made plainly on the floor of the Senate that "the Administration was thinking of the effect of extending the draft to boys upon the coming election" and Mr. C. W. Gilbert, one of the most trustworthy correspondents in Washington, adds as a simple matter of course that "this undoubtedly is the motive." It may or may not be so; the mere suggestion is hideous; and yet we are free to say that it would be extremely interesting to know what happened in the inner circle during those nine days when Mr. Baker was changing his mind.

We prefer mightily, though we confess with difficulty, to attribute this shocking performance to the exuding of uncontrollable pacifism through the pores of our Secretary of War,—to that same "cloud of poison gas" to which we referred as having descended upon Washington simultaneously with his arrival from Europe, because "it was his nature to."

But all we really know is that the brake has been set and a delay of months decreed which imperils the lives of our soldiers now abroad, impairs our ability to aid our Allies and is more than likely to prolong the war, all in the face of—

Force, force, force without limit!

It is time for George Harvey to come over, though nobody cares very much whether he comes or goes these days. Let him hearken though to Henry Cabot Lodge, speaking at Providence the other day.—*Charleston Post*.

We not only hearkened to but printed those kind words. Moreover, long before they were uttered by Senator Lodge, we had paid full tribute to Mr. Daniels and depicted our amazement and gratification at the unexpected transformation of a meddlesome nuisance in time of peace into a sensible official in time of war. Our prayer is that he will stay hitched.

Welcome to The Slavs

WE must heartily commend the action of the Administration in giving its approval to the organization of Slavic armies in America for service in the war. There are here hundreds of thousands of Slavs, of the different branches of that race. They are largely unnaturalized, and most of them are nominally subjects of hostile countries and are therefore technically "enemy aliens." But most of them, also, are ready and eager to fight on the side of the Allies against the countries of their nominal allegiance; just as thousands of their countrymen at home have joined the Allied armies on the Italian frontier and are now fighting against the Austrian despots who have oppressed the Czechs and Jugo-Slavs as well as the Italians.

There is no doubt that this spirit among the Slavs has been enormously stimulated by the attitude and utterances of our Administration. They were inspired by the declaration of President Wilson that as one of the items in "the only possible programme" of peace, "the peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development." Of course, nothing is more obvious than that such an opportunity of development can be secured only through a breaking of the Teutonic yoke which Austria has been imposing upon those peoples, which has been made still more galling upon them during this war, and which has just been reaffirmed and increased in weight by the practical military and political annexation of Austria to Germany.

In sanctioning the recruiting of these Slavic legions in America the President courageously carries out the logical implication of his declaration which we have quoted. He is fostering the militant revolt of Austrian subjects against the Austrian Government.

Best of all, perhaps, to clinch beyond any possibility of withdrawal the President's statement which we have quoted, and to expound it beyond any possibility of even Hunnish or Pacifist misinterpretation, we now have the inspiring and wholly admirable declaration from Mr. Lansing that "In order that there may be no misunderstanding . . . the Secretary of State has to-day further announced the position of the United States Government to be that all branches of the Slav race should be completely freed from German and Austrian rule." That is nothing short of a declaration of Czech and Jugo-Slav independence, made by a Power which is able to make it good.

The practical effect of this should be important. There are enough Czechs and Slovaks in this country to form several army divisions, and if to them are added the Poles and Russians, a Slavic force of perhaps a quarter of a million should be forthcoming. But that will be by no means all, nor even the major part of it. For undoubtedly this action here will greatly inspire and stimulate the revolt of the Slavs in the old country. It will give them assurance of American sympathy and support in their uprising, and of practical aid in making it efficient. When news of the official countenancing of Slavic legions in America and of this renewed and reaffirmed declaration of Slavic independence reaches Bohemia, Croatia and Slavonia, as it should promptly do, we should hope to hear of all but universal insurrection, and of multitudinous flockings to the standards of the Allies.

Poland, too; in connection with which the Allies, we included, are not altogether free from the reproach of neglecting a great opportunity. It was a fine thing that a Polish legion was organized in America, and that recently a Polish army division, under the Polish national flag, entered the front line trenches in France to fight the hereditary oppressors of their race. But it is lamentable that the great military strength of Poland has been permitted to fall into disuse if not demoralization through the collapse of Russia.

A year ago there were in the Russian army Polish organizations aggregating fully 750,000 first-class fighting men. When after the first Russian revolution the disintegration of the Russian army began, the Poles wished to keep their organizations intact, under a Polish national system, and would have succeeded in doing so had not the Russian revolutionists forbidden it. Kerensky would not permit the formation of more than a single Polish corps, and when the second revolution occurred Lenine and Trotzky insisted upon the Russianization of even that, demanding that it should abandon military discipline.

Thus what might have been a splendid fighting force of three-quarters of a million men was frittered away and nullified, while we Allies have stood idly by, consenting to the folly.

A division or two of Allied troops as a nucleus, and assurances of Allied support against both Hunnish hostility and Bolshevik treason, might have kept Poland in the war as an effective factor.

Brother John Charles Shaffer wrote cuttingly for his *Chicago Evening Post* of June 19:

Mr. Bonar Law tells parliament: "The American troops are not coming; they have come. America isn't coming into the war; she is in it."

On almost the same day Colonel George Harvey in his *WAR WEEKLY* says: "'Over 700,000 in France,' quoth Mr. Baker. Correct! And more on the ocean. Of the 700,000 about 450,000 are fighting men, and of the 450,000 about 300,000 are fairly well trained for actual service at the front."

The unfairness of Colonel Harvey's words may be measured by Mr. Bonar Law's estimate. Colonel Harvey's criticism is not constructive criticism; it is plain meanness.

On June 26, the *World* printed this dispatch:

WASHINGTON, June 25.—Between 65 and 70 per cent of the American soldiers sent to France are actual combat troops, Secretary Baker said today.

Brother Shaffer may note that 65 per cent of 700,000 is exactly 450,000. This, however, was the first time that Mr. Baker made the distinction and perhaps it is not surprising that our guileless contemporary fell a victim to the deception which the Secretary had been practicing continuously upon the public. That he should finally have confessed we attribute partly to the fact that General March would not stand for it and partly to the effect of our own "malignant attacks" upon the untrustworthiness of his pronouncements at a time when the people were entitled to accurate information. We forced only a half-truth out of him at that. He knew then and knows now that not more than 300,000 out of the 450,000 "combat troops" shipped in recent months have had any training at all worth mentioning and that the remainder cannot be classified properly as "fighting men" for months to come.

Apparently to Brother Shaffer's ardent imagination "meanness" is synonymous with "truth"; if so, we plead guilty and comfortably await the judgment of the court.

The Costa Rica Mystery

SENATOR GALLINGER'S resolution accepting Costa Rica's offer of her seaports on both oceans and other assistance in our war with the international brigand is in every way welcome. If it leads to nothing else, it may at least dispel the dense fog of mystery which obscures our singular attitude towards this Central American Republic. Its discussion and the statements that discussion may draw from the Administration may explain why we favor the Costa Rican ex-President Gonzalez, who lost the Presidency because of his intense pro-Germanism, and why we oppose and are doing everything we can to crush and throw out of power the present head of the Republic's administration, Federico Tinico, who was elevated to the Presidency because of his strong sympathy with the Allies in their war against the Hun, and because his attitude in that respect is in harmony with that of the great mass of the Costa Rican population, who in spite of an intensive German propaganda backed by vast sums of money are, and have been from the first, warmly in sympathy with the Entente's and our own aims in the world war.

For some reason, as yet unknown to man outside the scholastic Administration cloisters, we have registered Tinico in our black books. We do not approve of him. We will not recognize him as the President of Costa Rica, although the Costa Ricans themselves have elevated him to that high office.

On the face of all that has so far been published about the exit of ex-President Gonzalez and the entrance of the new President Tinico, there is required a great deal of showing cause why all our sympathies should not be with Tinico, and all our antipathies with Gonzalez. As presented by Mr. Carter Field, the New York *Tribune's* Washington correspondent, the case for the Tinico Administration is very strong. For years prior to, and in a still more aggressive form since, the beginning of the war, Costa Rica has been the seat of a powerful German propaganda. As a part of this propaganda vast sums of German money were invested in the country. Close commercial and even matrimonial ties were established by German agents with wealthy Costa Rican firms and families. A year ago last January Germans were in full control of the country. They not only actively urged aggressive action against Allied interests in the war itself, but they were industriously at work making provisions for Germany's after-the-war needs. They were purchasing plantations right and left and accumulating vast stores of those raw materials which Germany is going to need so badly when the war is ended and which, in the face of the world-wide antipathy her war brutalities and war-revealed treachery and greed have created, she is going to find it exceedingly hard to get. In all these efforts the Gonzalez Costa Rican Government was aiding and abetting the Germans to the best of its ability, while a large body of the population looked on with a rising anger which finally reached a climax when Tinico, then the Secretary of War, revolted against this dominating pro-German influence and flatly refused to invade Panama at the order of the German-controlled President Gonzalez. As a result of this, things got so hot for Gonzalez that he fled. Tinico was elected President. The election was presided over by five ex-Presidents of the country, not one of whom had served as President for less than four years. There was no disorder; no evidences of coercion or corruption. Tinico

received a majority amounting to 12 to 1. Germans plotted to restore Gonzalez, who had fled to this country, where he was cordially received by President Wilson. President Tinico met this German move by calling a special session of Congress which, in September last, broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. Then the German intriguers approached Tinico. He needed money badly. The war had cut down the customs revenue heavily. There had never been a direct Federal tax imposed upon Costa Ricans, and President Tinico wished to avoid such a measure. He applied to the Royal Bank of Canada for a loan. With Great Britain naturally desirous of maintaining a friendly Government in Costa Rica, the Canadian bank was willing to advance the money required. But right there we inserted spoke number one in the pro-Ally Costa Rican Government's wheel. Through our influence the Canadian loan, after having been agreed upon, was refused. It seems we did not like Tinico and were "out to get him."

The German crew in the country saw their opportunity. They offered Tinico as much money as we had prevented the Canadian bank from giving him provided Costa Rica would remain neutral as regards Austria. We ourselves were not at that time at war with Austria. So Tinico could have no fears of arousing antagonism in this quarter. Besides, as between our war associate, Tinico, and the German tool, Gonzalez, as a recognizable President of Costa Rica, our leanings were decidedly for the implement of the Hun.

But Tinico did not take the Teutonic bait. His reply to the money offer was to call a special session of Congress at which war was formally declared against Germany. Within six days after our own declaration of war the Tinico Government had offered us the use for war purposes of both the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the country. These ports are close to our Panama Canal and in certain contingencies might be of great strategic value. But of course we could not accept them. Tinico was personally disagreeable to us. We did not and do not recognize him or his Congress or his Government, although he and the Congress and Government were chosen by the Costa Rican people and are really the only President and Government they have to offer as a medium through which to convey their friendly offers to us and the Powers of the Entente in the struggle against the common enemy of mankind. So Costa Rican soldiers, too, are cut off from participation in our recent offer to train, equip, send to the front and maintain as many soldiers as the other South American countries at war with Germany may send here. Costa Rica, small as she is, could furnish 30,000 soldiers on a basis of only one-half the number in proportion to population that France turned out. But we cannot take them. Tinico is personally disagreeable to us. We will not recognize him.

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Wherein Brother Edward Sanford Martin of *Life* perceives a new angle:

A fairly good and steady topic, while it lasts, is General Wood. Colonel and Chief Shepherd of the People George Harvey laments about him eloquently in his *WAR WEEKLY*. But why lament? Is there anything to do a public man good like a good grievance well advertised? Mr. Baker wouldn't tell the Senate Committee on Military Affairs why he was keeping General Wood at home, but he said there was neither politics nor ill will in it, and that it was for the good of the service and quite proper. Yet there may be politics in it, for if Colonels George and Henry get heartily to work on it, and Mr. Baker is disappointed in finding a better job for General Wood than fighting in France, they may make General Wood the Republican candidate for President. If General Wood has a grievance he is all right. Ditto, of course, if he hasn't. The Republicans need a candidate mightily, and if they can't put up the man who won the war they may put up the man of whom they can assert that he would have won it if Baker had let him.

Interesting, but not important. Sufficient unto the day will be the evil (or good) thereof. We are not, and hold that nobody ought to be, thinking about Presidential candidates now further than to draw the line at La Follette, Ford and Hiram Johnson. For all that we know, when the time comes, we may find ourselves supporting Mr. McAdoo's candidate. These are queer times.

Anyhow, this whole miserable chapter in our recent politics forcibly illustrates a serious evil of modern newspaperdom. Because of the multitude of things pressing upon attention, the average writer feels that he has not time to get to the bottom of a question; to do so means a lot of hard work and a more or less limited range of discussion. So he discourseth, as in this case, often with good rhetoric and vigor of misdirected force inversely proportioned to the paucity of his understanding of the subject. He follows such a lead as that of Harvey with just about a parrot's intelligence. And yet the truth concerning Secretary Daniels was easy to see with the direction of a very little intelligence.—*Albany Argus*.

Fortunately for the dear old *Argus*!

Harvey has insinuated corruption and imbecility in the Government. He has hinted at profiteering. Not that I would approve suppression of Harvey: he writes too well, and we need good writing, especially good critical writing, and we have entirely too much slop and bunk. I think this country need not fear such critics as Rose Pastor Stokes—or George Harvey—or even Robert Marion La Follette. The people have them all properly sized up.—*Reedy's St. Louis Mirror*.

That is what we have been saying, right along.

Our Italian Alliance

ONE of the best pieces of news of the week is that of the arrival of American troops in Italy, to serve by the side of the Italian troops under the triumphant command of General Diaz. We have hitherto urged that this should be done and have pointed out the chief reasons for its desirability if not its necessity. It is thus that our alliance with Italy is perfected in form and is made effective in spirit and in fact.

For this there is the strongest historical and sentimental as well as practical warrant. A peculiar interest in Italy has long been cherished in America. It may have been because of the personality of Garibaldi, it may have been because of the unrivalled and irresistible charm of Italy, it may have been because of our simple love of freedom and therefore our hatred of such tyranny as was imposed upon that "geographical expression"; whatever the reason, the fact is that the first great war for the liberation and unity of Italy, fifty-nine years ago, was regarded with perhaps greater sympathy

in this country than any other foreign struggle of the kind. Nowhere in the world was the expulsion of the Austrian Bourbons from Italy hailed with greater satisfaction than in America. Some of us still remember how rapturously we chanted the refrain,

Sic exit Bombalino,
Sic exeunt tyrants all!

Again in 1866 and in 1870 the further steps toward complete Italian rehabilitation were watched and applauded with keenest sympathy in America, while that country's unfortunate ensnarement in the toils of the Triple Alliance was regarded with apprehension and regret. It was quite obvious to American observers that the purpose of Germany in that performance was as selfish, as sordid and as sinister as had been the attitude of Prussia against Italian redemption in 1859. The purpose was not to increase the prestige and power of Italy, but rather to "bleed her white" for the benefit of Germany, and to detach her and keep her detached from her natural allies.

For we must keep in mind the tortuous and treacherous course of the Hohenzollerns toward the Latin kingdom. Italians execrated the conduct of Louis Napoleon in concluding the peace of Villa Franca, and thus checking in mid-career the War of Liberation and leaving Venetia in Austrian hands. But the world now knows what possibly even Cavour and certainly the mass of Italians did not then know, that he took that extraordinary course largely because Prussia, under Bismarck's direction, was threatening to ally herself with Austria and to attack France on the Rhine. It was that menace of Prussian intervention perhaps more than anything else that balked Italian liberation at that time in mid-career. Seven years later, Prussia, while fighting Austria, was glad to reverse herself and to acquiesce in the Italian redemption of Venetia, and again in 1870 she acquiesced in, if she did not encourage, the secular occupation of Rome, largely because she saw in that act a possible cause of dissension between Italy and France. And later still it is notorious that Germany suggested and urged France's Tunisian enterprise for the sake of thus causing France to give offence to Italy if not actually to provoke war with that country.

After thus having been used and misused by her unnatural ally in the Triplice, it is a fine achievement that Italy, in the fulness of time, has "found herself" and has aligned herself with those nations with which she is naturally most closely joined by history, race, sympathy, and community of aims and ideals. Still more is it incumbent upon those nations, and most of all upon the United States, to welcome, to encourage and to support her in that alliance. For Italy to have stood with her partners in the Triplice in this war would have been a very serious matter for us. We do not say that it would have made the Central Powers impregnable and victorious, but it would enormously have increased their menace to civilization. In such measure as we should have regretted and deplored that course on Italy's part, we must now appreciate the course which she has actually taken, at so great cost and peril to herself. We cannot too generously support her with levies and supplies.

On the one hand, Italians are fighting by the side of our troops wherever they can be used, between the Alps and the North Sea. On the other hand, we shall hope to see Americans in increasing numbers fighting by the side of the Italians, from the Alps to the Adriatic.

Our Friend Carranza

MR. GEORGE CREEL appears to have started something in Mexico. If we are correctly informed, it was his brilliant intellect which conceived the idea of establishing a perpetual *entente cordial* with our Southern neighbors by inviting all the available Mexican editors to take a trip through the United States, at our expense, so that they could see for themselves what a nice, kind people we are, the assumption—on Mr. Creel's part—being that they would hurry back to their offices and proceed to educate their readers along proper lines instead of continuing to teach them to hate all gringos. There is little doubt that Mr. Creel was quite satisfied in his own mind that the few thousands expended on the junket would be returned a thousand-fold by a complete change in the attitude of Mexico towards the United States. Mr. Creel's only drawback was the fact that, knowing nothing whatever about Mexicans, he treated them like white people, and therein he erred.

They were duly escorted to Washington and in the course of time were received with much formality by President Wilson. After the White House windows were nailed down tight and the shades were drawn so that no American reporters could see or hear what happened within, President Wilson delivered himself of a beautiful speech and the editors clapped their hands.

For some reason which we have never been able to divine Mr. Creel thought it important that the speech should be printed in Mexico before ordinary Americans were allowed to read it. Mr. Creel's plans were carried out to the letter. Not a word of the speech was printed in the United States until the Creel agent at Mexico City wired "let her go." Then it was printed in the United States and most editors applauded it and were quite sure that it would go far to re-establish good relations with the Mexican people. Meanwhile Mr. Creel was waiting at the end of the cable for the laudatory editorials which the Mexican papers were expected to print. Much to his surprise, they did not print any such editorials. As soon as Carranza took one look at the speech he reached into his cupboard and drew forth a note which our Ambassador, Mr. Fletcher, had delivered early in April. This note stated in effect that unless Carranza and the gang of pro-German thieves who are helping him mismanage Mexico put an end to their scheme of robbing foreigners of their oil properties the United States would land marines.

Carranza handed the Fletcher note to *his* Creel and told him to see that it was published throughout Mexico in columns parallel to the President's speech. The Carranza Creel showed the editorial writers how they could invoke enough Mexican logic to prove to the people of Mexico that President Wilson was absolutely insincere because in a secret note he had threatened to invade their "beloved country" in the interests of the "capitalists," and now within a few weeks he was publicly protesting the greatest friendship.

The editors followed instructions and stirred the country to such an anti-American pitch that Secretary Lansing has now felt it necessary to issue a statement to the press, explaining Carranza's duplicity. Until Mr. Creel corralled the so-called Mexican editors and prevailed upon President Wilson to make the speech, we believe that Mr. Fletcher had the situation well in hand. He had used the only method

in handling the delicate oil situation that a Mexican can understand—a stern threat to invoke force. Our Government had deliberately suppressed the note because Mr. Lansing realized that Carranza could be handled very nicely so long as his followers were not informed that this Government was using stern words to him. However, the moment the truth became public Carranza would feel it necessary to "assert" himself against the gringos.

Now after months of patient endeavor to handle the situation wisely Mr. Lansing finds his handiwork nullified completely by amateurish efforts to establish friendly relations with a gang of adventurers who do not accept the ways of white men. What the outcome will be no man can tell. One thing is certain: We must see that the oil wells are saved for the benefit of our Navy and the British Navy.

George Harvey is back this week with a shot at Representative Shallenberger who he shows voted against the President on some of the measures the White House made the test of Americanism in the Wisconsin Senatorial contest. But Mr. Shallenberger is said to be safe, for the White House does not intend, so we are informed, to apply the same test to candidates this fall.—*Washington Herald*.

No; it was only a recess, not an adjournment.

The Pacifist

[Written for the Boston Transcript]

The wolf pack raided through the villages,
And having slaughtered, ravaged and defiled
To full satiety
Slunk back to forest lair
Before the dawn.
Then did the dogs
Let loose from straining chains
And kennel doors
Foregather to avenge the slain
And wipe dishonor from their masters' shields.
Mastiff and bull,
Gaunt and shaggy hounds,
Hot-blooded terriers,
Fierce-eyed and grim
Swept like a wind swift on the track
Plain writ with bloody paws
Upon the snow,
Silent as Fate,
Save one.
Far in the rear
A long eared hound
With snuffing nose upon the track
Proclaimed
That there it was!
Then padding on, he lifted up his voice
And mourned,
Amazed that such a thing could be,
Then stopped
To suck the snow balls from his paws;
Then on again with solemn wrinkled brow,
Still working out
The obvious.
Come to a stream through which had plunged in iciness
The spoilers
And the seekers after righteousness,
First up, then down, the bank he ran,
Then circled wide.
Blind to the spattered muddied landing place.
Then to his ears the sound of battle came
And tumbling in
He sought the farther side
And bayed it found,
And as the trail grew hot
He bayed the more.
At length when on the battle ground
Arrived the orator,
Tongue lolling, scant of breath,
He found the battle done,
Dead throttled wolves held gripped in stiffening jaws,
The living victors lapping at their wounds
As they gazed at him,
He saw, and bayed again;
"Lo, I have brought you
Peace!"

RICHARD D. WARE.

Another Socialist Defection.

NOW Mr. Benson quits the Socialist party. We referred last week to the course taken by John Spargo, in first protesting against and denouncing the attitude of his colleagues toward Germany while America was still nominally neutral and at peace with Germany, and afterward withdrawing from the party altogether because of its attitude toward the war. Now Allan L. Benson does the same. He, it will be remembered, was so prominent and representative a Socialist that he was chosen as the Presidential candidate of that party in 1916 and as such polled more than 590,000 votes. It is therefore impossible to maintain that his defection is an insignificant or a negligible incident.

Mr. Benson leaves the Socialist party, not because he is no longer a Socialist, but because he is a loyal American and therefore cannot approve or accept the official attitude of that party toward the war. Thus when that party declares that all the belligerents are alike culpable, he answers that he knows "that Belgium is not guilty at all and that Germany is guilty of all." When it charges the United States with waging a capitalists' war for money and land, he answers that he knows that the United States is doing no such thing, while Germany covets both money and land. Summing the matter up, he is for fighting the war to a just peace, because "nothing worse could happen to the world than to be placed under the heel of German imperialism."

In all that, Mr. Benson is exactly right. We trust that he is equally right when he proceeds to say that he does not believe Socialists generally to be pro-German, but that the present reprehensible position of that party is due to the fact that it has an exceptionally large proportion of foreign-born leaders, who are incapable of taking an American view of things, but to whom all nations look alike. They misled and misrepresented the rank and file of the party not because they are pro-German but because they are not sufficiently pro-American. They are moreover assisted "by an anarchistic, syndicalistic minority that the party prior to the war had always suppressed." Mr. Benson has waited patiently for the mass of the party to free itself from this unworthy control and to right itself. But it has not done so, and it shows no promise of doing so. Therefore he resigns his membership in it, "as a protest against the foreign-born leadership that blindly believes a non-American policy can be made to appeal to many Americans."

We must regard Mr. Benson's action as significant of the growing revolt among intelligent and honest Socialists against that exaggerated Internationalism which is always potential treason and which we may properly regard as the output of a subtle German propaganda devised to impair the integrity of other nations. What Mr. Benson, like Mr. Spargo, protests against is the pretence that the people—it is commonly put, "the workingmen" or the "proletariat," but we decline to recognize such class distinctions—that the people of a country owe greater allegiance to the peoples of other countries than they do to their own country and its government.

That is to say, the people of America, having chosen and constituted a government of their own, should repudiate it and fraternize with the people of Germany the moment their government and Germany come into conflict. That is the damnable doctrine of the minority bosses of the Socialist party

against which Mr. Spargo and Mr. Benson and many others have revolted. They call it "internationalism." It is in fact treason. Mr. Spargo has exposed the gross illogicality of it by pointing out the obvious if not axiomatic fact that Internationalism necessarily implies antecedent and superior Nationalism. A man cannot be true to world-wide humanity unless he is first true and remains true to his own land and people.

We have suggested that this form of treason is of German origin or promotion and is a part of German propaganda against nations marked by the Hun for conquest. That is not only because it has been most preached by Germans but also and more because, with characteristic Hunnish treachery, it has now been most signally repudiated by the Germans. German Socialists were before the war the loudest in the world in talking of the universal brotherhood of man and in advocating the international solidarity of workingmen. Yet the moment the war began they vied with the most swash-buckling Junkers in siding with their own government against the workingmen of all other countries, although they knew that their government had deliberately started the war against the very principles of Social Democracy to which they had pretended to be devoted.

What, then, is the logic of those "American" Socialists who still hold that we should enter into relations with German Socialists even to the ignoring of our own government? Briefly, this:

The peoples of the various nations should fraternize with and support each other rather than their own governments.

Therefore the people of America should stand with the people of Germany, rather than with the American Government.

But the people of Germany stand with their own government against the American Government and people.

Therefore the American people must stand with the German Government against their own government and, indeed, against themselves.

That, we say, literally and irrefragably, is the logic, and that is the policy, of those Socialists, Pacifists and what not else who are still puling and piddling about fraternization with the German democracy; against whom self-respecting Americans like Mr. Spargo and Mr. Benson intelligently and righteously revolt. We have quoted Mr. Spargo's epigram, that Internationalism implies Nationalism. An apt and conclusive corollary is found in the words of an older and greater authority: "He that is not with Me is against Me." We may well apply that principle to the relations of to-day between American citizens and the American Government and the American Republic. They who are not with that government are against it. They who are not with the Republic against the Hun are against it and therefore with the Hun. There can be no middle ground. There can be no neutrality. And that suggests the one point on which we must dissent from Mr. Benson. Speaking of the Socialist leaders whom he repudiates he says: "What is mistaken as pro-Germanism in these men is non-Americanism." But non-Americanism—in an American citizen—is pro-Germanism. You cannot make anything else of it. He that is not for America, actively, aggressively, positively for her, is against her. And the sooner that fundamental fact is recognized and acted upon, concretely and inexorably, the better it will be for the American Republic.



Mr. Baker



on the Brakes

The Week

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1918.

THE renewed drive which we anticipated last week came promptly, in a particularly malignant form. It was not, however, a war drive directed by Hindenburg or Ludendorff, but a peace drive made by Kuehlmann; the greatest and most characteristically Hunnish performance of the kind yet made in this war. Reduced to the last analysis the German Foreign Minister's harangue amounted to these three points: That the war could not be won on the battlefield but must be ended by negotiation; that in such negotiations there must be "a certain degree of mutual confidence in each other's honesty and chivalry"; and that the net outcome of the negotiations must be the granting of all of Germany's important demands.

Holding in impatient abeyance for the moment the stupendous insolence of the second and the equally great illogicality of the third of these propositions, it is to be observed that the first is of absolutely unprecedented and unique significance. It is a confession that Germany realizes that she cannot win the war by force of arms. Never before has such blasphemy against the All Highest and "Our Good German Sword"—not to mention "our old German Gott"—been uttered. Had anyone of less rank than a Cabinet Minister said such a thing, we should have expected the pains and penalties of sacrilege, lèse majesté and high treason to be speedily visited upon him. As it was, the Kaiser was reported to be wild with rage and the immediate dismissal of Kuehlmann was taken for granted. But William the Damned has not yet gone up in spontaneous combustion, and Kuehlmann is still in office. Wherefore we are inclined to suspect that the speech was made with the Kaiser's full foreknowledge and approval and that all suggestions to the contrary are sheer camouflage.

The motive of the utterance is not yet entirely clear. Apparently it was either the camouflage of a peace drive, or it was a confession of distress. Perhaps it partook of both characters, but was above all else intended to sound the German people. That is to say, it was a warning to them that their supposedly invincible army could not after all secure a decision, and that they must be prepared to have the war end, at best, in a drawn game; which of course was a stepping-stone toward warning them of actual defeat. Once get them reconciled to the idea of "no victory" and it would be easy to lead them on to the acceptance of defeat. The characteristic Hohenzollern strategy lay in this, that if the German nation accepted this warning placidly and supinely, it could be permitted to stand and thus serve its purpose; while if, on the other hand, the people too violently protested and revolted against it, the All Highest could repudiate it and dismiss in disgrace the Minister who made it.

The second proposition we need not here discuss. It speaks for itself. Germany asks Belgium and France to have confidence in the honesty of the Imperial Perjurer who regarded his own Belgian treaty as a "scrap of paper" and who invented, as a pretext for war, the lie that France had invaded Germany. She also asks Great Britain and America to have confidence in the chivalry of those who murdered Edith Cavell, selected schools and hospitals for bombardment, and massacred the women and children on the *Lusitania*. If we exhausted the vocabulary of invective and ob-

jurgation we could say nothing more severe than the simple statement of the fact.

The third proposition must be taken in conjunction with the first. Thus placed they amount to this: Germany is not able to take what she wants by force, therefore her adversaries must voluntarily yield it to her. We should think that even the thickest and stupidest *dummkopf* would know better than to put forward such an absurdity. As William M. Marcy didn't say, To the victors belong the spoils. That is the rule of war. If Germany is unable to get a military decision in her favor, she must expect to get and must be content to get such treatment at the end of the war as may be given to her by those who do get a decision. And the Allies are going to get a decision.

Military operations have not been of sensational importance, yet have been significant and highly gratifying. The Italian defensive along the Piave and in the Trentino mountains has been superbly maintained, and has not been marred by an injudicious attempt to press the advantage too far. Their victory in defense was overwhelming. But it is not always well to transform defense into attack against a foe who, despite his demoralization, is still greatly your superior in numbers and in strategic position. Especially desirable are Fabian tactics—invented by a great Italian of whom General Diaz seems a worthy successor—when time is constantly making for your advantage. The Italian army can be reinforced, strengthened and supplied to far more effect than the Austrian. The arrival of an American contingent, which it is gratifying even now to report, may not greatly increase the numbers of the Italian army, but we feel sure that it will very greatly confirm its fine morale. It will mean much, not to the Italian Government and Generals alone, but still more to every private soldier in the ranks, to see American troops fighting on Italian soil and to realize that there, as well as in France and Flanders, all the Allies are actually engaged against the common foe.

On the western front minor operations have prevailed, but these have been pretty uniformly in favor of the Allies. Some of the largest of them have been conducted by our own troops, who are steadily maintaining and even increasing the good impression which they have from the first produced upon the Allies, and the impression of fear and dismay which they have produced upon the once scornful foe. Teutonic sneers at Yankee "*schweinhunds*" have gone to Limbo with the Kaiser's scorn of "England's contemptible little army." Another drive, probably for the Channel Ports, is hourly anticipated, and is likely to occur—and to be defeated.

It does not escape interested notice that the Pacifist War Secretary's opposition to the extension of the conscription age was promptly followed by an intimation from Washington that the proposal for such extension will "be revived in a new form and under Administration auspices next fall." This, it is explained, is due to the conversion of the President to the belief that the present plan, or the one which his Secretary of War opposed, is not sufficiently comprehensive, but should be based upon the institution of universal military training. But the President and the Secretary of War were both only a little while ago opposed to universal military training. If they are now soundly converted to it, we welcome the fact. But we object to having matters of vital importance delayed until successive conversions can be ef-

fect, and to having essential measures defeated in order that at some future time somebody who now opposes them may take them up and enjoy the credit of their enactment. If age extension will be a good thing "under Administration auspices" next autumn, it would be a good thing under Congressional auspices right now. We are glad to have the Administration catch up with the country, but we want it to do so by speeding itself up, and not by making the country stand still until it overtakes it.

The "work or fight" decree has now gone into effect, and we hope that it will be made effective. But there seems to be some inconsistency in saying that all men up to fifty must "work or fight" and at the same time in refusing to extend the fighting age up even so high as forty-five. Practically we are telling men between thirty and fifty that we do not want them to fight, but that they have got to work. That may be sound policy, though we don't think so; but it certainly is not a "work or fight" alternative.

"Austria Approaching Financial Collapse." Maybe. We hope so. We are inclined to think so. But don't trust to it for victory in the war.

Worthy to be writ in letters of gold are the words of the committee of British workingmen in charge of the Labor and Socialist demonstration which is to be held in London on July 14:

"Let it be known to the Democracy of America that, come what may, even if Paris should fall and the Channel Ports be taken, the people of Great Britain are resolved to support the Allied Nations to the fullest extent of their energy and power."

That means that British workingmen are resolved to fight the war to a victorious finish and to crush Prussianism before there can be so much as consideration of terms of peace; for, the committee adds, "what would follow peace negotiations with the Central Powers victorious can be judged from the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest." In that resolution the people of America stand behind those of Great Britain.

Mr. Burleson of Texas seems to have won for the time his long and persistent campaign against the pneumatic tube system for transmission of letter mails. To his progressive and statesmanlike mind there is absolutely no sense in such swift and convenient transportation when it is possible instead to use motor trucks on already overcrowded streets, consume a lot more of the gasoline of which the supply is already scanty, and incidentally to consume also a lot more time. We really do not see why the change should not enable him to double or even treble the time required for transmission of letters from one part of the city to another. And is not that postman a benefactor of the race who can spend two hours in letter delivery where only one was spent before? However, we shall expect this enterprising reformer not to stop there, but to make further improvements in our metropolitan postal service. There has been much complaint of the reckless manner in which the motor trucks from the post office are speeded through the streets in defiance of the highway laws and in toploftical contempt for the rights and the safety of the general public. We look to see Mr. Burleson correct that noisy, odoriferous and dangerous nuisance. That is easily to be done

by abolishing the motor trucks in favor of the mule team. A train of mule-drawn prairie schooners filing along Broadway, consuming, with occasional halts for objurgation, three hours in transit between the City Hall and Forty-second Street, would be a vision splendid enough to warm the cockles of a Texan heart.

Without the slightest reservation, we believe that the officers whose names have been sent to the Senate for nominations as major and brigadier generals represent the best recommendations that have ever been made. As a class they are so much better than the original list named by Mr. Baker that there can be no comparison. The first list was based on seniority and many of them already have been demoted to their old ranks. The present list represents the results of selection.

Our compliments to Colonel Hodges, who has been nominated for a brigadier at the ripe age of 34. He helped General Carey save the British line when General Gough's army broke before the Huns.

The State Department has indicated to Ambassadors Page and Sharp that it hopes Kerensky will omit the United States from his itinerary. Is it any wonder that he is *persona non grata* here when we realize that he is filled up with first-hand information on Russia? Anyhow, the President has just received complete reports on Russia from George Creel's agents.

Speaking of passing the buck reminds us that we have been reliably informed that Mr. Baker has cabled to General Pershing that General Wood will be given no European command without his approval as indicated by a request. If General Wood goes to Italy it will be because General Pershing suggested him for the command.

While one former Presidential candidate of the Socialists withdraws from that party because of the disloyal attitude of its leaders, another "goes one better" with seditious utterances and gets indicted. There will be a general feeling of satisfaction at the taking of such action in the case of Eugene V. Debs, not at all because he is a Socialist—we should be equally ready to take it against a Democrat or a Republican, a Hardshell Baptist or a Supralapsarian—but just because, if the reports of his utterances are true, he richly deserves it, and because it is a good thing to demonstrate that sedition is just as odious in a man of national prominence as it is in the most obscure. Debs has long been one of the most offensive blatherskites in this long-suffering land, and in his Canton speech he appears to have reached the climax of his un-American career, a climax fittingly capped with an indictment which affords a welcome prospect of our enjoying several years' respite from his pernicious piffle.

The twenty-three hundred Germans interned at Hot Springs, N. C., are said not to have made a single request for the holding of religious services during the year. But why should they? Huns don't worship God, but something which they call their "old German Gott." We have no ministers of that cult to give them.

"Ludendorff calls his own men traitors." He ought to know.

One American Mother

HER name is Mrs. Wyman. She is a widow. She lives at Redlands, California. If you ask how to find her they tell you to go out on the Woodland road "until you come to the little cottage that isn't painted." It is not much of a cottage when you get to it—just a simple little affair with only two rooms on the ground floor. There is an American flag over the door—rather a faded and weather-stained flag, to be sure. But a good, sound, loyal American flag it is that flutters bravely over the doorway to the widow Wyman's little home. There is a war garden all around the cottage. It is small, but it occupies all the available ground there is, and as for being attended to, and cultivated and made the very most of to the last square inch of its surface, why, if all of Uncle Sam's big farms were looked after as well, it would be a billion of dollars or so more in the old man's pocket, that's all.

And on a pane of the window of Mrs. Wyman's "best room" there is a Red Cross emblem. And right there you begin to get close to one of this little American mother's regrets in the matter of giving expression to her loyalty to that faded little flag over the door and all that it represents. You see, Mrs. Wyman has seven sons in the war. Now, if she only had a service flag to show right under that glorious Stars and Stripes over the doorway, there would be seven stars in it. It isn't every American mother who could hang out a service flag with seven stars in it and every star representing a splendid young American son fighting for his country. There are very few American mothers who could do that. Mrs. Wyman would be a mighty proud American mother if she just had that seven-star service flag hung in defiance of all Huns right on the outer walls of that staunch, true-blue little American fortress, "the cottage you come to out on the Woodland road, the one that isn't painted."

But the plain fact is, and there is no use mincing the matter, the widow Wyman cannot afford to buy that flag. She cannot afford a number of things. Not to put too fine a point on it, she really has not quite enough to live on. That is why she has to go out doing such work as she can get—attending other mothers' babies and doing little odds and ends of jobs here and there. Not that she complains of it. Bless you, no! Not she! The true American mother grit snaps out of her normally very gentle eyes when she calls the muster roll of her seven soldier and sailor boys. There is David; he is in the cavalry. There is Victor; he is a lieutenant in the Quartermaster's Corps. There is Charles, also in the Quartermaster's Corps. There is John; he is a sergeant in the Signal Corps. There is James, in the Field Artillery. There is Eugene, in the infantry, and there is Francis, in the Navy and now serving on the *Cincinnati*. There they are, all seven of them, and if the widow Wyman just had a seven-star service flag now to hang out under the Stars and Stripes there at the door it certainly would swell one American mother's heart with pride. For every single one of those boys enlisted, save Charles. They not only enlisted, but their mother told them they had her full consent to go and her blessing for them and their country's cause thrown in. All except Charles. The boys thought Charles ought to stay at home and take care of mother. But the selective draft came and Charles was called out. Of

course he could have claimed exemption and got it. But he didn't want to. And his mother didn't want him to, either. So he went.

But, as we said above, Mrs. Wyman really cannot afford to buy that seven-star service flag. It is this way: When those seven boys went off to the war each one of them made allotments out of his pay to go to the mother. Had these allotments come through all right the little American mother would have been in clover. She would not have had to go out to work, which is a good deal of a hardship, for she is getting on in years, and in addition to that is unable to do really hard remunerative work because she is partially crippled. But all this would have been avoided if those pay allotments had got through. She would not have had to do any work except about the house and in the yard war garden. Moreover, she would not have been obliged to bother so much as she does now over getting money to keep a stream of letters going to all those soldiers, at three cents a letter. If that pay allotment the boys arranged for her had only reached her she would have been all right. No work to do, a wealth of postage stamps. And as to seven-star service flags, she could have had two of the service flags if she had wanted them.

But the pay allotments did not get through. Somehow the problem of getting them through was altogether too big a one for the rotatory mental and physical energies of the swivel-chair forces in their bomb-proof circumlocution trenches there in Washington to master. That is, they have not succeeded in mastering it yet. It is well on towards a year since they tackled the job and they have advanced far enough on it to let twenty dollars a month trickle through to the widow. But that does not support her with these war prices for everything and that steady postage-stamp drain on her resources, for the boys simply have got to have the letters from mother no matter what happens. So she has to hobble around and do what work she can. And as for that seven-star service flag, that is one of the little American mother's castles in Spain she lets herself dream about now and then.

And has she let the boys know that their pay allowances do not get through to her? Not she! She wouldn't let them know it for the world. It would worry them half distracted to know it, and have they not enough out there with all those war hardships and facing death every moment? Not one word of complaint has got through to the boys. They think their mother back home is all comfortable and cosy. As far as that is concerned Mrs. Wyman has not made any complaint to anybody. She fears it might not be quite loyal. Besides, she thinks that it will all come out right somehow. In other words, her faith in swivel-chairdom's revolving processes is still firm. Oh, well, maybe she is right! But really it does seem as though some way might be contrived whereby the splendid, spirited little American mother might amass enough money to buy that seven-star service flag which she does not deny that she longs for. And all these billions of dollars being shovelled out, too!

Following is the inscription which runs across the entire face of the new post-office building in New York:

Neither snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds.

Hush! It is the Politicalmaster General's little joke.

Paradoxes of Russian Policy

WE really seem to be in need of a diagram, with explanatory notes, to make clear the purport of our Russian policy. Various items of it are perfectly plain; but between them there is what to the ordinary mind seems to be an irreconcilable conflict. We are ready and eager to believe that it is all right, that "all are but parts of one stupendous whole." But for the sake of the multitudes who will not accept what they cannot understand we should like to have the harmonious correlation of the parts more lucidly demonstrated.

For example: We are to intervene in Russia, but not with force. We are to give industrial and administrative aid, provided it is accepted, toward the rehabilitation of the country. That is a most benevolent policy, for which we must wish the largest possible measure of success, and of the acceptability of which to Russia there should be no doubt. Yet concerning the application of it two questions arise, which doubtless have been fully and satisfactorily answered by the Administration, but the answers have not, so far as we have perceived, been disclosed to a curious and interested public. One is, to what Governmental authority our overtures are to be presented for sanction and acceptance. The other is, what guarantees we are to have that our aid will not in fact accrue to the advantage of the Germans who now occupy a large part of Russia and apparently control the rest.

So far as the world knows, the Bolsheviks form the only thing that pretends to be an organized government in Russia. Are we to recognize it and accredit rehabilitatory commissions to it? If so, it is difficult to see how we could avoid at least by implication acknowledging its legality and therefore the validity of its acts, including the infamous Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the agreement for the oppression and spoliation of that Poland which we have pledged ourselves to protect. Are we quite prepared to do that? Can we, while we are authorizing the enlistment here of a Polish Legion which is to fight for the independence of Poland, sanction a treaty under which Poland is to be delivered, bound hand and foot, into the hands of Germany? Yet if we do not address ourselves to the Bolshevik Government, to what Government shall we address ourselves? And if we do not send or sanction the sending of military force to Russia, how are we to be assured that as soon as we have done good work there the Germans will not sweep in and reap the benefits?

Again: Let us assume that the Bolsheviks are to be recognized as the Government *de facto*, whether or not *de jure*. We observe that some time ago our Government authorized the recruiting of Jugo-Slav and Czecho-Slav forces in this country; to our mind a most commendable thing. And we also observe that Jugo-Slavs and Czecho-Slavs have invaded Siberia and are there vigorously fighting against the Bolsheviks. Nay, more: In the big army bill provision is made for the recruiting and organization in this country of a Russian Legion, composed of Russians hostile to the Bolsheviks, which Legion may go to Russia and fight against the Bolshevik Government. Indeed, it is apparently expected and intended that it shall do so, since an amendment forbidding it to do so was stricken from the bill. Apparently, then, while we are to recognize the Bolshevik Government and enter into relations with it and confide in it, we are to assist non-Russian Powers to fight against it, and are to incite and

assist Russians themselves to revolt against it. Really, that seems to us so much like "running with the hare and hunting with the hounds" that we confess the need of the diagram aforesaid to prove that it isn't so.

Another interesting complication arises from the prospective intervention of Germany. That Power, we are told, moved by the spectacle of Russian chaos, is about to intervene benevolently for the restoration of order and the rehabilitation of industry and commerce; in brief, for very much the same purposes as ourselves. What, then, are we to do? Shall our relief commissioners go thither to work side by side and in harmony with German commissioners? That would certainly be an interesting state of affairs, quite unique, we should say, in the history of diplomacy. If not, are we going in there to oppose the German work? That would seem an ungracious thing to do; having ourselves so long neglected to do anything for Russia, to try to prevent somebody else from doing anything. Besides, if our commissions are not to be backed up with force of arms, how could they hope to contend with German commissions which were thus backed up?

It is an extraordinary and a most perplexing tangle of affairs, the chief feature of which is, as it seems to us, the object lesson which it presents against the folly of hesitancy and delay, even under the glittering and resounding guise of watchful waiting. Long ago we used to be told, and used to write in our copy-books, that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. We cannot help thinking that it would have been better to provide an ounce of prevention, to keep Russia from falling into chaos, than to wait and apply a pound of cure after she had fallen into that woful state. That, of course, does not mean that we shall not now intervene in any way. Duty neglected must still be done, no matter at how greatly increased a cost. But it does imply a protest against further continuance in the pussyfoot policy which has involved us in such perplexities as those which now confront us in Russia.

Colonel Harvey says: "We have had our own quarrels with England. Some of them were foolish on both sides, some of them were the expression of prejudice, some of them were the unworthy acts of men seeking to inflame passion for selfish reasons." How much further must such sycophancy go? Is Colonel Harvey afraid to say that the Revolution was justified? He cringes to a maudlin sentiment, but there are many historians and public leaders in England itself who do not hesitate to say that the colonies were justified in 1776 and that Washington had done more for the English-speaking peoples than any other man.—*Chatanooga News*.

Oh, we guess the Revolution was all right; quite as fully warranted, in fact, as our friend would declare the subsequent war to retain the Union which it established to have been. We have never cared a hoot about what the "English historians and leaders" thought about it anyway. What "sycophancy" means we frankly do not know; we shall have to look it up.

Canada, we are told, has sent 400,000 men to the war and has 100,000 more in reserve. According to the good old Rule of Three, then, to do as well as Canada has done, the United States should send 5,700,000 men to the war and have 1,400,000 in reserve. Until we have done that we shall have no cause to complain of the burden of conscription. And let us remember that it is just as much our war as it is Canada's.

The Falseness of the Hun

IS there a limit to German lying? The question is asked in all seriousness. The world has hitherto observed and remarked upon the profuse, variegated and gratuitous falsehoods of the German Government, and of the Kaiser himself, concerning the causes and circumstances of the outbreak of the war. There were lies about the designs of Russia, lies about a French invasion of Germany, lies about the duplicity of Belgium, lies about the attitude and course of Great Britain. Of all these falsehoods, Germany is self-convicted. Are they not all written in the confessions of Prince Lichnowsky and other eminent and indisputable German authorities?

As for the later falsehoods, about German prohibition of munitions trade in 1898, about the guns on the *Lusitania*, and what not else, our own diplomatic records teem and reek with their shameless dishonesty.

But still each day seems to bring new confessions, disclosures or recognition of Hohenzollern mendacity. The German press itself has now taken to questioning the Kaiser's veracity, if not actually to imputing wanton falsehood to his charge. It reproaches him with having hidden or at least withheld from the German people at its beginning the real aims and purposes of the war. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* now recognizes that the Kaiser and his military entourage started the war and are still continuing it "for the sole purpose of enforcing German supremacy on the world," and in consequence declares that they gave no hint of that purpose, and made not the slightest allusion to it; and that if they had done so, if the German people had known the truth, there would have been no such unanimous support of the Government in its war-making as there has been under its false pretences.

Again, Dr. Muehlon, a director of the great Krupp corporation and a most competent authority, now testifies that the tales of Russian atrocities during the Russian invasion of East Prussia were all lies. A high official commission was sent thither to secure if possible evidence of such outrages, but failed. It was compelled to return without any proof of outrages but, on the contrary, with reports that the people—the German people—of the invaded regions spoke in terms of praise of the conduct of the Russian soldiers.

Nevertheless the German Government thereupon bruted to the world horrendous fables of Russian atrocities almost rivaling those of the Germans in Belgium and of Germany's allies in Armenia; obviously for the purposes of inflaming the German mind against Russia, of casting discredit upon the Allies, and of palliating the infamies of Germany on the ground that they were no worse than those of Russia.

We are therefore, as we have said, constrained to wonder whether there is a limit to German lying; whether the German Government has really told the truth about one single circumstance of the war; whether the Hohenzollerns and their retainers are in fact capable of being truthful, or are simply fit successors of Frederick the Great Liar, whose three basic principles of international policy were, first, falsehood; second, falsehood; and third, falsehood. The impression that truth is impossible in German diplomacy is only the more confirmed by the cynical declaration of the German Foreign Minister, that one of the essential preliminaries of peace negotiations must be "a certain degree of mutual con-

fidence in each other's honesty and chivalry." In existing circumstances, notorious to the world, that declaration could not have been made by anyone who was not completely lost to both truth and shame.

It is not pleasant to dwell upon this indescribable turpitude of a nation which only a few years ago was commonly regarded as civilized and Christian; and it certainly would be neither profitable nor becoming to a self-respecting nation simply to indulge in abuse, *per se*, of an adversary, no matter how much such treatment might be deserved. But it is necessary to say these things, and to repeat them to a too easily forgetful people, because there is nothing more essential to our national welfare than that this understanding of the German official character, in all its utter mendacity and treachery, shall be kept constantly and vividly in mind by the American people and their Government, in order that they may be always ready to appraise at its real worthlessness any proposal of peace by negotiation which the Hun may make, and in order, too, that they shall resolutely adhere to the only sound principle, that this war can be ended only by the unequivocal victory of the Allies and the complete and crushing defeat of the Power which has sought not only to override the laws of nations but also to abrogate and to annul the moral law of Almighty God.

We cannot believe liars. We cannot trust traitors. We cannot negotiate with tricksters and perjurers. We cannot enter into conventions with treaty-breakers. We cannot make compromises with Huns.

The Germans are a naïve people, despite their cunning. A German general is quoted by the Berlin *Tageblatt* as saying that American military activity was very embarrassing to German military strategy and military writers as it did not coincide with the German programme for influencing opinion at home. We can quite imagine it. Translated into the language of civilization, what this general's statement means is that the German Government, having lied to its people, is now in the "embarrassing" position of having to explain, which is the usual fate of all liars.

A member of the crew of one of the vessels torpedoed off the Jersey coast says a majority of the crew of the submarine were German-Americans, who lived in Jersey City and Brooklyn before the war, the families of some of them still being there. An officer of another vessel says one of the officers of the submarine told him he had lived in the United States, that he was engaged to a Philadelphia girl, and that as soon as the war is over he is going to settle in America. The immigration laws prohibit the entry of murderers or other persons convicted of infamous crimes, and every member of a submarine crew is an actual or potential murderer and should be treated as such. It is none too soon for Congress to enact measures prohibiting German immigration for a specified term after the close of the war, and making it impossible for any man who has served in any capacity on a submarine forever to enter the country.

Germany is afraid we shall send troops to Siberia and deprive the Bolsheviki of their power. We are afraid to send troops to Siberia because of the power of the Bolsheviki. Should there be any further doubt as to our proper course of action?

Colonel Harvey in his latest WAR WEEKLY called attention to the fact that our military experts have taken note of the part played in the recent German attacks by their gas bombing preliminaries. He says the notice is belated. However, a bulletin from the National Chemists' Association tells of good work by several of our laboratories in discovery of new means and methods for manufacture of gas bombs. Here again our future, if nothing happens to it, is bright.—*Rochester Post-Express*.

Perhaps yes, if nothing happens to it; that is to say, if Mr. Baker does not halt the work under a pleasing anticipation that Germany will succumb to the waving of a ruler. Meanwhile, we haven't a single gas shell in France and probably won't have till the enemy develops something more effective. But it is comforting to hear that the chemists are going to it, even though, as we suspect, off their own bat.

In censuring Dr. Scherer for condemning newspapers which he regarded as lacking in loyalty, the Secretary of War said that "Government officials should not be going around the country attacking any publication." Well, the Pacifist Secretary's pet creel may not have been "going around the country" doing so, but he certainly has been squatting in Washington attacking, excoriating and lambasting publications which have ventured at times respectfully to question the eternal impeccability of all Administrative wisdom. But then perhaps he isn't a "Government official," as Dr. Scherer was, but just a creel.

Colonel George Harvey has congratulated Secretary Daniels on being the best head of the Navy Department since the days of W. C. Whitney. It will soon be Secretary Baker's turn for a compliment.—*Los Angeles Times*.

We pay him one now—a big one, too—with the utmost satisfaction. Mr. Baker promised at the beginning of the war to keep politics out of the army, and, barring his outrageous treatment of General Wood, we believe he has kept his word to the letter.

To the eye of Colonel Harvey a pacifist and parlor socialist in the war department may seem as out of place as an angel at a horse race.—*New Orleans Item*.

More so by far; there is no impropriety in angels attending horse races; in point of fact, many hereabouts who fall within the classification of the vicinage are constant visitors and occasional bettors.

"German prisoners said that German commanders had been telling the soldiers that the Germans had landed an army in America, captured New York and were marching toward Philadelphia."

Why not Milwaukee?

Do not miss the exceptional significance of the form of the President's message to General Diaz. He did not say "May I not offer," etc., but squarely and directly "Please accept my warm congratulations." For which let us be grateful.

DEMOCRATS IN GLEE OVER ROSY OUTLOOK—BELIEVE SUCCESS IN SENDING MEN SWIFTLY TO FRANCE WILL WIN ELECTIONS.—*Head-line in Sun*.

Thus making the United States safe for the Democratic party. Politics is—what?

The Firing Squad

I WONDER how long we'll continue to be a health resort for spies

And other industrious gentlemen that the papers criticise! The place for an agent of Kaiser Bill is six feet under the sod—

I want to hear some corporal yell, "*Fall in, the firing squad!*"

Do we get cold feet at the thought of blood? Have we lost our oldtime grit?

If we haven't the guts to kill a man we'd better lie down and quit.

Do you think you can tame these animals by the method of "spare the rod"?

Forget it! Come on with the corporal in command of a firing squad!

If we riddled a few incendiaries the industry would decline; If we plugged a couple of profiteers the rest would stand in line;

And a lot of these devilish anarchists would get in and carry the hod

If a few of their leaders went over the range to the tune of a firing squad.

"Arrested," "interned" or "out on bail"—it's ever the same old song.

And we lay the paper aside to remark, "How long, oh, God, how long!"

We've seen enough devilment this past year to arouse the wrath of God!

Then what is it we are waiting for? *Come on with the firing squad!*

—GEORGE STEUNENBERG, Capt. U. S. A., in *The Army and Navy Journal*.

The WAR WEEKLY begins with this number its second half-year of publication. It was started as a tender to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, but soon outgrew its allotted sphere, was doubled in size, is now sold independently, as well as conjointly, in every State in the Union and has attained a circulation far in excess of our expectations. We think it has realized in some degree its sole aspiration to help to Win the War through demanding for the people the Truth, the Whole Truth and Nothing but the Truth. In any case, it will be continued along the same line without fear of or favor to any living human being. To those who have expressed gracious approval of its course, we return cordial thanks; to those who have voiced equally sincere dissatisfaction, we can only say that it is no part of our ambition to please our readers; to the many who complain constantly of the breakdown of the postal service which delays from two to four days the delivery of the paper we can hold out no hope of betterment, until the exigencies of an adjourned campaign shall require the exclusive attention of the Politicalmaster General.

Letters from Our Readers

WHAT ABOUT COTTON?

SIR,—As a wheat farmer I am perfectly willing, during war times, that the Government should fix the price of my wheat at a figure far below what it would normally bring in an unregulated market, but it seems unjust that another farm product, cotton, is not also included in these price fixing programmes. Millions of bales are required by the Government in the manufacture of explosives, tents, uniforms, surgical dressings, etc., and, on this account alone, the price has soared from 8 cents a pound to 36 cents, and much of the contributions to Liberty Loans is used to pay this 400 per cent increase.

The farmers of this section are unable to understand why such a discrimination is made and will soon be heard from if nothing is done. Eighteen or twenty cents a pound for cotton would about correspond to wheat at \$2.25. My Congressman informs me that it is a question of politics, but I cannot bring myself to believe that in these trying times, and of such urgent economy on the part of every one, that Congress, which is elected to legislate for the good of the *people* of the country, and not for a particular party, would stoop to methods of this kind. The newspapers seem to ignore the question entirely, for fear, no doubt, that it may be considered a criticism of the Administration, but surely, if a wrong is being done, as this appears to be, no one should hesitate to endeavor to correct it.

Please give us a ringing editorial on the subject and urge a cotton-price regulation, that will save millions of dollars of our Nation's war expenditures, and at the same time correct the unfairness that now exists.

CLIFFDALE FARM.

A WHEAT FARMER.

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER

SIR,—I have developed such a keen (and healthy) appetite for THE WAR WEEKLY that I have actually annoyed our news dealer since Sunday over its non-appearance. I had all sorts of visions that your courage might have caused the suppression of your truths, and I was belligerent. Evidently it came by freight, but we are grateful that it is here at last.

When the summer's roamings are over I shall be a regular subscriber. I wish I could send it to 100,000,000 Americans.

WASHINGTON.

A CONSTANT READER.

ROOSEVELT AND LLOYD GEORGE

SIR,—Your "Ford" article in this week's WAR REVIEW is fine—and properly illumines the "adjournment of politics." Why will not your clever pen take some pleasant humor in puncturing that vulgar "hanger on", Marshall, for his outrageously partisan attack on that great American, Roosevelt, at Indianapolis?

NEW YORK CITY.

GEORGE P. BUTLER.

FROM A DADDY

SIR,—God bless you for your WEEKLY, from May 4, then 11, 18, 25. Am now waiting for June 1. I feel as if I had escaped from smothering smoke into the clear outer air. We plain folks can speak "keerful-like," but we haint minded to sign our names, not yit,—not until after the war. But I have thought it would be the hell of a fine advertisement if Burleson would put you in jail, I mean for the LAW that put you there. You ought to give the law a national reputation.

MALONE, N. Y.

Just the plain old
DADDY OF A SOLDIER.

VETOED, APPARENTLY

SIR,—Two recent utterances have heartened me more than anything that has occurred for a long while.

First, the President's assertion that we must use "force to the limit," and, secondly, the Secretary of War's assertion that we must furnish "men without limit." With him I would prefer not to set a maximum limit, but I should like to fix a minimum limit.

We Americans have not begun to do what the French and the British have done. The approximate figures for Great Britain are known. With a population of 45,000,000 they have put about 6,000,000 into the army. France doubtless has done equally well; possibly it may be better. Judged by this standard with our population of 105,000,000, we should put into the field approximately nearly 15,000,000. That to my mind should be the immediate goal and if more are needed, furnish more without limit.

I was deeply interested in your proposal in the May number of THE REVIEW that we should have no political campaign this autumn, but re-elect the men in Congress. Every argument you use appeals to me intensely as correct and true. I hope you will push this matter not only in THE REVIEW but that you will be able to rally to your support other influential magazines and newspapers throughout the country.

PHILADELPHIA.

W. W. KEEN.

WORDS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS

SIR,—May I ask you, as a patriot, if you can not throw a little more of your mighty influence against action or speech which is calculated to wound the racial feelings of our colored Americans and to make them think of themselves as a segregated group, even when they are fighting and dying for the country which is as much theirs as it is ours? I know the colored people pretty well, and I am sure that every kind word and act on the part of white Americans, which has in it the quality of *we* in an *inclusive* sense, does stimulate the patriotic fervor which they are pathetically eager to make useful to the Allied cause. But they are like other folks, and feel their grievances. They constitute about one-tenth of our whole population. It is a serious matter when one American man out of each ten has reason to feel that his country does not give his women and children the protection and chance it gives to other women and children.

The thing that America has professedly undertaken to do in this world is to create a free nation out of diverse peoples and races. By its success or its failure in such endeavor we all must stand or fall. After the East St. Louis massacre, prominent leaders of the colored people admitted to me that their patriotism was just then at a very low ebb, but still they declared both publicly and privately, that the negro must not waver in his allegiance and must be ready to fight when called upon. Our negro leaders are wonderfully wise and magnanimous in their insistence upon loyalty.

I thank you for the heading which was put to my letter touching on this question in the January NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, "Our Soldiers 'Without a Country.'" I wonder if you will consider it a compliment if I tell you that, although temperamentally and in some other respects you are as unlike him as one man can be from another, there still is something in your way of treating life and affairs which reminds me of Wendell Phillips. I knew him personally, and, as a hearer while he lived, and a careful student since his death, I believe that I have come to know his mind and character thoroughly.

You dare to say of living men whatever you think although you know that they will read your condemning words within twenty-four hours. So did he.

You do not hesitate to praise a man for what you approve and to censure or ridicule him the next day for what you disapprove. He did that, and therefore thoughtless critics called him inconsistent.

You do not shrink from using harsh and scornful epithets. Neither did he, though I think you deal out such words more profusely than he did.

You test all men now by their attitude towards this war. In the course of his life, he had several issues at heart, but he tested all men of whom he spoke by their relation to the issue which then seemed paramount to him. He was opposed to capital punishment in ordinary civil life, but I heard him say to a Boston audience, "Butler has hung a rebel. If I were he, I would have it written as my epitaph, that I was the first United States General who had dared to hang a rebel." In 1873, he proclaimed Prussia to have become the "military monstrosity of the Nineteenth Century."

He was decidedly Puritanic in some ways, but in his childhood he had touched the hand of Lafayette, and his heart was always with France. In 1873 he denounced the theft from her of Alsace-Lorraine and said that while Prussia represented brute force, France was the exponent of ideas. And I, his faithful student, know that were he living now, his mind and heart, his genius and his soul would all be given to the purpose of "winning this war" as yours is given.

NEWTONVILLE, MASS.

LILLIE BUFFUM CHACE WYMAN.

OFFICIAL!

From: An Army Captain.

To: Colonel George Harvey, Editor, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

Subject: Picture, last Cover Page, WAR WEEKLY, May 18th.

1. Your attention is called to a palpable error in your picture. It cannot be possible our Secretary of War is so grossly ignorant of military etiquette as to insult the flag by failing to salute or to remove his hat "When the Colors Pass".

2. Your WAR WEEKLY is read by many of us with interest.

WASHINGTON.

ENLIGHTENMENT FOR HIS FRIENDS

SIR,—Wherever and whenever I can, in the course of my travels in the west, I advise people to subscribe for the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and the WAR WEEKLY. You are doing a wonderful work in this war by your criticism of those who rightly deserve it. Keep it up. I should be lost without the WAR WEEKLY. I have it coming to both my eastern and western address. I enclose my check for a subscription for some friends.

BROOKLYN.

RUSSELL T. JOY.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING JULY 13, 1918

NO. 28

Mr. Baker's Celebration

"Whatever he does he sits and twiddles his thumbs and thinks well of it; yes, he is perfectly pleased with his work, and that is the perfectest hell of it."—Rudyard Kipling.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1918.

HOW large an army have we anyhow?

Mr. Baker, in his Fourth of July pronouncement, said it comprised 2,170,400 officers and men.

Simultaneously the courteous French High Commissioner, Captain André Tardieu, declared at a dinner in Paris that it aggregated 2,500,000.

Two days later General Crowder, in an official communication to Chairman Dent, spoke of "the entrainment of nearly 1,600,000 men now serving under the colors," which would be increased to "approximately 2,000,000 on August 1" and "if expected requisitions should be received would approach 3,000,000 by the end of the year."

Meanwhile Acting Quartermaster General Wood appeared before the House Committee on Appropriations and testified grandly that the military strength of the country on January 1, 1919, would be 4,000,000 men.

The bewildered Senate struggled with the problem for several days to no particular purpose, until finally this colloquy took place:

MR. UNDERWOOD. While the Senator is on his feet let me ask him a question. As I stated in the beginning, I am not a member of the committee and I got my information from members of the committee as to the number of men we need. As I understand it, and I hope the Senator will correct me if I am in error, this bill provides for the arming and equipping and the maintenance of an army of 3,000,000?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN. Practically 3,000,000.

MR. UNDERWOOD. That is the limitation on it. Now, I want to ask the Senator this question: When you have in the Army, including those who are in and those whom you are calling for, 3,000,000 men, the number that are required under the terms of this bill, how many will you have left of Class A drafted?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN. I question if we shall have any, unless there be added to class A men who are drafted under the treaties which have been negotiated. In other words, this would practically exhaust Class A.

Whatever the actual size of the army is today or will be on January 1, the outstanding depressing fact is that which we pointed out last week, namely, that at the instigation of Mr. Baker no provision whatever has been made for 1919. Even the *World* quails at that. After weakly defending the Secretary by remarking that "the promise of a new army

programme, to be submitted within the next ninety days (*i. e.*, just before the elections, if then), indicates a definite policy for the guidance of Congress," it says quite spiritedly:

In preparing his plans Secretary Baker cannot overlook the fact that Congress moves slowly and that the selective-service machinery is cumbersome.

If the War Department requires ninety days to prepare its programme and Congress spends five months upon its consideration, it will be next spring before the new class of registrants will be called into the service. That is a long time to wait, in view of the rapid progress the War Department is making in other directions.

What the "rapid progress in other directions" has to do with it we cannot imagine, but we fully endorse the *World's* declaration that Mr. Baker's deliberate postponement of further registration till Spring spells "a long time to wait."

It was a fine thing to hear from Mr. Baker, through his letter to the President, that we had a million men in France on the Fourth of July, and it was still finer to have the statement confirmed by General March. But the extreme care with which Mr. Baker refrained from stating the proportion of soldiers trained for action not only left much to be desired, but revived recollection of the tacit deceit which he has practiced upon the public constantly in issuing similar statements. So, before throwing our hat so high that it might never come down, we awaited further information from a trustworthy source with no little trepidation.

It came on Saturday—from General March, who announced to the correspondents that, at the very moment when Mr. Baker was heralding the dispatch of "more than one million American soldiers," we had exactly 251,000 on the firing line. The remaining 750,000 "American soldiers" comprise doubtless some men in reserve, but consist chiefly of engineers, doctors, workingmen and troops undergoing training. We have been criticized sharply for accusing Mr. Baker of vicious and harmful misrepresentation, but what else, in Heaven's name, is this? And deliberate, too! On June 25, Mr. Baker announced that "between 65 and 70 per cent of the American soldiers sent to France are combat

troops." Afterwards he raised his estimate to between 70 and 75. As a matter of fact, it is between 60 and 65. Taking his two statements together, then, what could and what did the public infer from his Fourth of July pronouncement except that at the very least, 500,000 and probably 700,000 "American soldiers" were engaged in the great battle? And there were precisely 251,000. No wonder the *World*, the guardian angel of the Administration, thoughtfully cut out of its report the figures presented by General March.

The President was gratified, of course, and wrote a handsome letter to his most efficient public servant avowing his belief that the record "must cause universal satisfaction," as in fact it did in the minds of all but those who have learned from experience that Mr. Baker's studied omissions are likely to be more significant than his bland expressions. It is a pity that the President did not think to inquire, first, how many of the million of "American soldiers" were actually engaged and, secondly, how many untrained boys would be drawn inevitably into the vortex if another great drive should demand all the cannon fodder within reach. He would have felt vastly less pleased then, we may be sure, for none appreciates more keenly than he the awful crime of putting raw recruits against highly trained soldiers, as he clearly evidenced in his earnest and eloquent speech on January 27, 1916, when he said:

We must see to it that a sufficient body of citizens is given the kind of training which will make them efficient now if called into the field in case of necessity. It is discreditable to this country, for this is a country full of intelligent men, that we should have exhibited to the world the example we have sometimes exhibited to it, of stupid and brutal waste of force. Think of asking men who can be easily trained to come into the field crude, ignorant, inexperienced and merely furnishing the stuff for camp fever and the bullets of the enemy.

What was an appalling thought then has become an appalling fact now. Otherwise, in this time of greatest need, surely more than one-fourth of our million abroad would be fighting on the line instead of hurriedly training as best they can in French camps.

Consider, too, what it all means to our regulars, marines and trained men who have acquitted themselves so gallantly. Mr. Baker has put upon a quarter of a million the burden of performing the tasks of three or four times their number and of making good, upon that grossly unequal basis, in the eyes of the people, not only of their own country but of France, of England and of Italy. Great jubilation in London and in Paris attended Mr. Baker's smartly cabled boast of "an American army of one million in France, another million in America," and "limitless" as to the future; but contemplate the reaction which is bound to follow the simple announcement of only 251,000 at the front!

"The heart of the country," says the President, "is unquestionably in this war and the people of the United States rejoice to see their forces put faster and faster into the great struggle which is destined to redeem the world."

Good words! Fine words! Even inspiring! Why not resolve them into deeds? Grant that the present has produced infinitely more already than the "wasted" year. It is the future that must be faced, and Mr. Baker is not only putting on the brakes, as he has done from the beginning, but unless prevented will fetch the great machine con-

structed with surpassing skill by General Crowder to a dead stop before the next year begins.

It is not ultimate resource that counts now; it is Time, time! to-day no less than when Mr. Choate was crying from a bleeding heart—

"For God's sake, hurry up!"

We Refuse To Believe It

ONE of the reasons the President is said by the Washington correspondent of the *Sun* to have urged against lowering the draft age below 21 years is that "Germany's military masters would seize upon it as a pretext for telling their people that America was near the end of her man power."

Whatever sound reasons there may be for the Administration's desire to postpone the expansion of the draft ages both up and down, this surely is not one of them. In fact, it is a reason so absurdly childish that we shall take the liberty of not believing that the President advanced it, or even for a moment considered it, until we see the amazing fact in some form of an official statement. If we are to adjust our war preparation work to the limitless capacity of Germany's military masters to tell lies, then we might as well send on our war plans to the Hun General Staff for revision before we go on with them. On the very same day, June 27th, on which this remarkable charge against the President's common sense appeared, there was printed a dispatch from the French front in which a captured Hun officer was quoted as saying that the German commanders, his military superiors, were telling the Hun soldiers that there is a German army in America, that it has captured New York, and that it is now marching on Philadelphia. Prior to this the Hun at home had been fed with yarns about the destruction of New York and a number of our interior cities by aircraft and seacraft bombardment. Furthermore, that between 40 and 50 ships have been sunk in Long Island Sound by German submarines.

Now, this is a gift for lying that almost stirs emotions of reverence. It simply has no limit save the sky. And yet, according to this Washington despatch, the President thinks something proposed should not be done because the Huns might make it a basis of telling things about us that are not so!

We are to adjust our war preparation efforts so that they will afford the Huns nothing on which they can hang lies! In a sort of negative way we are to enter into competition with the countrymen of that effete, left-at-the-stake, back-number, poor old Baron Munchausen! Oh, well, it is a disheartening thing to say, but the world has come to such a pass that nowadays you really cannot believe anything you hear.

Of course, the Hun Secretary of the Department of Mendacity, on the strength of this *Sun* despatch, will now naturally spread broadcast the searching verity that we are bled white, that our man power is exhausted to the vanishing limit, and that the anti-war sentiment is so intense here that President Wilson dare not reduce the draft age lest this awful fact of our collapse become public. So they are bound to get us whether we are standing still, going somewhere or coming home. You cannot beat Hun efficiency when it comes to plain, ornate or circumstantial lying. Nobody can.

The President Betters His Best

NO such Fourth of July address as that of President Wilson at Mount Vernon ever has been or probably ever again will be heard in the country's history. The time, the place, the momentous attendant circumstances, might well have overwhelmed even a veteran and practised orator of less assured poise. The rostrum was the tomb of George Washington. The audience was the entire world, an audience alert to weigh and ponder and minutely measure every lightest word that might fall from the speaker's lips.

And never did an American spokesman for the American people rise more superbly to a great occasion than did the President in that remarkable address. It was the President at the very high-water mark of the best that is in him. It easily surpasses anything that he has done in the past and it makes it hard to believe that even he can surpass it by anything he may do in the future. It simply was a masterpiece so near to being flawless in taste, in style and in virile substance that it would be a graceless and probably a bootless undertaking to attempt to find a flaw in it. To begin with, it was pitched in a tone of grave, serene dignity singularly in harmony not only with the solemn memories, but even with the mere scenic appeals of the quietly impressive landscape surroundings themselves. The very hush and repose of the broad sloping hillside, the graceful winding river and the dim hills in the distance beyond are in the speaker's opening sentences.

"I am happy to draw apart with you to this quiet place of old counsel," began the President, "in order to speak a little of the meaning of this day of our nation's independence. The place seems very still and remote. It is as serene and untouched by the hurry of the world as it was in those great days long ago when General Washington was here and held leisurely conference with the men who were to assist him in the creation of a nation."

Could anything be finer than this? With our own limitations we confess inability to imagine it. Nor would we know where to look for its superior in the records of American patriotic literature. To appreciate it, perhaps, one has but to fancy how easy, and, indeed, how tempting it might have been in a tension so acute, to have struck a more strident note at the outset, and then, by contrast, to feel how harsh and discordant such a note in such surroundings would have been.

But of course graces of diction are no new feature of President Wilson's public utterances. His rhetorical gifts and skill are too well established facts for us to expect anything else in his more carefully prepared public deliverances. What we were anxious about, what all our Allies doubtless were anxious about, was what he would say, and not how he would say it. And in this, too, the President rose up to and even bettered the best we have heretofore had from him. There were no ambiguities, no crannies and crevices in which reserves and uncertainties might lurk. Rising steadily and evenly from the quiet serenity of its opening, the speech reached in the closing periods a firm, strong, resonant pitch as full and deep and grave as an organ peal. And into this impressive strain the President gradually rose as easily and gracefully as he had begun. Referring to the conferences of

Washington with the men who were "associated with him in the creation of a nation," he said:

They were thinking not of themselves and of the material interests which centred in the little groups of landholders and merchants and men of affairs with whom they were accustomed to act, in Virginia and the colonies to the north and south of her, but of a people which wished to be done with classes and special interests and the authority of men whom they had not themselves chosen to rule over them. They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar privilege. They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free and America a place to which men out of every nation might resort who wished to share with them the rights and privileges of free men. We intend what they intended. We here in America believe our participation in this present war to be only the fruitage of what they planted. Our case differs from theirs only in this, that it is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of every nation who shall make not only the liberties of America secure but the liberties of every other people as well. We are happy in the thought that we are permitted to do what they would have done had they been in our place. There must now be settled, once for all, what was settled for America in the great age upon whose inspiration we draw today.

This definition of the issues in contention on the world-wide battle-front was followed by as condensed and accurate a lining up of the opposing forces as has ever been presented. On the one hand the peoples of the world:

Opposed to them, masters of many armies, stand an isolated, friendless group of Governments, who speak no common purpose, but only selfish ambitions of their own, by which none can profit but themselves, and whose peoples are fuel in their hands; Governments which fear their people, and yet are for the time being sovereign lords, making every choice for them and disposing of their lives and fortunes as they will, as well as of the lives and fortunes of every people who fall under their power—Governments clothed with the strange trappings and the primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own. The Past and the Present are in deadly grapple, and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them.

And then, following this, comes that clear, ringing declaration of unalterable purpose to win this war, to win it by victory and not by compromise, to win it fully and unequivocally and by "no half-way decision"—that declaration which we all have been so long wishing to hear unqualifiedly from the President's lips:

"There can be but one issue," he said. "The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No half-way decision would be tolerable. No half-way decision is conceivable."

And then follows his formal presentation of the four ends "for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting, and which must be conceded them before there can be peace." The concession of these ends means Hun defeat, utter, unqualified and self-confessed.

Altogether one of the most impressive utterances that ever fell from the lips or pen of an American statesman; a document which we believe future generations will rank as among the most finished and momentous in our history. And yet, strangely enough, it has attracted really less attention both here and abroad than have several other of President Wilson's addresses, which, to our thinking, were far less satisfactory just as they were far less firm and less unqualified in tone and suggestion. Why this remarkable address should have been received so almost stolidly would be hard to fathom. Perhaps the uproar of the day itself, combined with the dashing little victory of our men at the front, may have blanketed it. But it is only a temporary obscuration. As long as generations to come read the history of our share in the great world war, just so long will that 1918 Fourth of July address of President Wilson at Washington's tomb be read and admired as a documentary monument in our history.

An Impenetrable Mystery

IF the taking over by the Government of all the great systems of telegraphic and telephonic communication is an immediate war necessity there is nothing to be said. Everything must yield to the one supreme purpose of winning the war. That of course is granted by everybody, and, so far as we can learn, by nobody more cheerfully granted than by those now in control of the telegraph and telephone lines.

There has been no definite complaint by the Government as to either the promptness or the secrecy of the wire service. Secretary Daniels, to be sure, did talk in his testimony before the Commerce Committee of the desirability of insuring privacy of wire communications, especially during the presence of submarines on our coast. But he made no specific charge of news leakage, still less of any inefficiency of wire service. Secretary Baker informed the Committee and the country that "it goes without saying that the President ought to have authority to take over these lines." But even the exuberant and unrestrained imaginative powers of the Secretary of War did not enable him to get beyond this generality. He had no complaints to make. He specified no instance of work in the War Department having been hampered by defective wire service or of War Department secrets having been revealed by telegraphic or telephonic carelessness that the companies could have guarded against. Mr. Burleson injected a little humor into the discussion by expressing a desire to put the telegraph and telephone service in the same class of efficiency with the mail service under his administration of the Post Office Department. From which may the Lord in his infinite mercy deliver us! Our present telephone service is admittedly the best in the world. Our mail service under Mr. Burleson has become the worst mail service the country has ever known in all its history. Perhaps some jungle countries, in proportion to their population and inter-communication equipment, may have a viler mail service than that with which Burlesonian sagacity has saddled these United States. But if there is such a country we have never heard of it or read of it, and we have not the remotest belief that it exists. As the Director General of Telegraphs and Telephones, naturally Mr. Burleson would be ambitious to reduce the wire service to the same level of inefficiency as the mail service. Besides, he has been from the start and is now an advocate of the Socialistic doctrine of Government Ownership. So is the gifted Baker. So, in a modified degree, is Mr. Daniels.

Why this mad haste to rush through Congress the legislation necessary to seizure of the lines by the President? The Western Union Company was threatened with a strike by a labor union with which the Company's employees have a wholly negligible affiliation. Thousands of Western Union operators have joined in communications to the President and to Congress in which they set forth in the strongest possible terms their entire disassociation with the labor union threatening the strike, their entire satisfaction with the conditions of their employment, and their intention to heed no strike call the outsiders of the aggressive union might call. In other words, the union which raised all this disturbance and tried to create an impression, utterly unwarranted by the facts, that the war work of the country was in danger of a far-reaching paralysis of telegraphic communication—this particular labor union was seriously threatened with a "show down," were the strike called, which would only demon-

strate its own impotence and its own rather more than questionable loyalty.

There was one way and apparently only one way by which this misfortune to the labor union leaders could be averted. If the Government could be dragooned into seizure of the telegraphic lines at the moment of the impending crisis, the face of the union in question would be saved. But, to do that, action by the Government must be immediate. There, at least, we have one explanation of that headlong haste in pressing the seizure measure, a haste which prevented a five or six weeks recess of Congress after both houses had mutually agreed to take the little midsummer vacation.

And again arises the question, why? What is the break-neck hurry? Is it to save the face of a labor union disturber of the peace? That seems unthinkable. Yet it is absolutely the only tangible reason that is in sight or that is understandable. If these were ordinary times, if politics were not definitely adjourned, the country in the face of such a situation as that would ring with accusations of demagogue appeal to the labor union vote in the now nearby elections. But that, of course, is impossible. There have been exhibited recently, it is true, some indications of what seemed to be a petty spite on the part of the Government towards the Western Union. Mr. Burleson's masterly coup in arresting telegraph messengers delivering messages beyond the bailiwick of origin is a case in point. That he should resent this as a reflection on his canal boat mail service is perhaps natural enough. But that the President should lend himself to persecution so petty is beyond belief. But what is the reason? Eliminating explanations that are as unthinkable as they are discreditable, the whole affair is enveloped in an atmosphere of mystery that defies penetration.

A man in the little town of Katonah, N. Y., has started a weekly paper which contains only editorial matter, and while this does not equal in quantity what is offered daily on an ordinary editorial page, though of course it may be much more brilliant in quality than the daily average, it sells for 5 cents a copy and seems to be in demand. Colonel George Harvey, too, gets out a weekly paper—a paper that pleases or enrages the reader according to his politics or attitude toward certain public matters. The one thing all these ventures prove is that a man must have a power of wit and satire like Harvey, a cynical common sense like Howe, or a flow of reckless pleasantries like Hubbard, or some similar gift of originality, all supplemented by a measure of sound opinions, before he can hold the reading public with his own views.—*Indianapolis Star*.

Getting the public ear, in one of the instances noted, has not been difficult; holding it is, of course, quite another matter. We have slight concern anyway because the more papers we sell, the more we lose.

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Divided Control of the Railroads

SOME highly interesting and significant considerations are suggested by the action of the Administration in renouncing a large measure of railroad control. It is announced that only 553 "short lines" have been retained by the Railroad Administration, while considerably more than twice as many have been or are to be restored to the control of their private owners. We shall therefore have, as they have in some other countries, two distinct systems or kinds of railroads, the government managed and the privately managed; though of course there can be no competition or rivalry between them. The Government sees to that.

This division of the roads into two classes obviously creates a very delicate situation, which may give rise to serious embarrassment. Most of these short lines connect in some way with the trunk lines, and are dependent for profitable operation upon that relationship. How will that relationship now be affected, with the one party to it a private corporation and the other the Government of the United States? Will the short lines be able to make and to maintain the arrangements for exchange of traffic and what not which have been essential to their prosperity and to the convenience of the public?

On the Government lines, wages and hours are determined by the Government. Are the private lines expected to adhere to the same schedule? There will doubtless be great dissatisfaction if they do not. Yet it may be very difficult for them to do it in the absence of the financial support which the Government gives to the lines which it has retained.

Not the least important consideration, and one which is to be regarded with much satisfaction, is this, that in taking this action the Government has made it clear that its taking control of any of the roads is a matter of war time expediency, and is in no sense the adoption of a permanent principle. It is taking control of just those roads which the circumstances and exigencies of the war make it necessary or desirable for it to take, and is leaving all the rest to the old system of private control. Therefore it must logically restore to private control those which it has taken over, just as soon as the circumstances and exigencies of the war cease to require it to hold them.

It will be well to keep this in mind, and to reaffirm it at frequent intervals, so that the American people will form the habit of looking upon Government control of railroads as nothing more than a temporary war measure.

We have never questioned the general business ability of Mr. Edward N. Hurley; the only doubt in our mind from the beginning has related to his capacity to produce ships, and this doubt has been accentuated from time to time by his falling under the spell of the fatuous optimism which has possessed Washington. Mr. Hurley began by predicting an output of 10,000,000 tons during 1918, then he reduced his prophecy to 8,000,000 and later to 6,000,000. "Our own judgment," we remarked in this WEEKLY as long ago as January 12, to the righteous indignation of obsessed journals, "is that an estimate of a possible 3,000,000 tons is nearer correct than any other." And now, speaking at South Bend this week, Mr. Hurley accepts those very figures, adding merely that Mr. Schwab "believes 3,000,000 tons can

be exceeded" and that he "agrees with him." So do we, now that Mr. Schwab has come into the producing game and been given a free hand. The splendid feat of launching nearly one hundred ships on the Fourth certainly promises well, but not the least of the many encouraging symptoms is that Mr. Hurley has come down from the clouds to brass tacks.

The Day: Le Jour: Der Tag

AFTER the Fourth, the Fourteenth. After Independence Day, Bastille Day. And as the former has had this year such a commemoration as it never had before, and such as not even old John Adams in his enthusiasm for it ever dreamed that it would have, so let the latter have at least among us a celebration incomparably surpassing all former recognitions of the day.

The Fourteenth of July may not have as world-wide a celebration as the Fourth; for obvious reasons. The event which it commemorates was primarily national, while ours was international. The fall of the Bastille meant much to France but comparatively little to the rest of the world, while our Declaration of Independence was fraught with epochal significance to all nations. This is to be said not invidiously nor egotistically, but as a matter of historic truth.

Last week's widespread foreign recognition of the Fourth of July was phenomenal, but it was entirely natural, as the greatest phenomena are. For our Revolution was the pioneer. Its anniversary was this year fittingly celebrated in England, because it inspired and in fact compelled that country to put its German King into his proper place and to eliminate the last traces of Germanism from its government and its constitution. It was as truly a struggle of the better mind and soul of England against pig-headed German despotism at Westminster, as it was of the American colonists against German mercenaries at Trenton and Saratoga.

It was fittingly celebrated in France, because it gave that country inspiration for her own Revolution. It was Independence Day that made Bastille Day possible. It was well that it was celebrated in Italy, in memory of Garibaldi's intimate association with this country and of the intense sympathy with which Italy's national renaissance has always been regarded in America. That Uruguay and other Latin American states should celebrate it was eminently fitting, because Miranda was an officer of our Revolutionary army and gained here the inspiration which made him the pioneer of South American independence, and because it was our Revolution which made possible nearly half a century later that Monroe Doctrine which made the fruits of the Latin American revolutions secure.

Yet we confess that we like to think that last week's unprecedented demonstrations were chiefly inspired by appreciation of America's participation in the World War, and by recognition of the fact that we and all our allies are now fighting for the same fundamental principles for which we fought in the Revolution.

Now there are historical and logical reasons for our abundant celebration of the Fourteenth of July. If, as we have said, it is a consequence of the Fourth, and if the French Revolution was prompted and made possible by our own, why, the mother must love her child, and the cause must have regard for the effect.

Yet we confess that we are most inclined to recognize Bastille Day as a time of rejoicing and of splendor because of what France means to us and to the world to-day, and of what she has meant to the world and to us for these last four years. For, above all, it has been France's war waged by her for the sake of the world. No words can exaggerate the heroism and sacrifice of Belgium, but Belgium was unable to stop the Hunnish drive, as France did at the immortal Marne. Great Britain has done magnificently, and her fleet shares with the French army the honor and everlasting glory of having kept the world safe for democracy, but after all the war has not been waged on her soil. And high credit is ungrudgingly due to all the other gallant Allies.

But it is on the soil of France that the war has chiefly been waged. So, for the sake of the France of today, the suffering France, the patient and long-enduring France, the steadfast and resolute France, the victorious France as she shall be and as indeed she already is, for her sake we shall celebrate Bastille Day with all possible splendor and rejoicing, and we shall hope that every land to the uttermost ends of the earth that appreciates what France has done and is doing for the world will also celebrate that Day no less sincerely and sympathetically than we have celebrated our own natal anniversary.

And if any God-forsaken Boches are still beerily hocking "Der Tag," we trust that they will observe that we Allies have a Day, and more than one day, of transcendent significance; a Day on which we are all united as never before; a Day whose spirit breathes defeat, disaster and destruction to the damnable designs of the Hohenzollern Huns. "The Day" against "Der Tag"—we are ready to pledge it and to stake it, every time.

Mr. Ford evidently does not measure up to the scratch for Senatorial timber, in the eyes of Colonel George Harvey. In the last issue of his WAR WEEKLY, Colonel Harvey shoots with his verbal machine gun at the rate of several hundred bullets per moment. If there is anything left for him to say, in order to make it sure that Mr. Ford does not reach the Senate, we do not know what it is.—*Washington Herald*.

St. Luke xxi, 19.

"At Last!" or "Too Late!" in Russia?

AT last our hand seems to be forced in Russia. Will it be too late? Sometimes the two are identical, and sometimes not. If in this case they are not, we shall have cause to thank the Providence which cares for babes and watchful waiters. We have done our utmost to make it too late. But strenuous events have broken rudely in upon our Nirvana-like repose, and in a day or two there may be some action.

This is what has happened, threefold. First, the Czechoslovaks who were prisoners of war in Siberia have risen, armed and organized themselves, and seized the whole country from Vladivostok to Irkutsk, to the great joy of loyal and intelligent Russians and to the equally great disgust and dismay of the Bolsheviki, who are not the kind of Russians we have just mentioned. The Bolsheviki have been fighting them, but seem to have got the worse of it. A few American marines and other Allied troops have been landed for police

duty at Vladivostok, and have been warmly welcomed by the Russians, who want to know why they didn't land before and in far greater force; thus knocking into the proverbial cocked hat the fearsome bogie that Allied intervention would incense the Russians and drive them into the arms of the Huns.

Next, the Russians of the Kola Peninsula object to being made the prey of a Hunnish-Finnish combination, and have consequently revolted against Bolshevism and all its works, and are welcoming and cooperating with Allied intervention for the protection of the Murman ports and coast; thus again disposing of the aforesaid bogie.

Finally, Count Mirbach has been killed at Moscow. He was the German Ambassador to the Bolshevik Government. Just how and why he was assassinated we are not fully informed; whether by the Bolsheviki, or the anti-Bolsheviki, or even by some Hunnish provocative agent, is not disclosed. But like the killing of some Germans in China years ago, or like the killing of the Austrian heir-presumptive by an Austrian subject, the incident will presumably be seized upon as a pretext for extensive Hunnish action, such as the military occupation of Moscow, or the German policing of all Russia.

In the face of these things, "watchful waiting" becomes a farce, if indeed it was ever anything else; and the United States is expected presently to acquiesce in the policy which all the other Allied Powers have long been urging and which every Russian whose opinion is worth considering has favored and advised. It should have been obvious long ago that to give Russia financial and economic aid but no military or political aid, would be an egregious case of putting the cart before the horse. There is no doubt that she needs the former. But there is also no doubt that to give it to her, or to try to give it to her, in her present political and military state of chaos would be something worse than the proverbial pouring of money into a rat-hole. It would be worse because such aid would not merely be of no service to the Russians but would be of much profit to the Huns.

The first thing to be done in this war, in Russia, in Belgium, or anywhere else, is to win the war by smashing the Huns to smithereens. Until that is done, all efforts at industrial or social rehabilitation would be vain. What is needed, urgently and supremely, is to get Russia back into the war, so that she can drive out the looting and ravishing Huns and again be sovereign in her own domain. If now our Government, after all its weary watchful waiting for something to turn up, shall see this patent fact and shall act upon it with promptness and vigor, there will be cause for profound thanksgiving.

It is already too late to avoid heavy cost, and to avoid the inevitable penalty of hesitation and delay. But it may not be too late to prove that our "standing by Russia" did not mean a passive standing by and a consenting to her death.

We appreciate the kindness of our correspondent who compliments us on having dubbed the Kaiser "William the Damned" in a recent editorial on this page; but credit for having originated the phrase should be given, we believe, to Colonel George Harvey. It's a good one.—*Philadelphia Public Ledger*.

All wrong; the Kaiser did it himself. Colonel Harvey only stated a fact which the Kaiser had made evident to all the world, but Colonel Harvey deserves credit for expressing the fact.—*Manufacturer's Record*.

And yet A. Jackson's "eternally damned" suits us better.

Haste and a Hash

THE Perils of Price Fixing" might very well be the title of the Federal Trade Commission's sensational report on profiteering, with "The High Cost of Headlong Haste" as a sub-title. If ever there was a topic that should have been approached with cautious deliberation this price-fixing problem surely was that topic. If ever there was a problem in the solution of which the very best we have of sound business judgment and expert ability in all the branches of industry involved should have been applied as an imperative condition precedent to action, this was precisely that sort of a problem. Without that deliberation, without the application of that sound business judgment and expert experience, the result inevitably must be precisely such confusion, such defeat of the very aims sought, which the Commission's report indicates.

We are not disposed to criticize anybody for the hash the "stabilizers" seem to have made of it. Of course their efforts have shovelled profits beyond the dreams of avarice upon the heads of willing enough recipients. To be sure, the Government and that poor forlorn creature, "the consumer," have been skinned to make a Profiteer's holiday. The arsenals of those Bolsheviks and the plain demagogues who have been yawping about making "accumulated wealth" pay the cost of the war have been filled with ammunition. Senator Reed has had another sharp relapse of anti-Hooveritis. The floodgates of Congressional discussion are let loose. Still, it seems hardly fair to blame anybody. The intention was laudable. The only thing sought was to protect the Government and to protect the public from extortion. The fact remains that the extortion was in many cases promoted instead of suppressed or restricted, but it is only another penalty we have had to pay for going at things headlong. It is only another of the war work mistakes of which we were bound to have a plentiful crop in the process of shaking down our military and industrial machinery and adapting it to the new and colossal job confronting us at home and abroad.

But what a pity it is we could not have given a little more time and study to so intricate a subject! What a pity it is we did not look about for those whose training and antecedents were presumptive evidence that they were equal to the task instead of letting it go into the hands of those whose equipment was either problematical or presumably inadequate! As to time, there was no great rush demanded. We could safely have let the old supply-and-demand rule hold for a while, with the contingent hopeful probability that all Americans were not contemptible enough to take advantage of their country's emergencies. Had we given a free rein to those industrial concerns now accused by the Commission of making all but criminal profits, surely they would not have done much worse than the record shows them to have done under the price-stabilizing regulations imposed upon them. If Morris & Company, meat packers, piled up profits to the tune of 263.7 per cent, as the Commission asserts, and as Morris & Company deny, they would hardly have gone beyond that tidy figure even with a free hand. Before the learned educationalist, Dr. Garfield, stabilized coal prices the bituminous coal producers were making 10 or 15 cents a ton on their coal, and not doing much complaining at that. After taking a searching dose of Good Young Dr. Garfield's Coal Price Stabilizer they made 52 cents a ton; indeed, one company made \$1.85 a ton. Incidentally we were

shivering over oil stoves and enjoying the luxury of coalless days at the time, but that is an irrelevant detail. Surely the old-fashioned catch-as-catch-can, unstabilized coal prices could hardly have caught us going and coming with a much harder jolt than that. But the coal producers were satisfied, eminently so, and that, of course, is more or less consoling.

On the whole a pretty bungling, fumbling job, that price-fixing effort, just as it was bound to be after being launched rather too much on the act-first-think-afterwards plan. Undoubtedly much of the porcine profit-grabbing was done by plain swine, irrespective of price regulating defects. The report includes some of the processes—account juggling, cost-padding, salary-ballooning and what not. It was done by evasions of the law, in other words. But the possibilities of such evasions were always there, of course, only they seem not to have been met by restrictive provisions which hardly required superhuman powers of foresight to provide. On the other hand the fixed prices themselves offered opportunities, as in the case of low-cost-production coal, for profits little less than scoundrelly under existing conditions.

Immature, ill-digested, insufficiently studied regulation of intricately complex economic forces has produced the complex hash—that seems to be about what it all comes to. But it is part of our war education. We shall know better next time—maybe.

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE SPEAKER. The Chair has a communication here from the Secretary of State. He does not know what to do with it, except to lay it before the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, July 1, 1918.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Gordon Auchincloss informs me that by some clerical error in the department, over which he had no control, his name was not submitted in the list of persons in the service of the Department of State who were, on June 5, 1917, between the ages of 21 and 31, for whom requests for exemption from military duty or deferred classification have been asked by the department, which was forwarded to Congress through the President on June 13.

Inasmuch as the President's communication above mentioned was not referred to a committee but was merely published in the *Record*, I am doubtful as to what steps I should take to correct the error so that the name of Mr. Auchincloss may be included among those for whom the department has asked deferred classification.

I am, my dear Mr. Speaker,
Sincerely yours,

ROBERT LANSING.

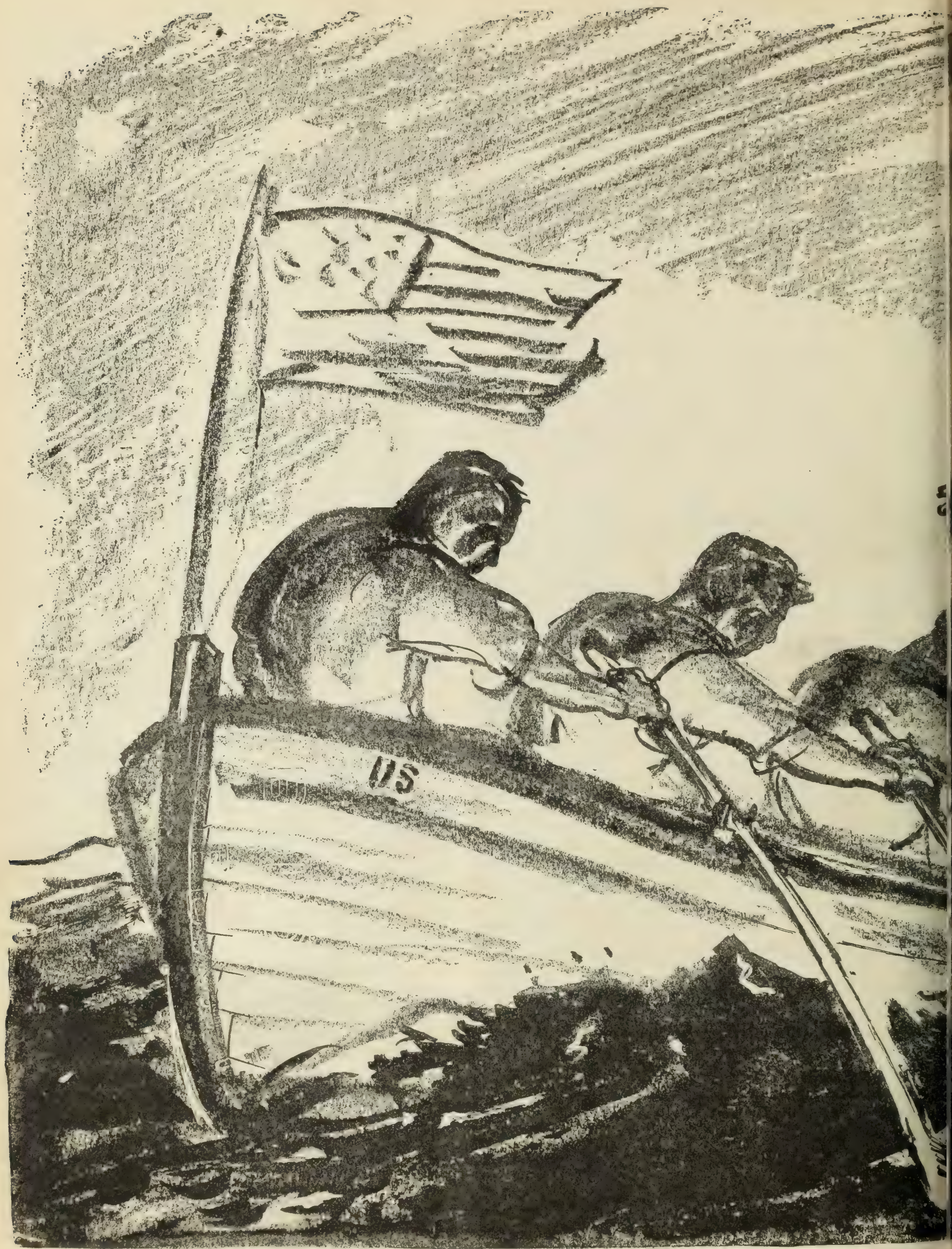
The HON. CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

THE SPEAKER. Ordered printed in the *Record* and to lie on the table with these other communications of the same kind. It is simply supplementary to the others.

But what an extraordinary, almost inexplicable, oversight! Why, Mr. Gordon Auchincloss is,—but, of course, everybody knows who Mr. Gordon Auchincloss is, even though the Secretary of State does avail himself of the opportunity to indicate most delicately that he is not in full control of the Department over which he himself presides so handsomely.

Americans who have recently returned from Russia are authority for the statement that the average Russian whom one meets in a day's travel took literally the recent declaration of President Wilson that the United States would stand by Russia as well as France.—*Washington dispatch to the "World."*

What is there surprising in that?



Time and Schwab



Wait for No Pacifist

The Week

WASHINGTON, *July 11, 1918.*

CONGRESS did not adjourn at the time intended. Neither did politics, despite the Presidential dictum. Both entered upon the week, full blast. Secretary Brake could put the baker upon war preparations, but nothing could abate the zeal of members of two of the three co-ordinate branches of government for playing politics. The President wanted the telegraph and telephone systems turned over to him for his Politicalmaster-General to Burlesonize, right away quick, to get in ahead of a threatened strike. The threatening strikers with patriotic condescension agreed to stay their hand until Congress could thus transfer the wire lines to the Administration. The House of Representatives acted, slap-bang! with a practically unanimous vote. But the Senate is a deliberative body; also deliberate. The President sent word that he would like the wire legislation enacted at the earliest possible moment, though he did not insist upon its being done at once. Naturally, Congress being at least supposedly a co-ordinate branch of government, something must be left to its discretion; especially to that of the deliberative chamber.

Then was evolved the interesting theory that the quickest way to do things was not to do them. That is to say, the quickest way to enact the bill was for Congress to adjourn and let enactment wait until it reassembled. This did not instantly convince the President's logical mind, but, with his usual courteous deference to the prerogatives of the co-ordinate branch, he did not arbitrarily demur. He did not give complete approval of the adjournment plan, but said that he had no objection to it if, in the opinion of the Senate, it would expedite the desired enactment. At that, with a rosy vision of fence-fixing before them, the Senators voted, though by the narrowest of margins, to go home for five weeks, leaving the wire bill in committee. Then it was that the Secretary of Labor got busy with the threatening strikers and secured an indefinite postponement of the strike. Everything was lovely, and the goose honked at the very zenith of the empyrean.

Alas, for the vanity of human wishes! The House of Representatives, not being a deliberative nor a deliberate body, interpreted the Presidential attitude, desire, and purpose quite antithetically from the Senate, and declined to concur in the action for adjournment. That ended the scheme, and required the Senate to remain on the job; even at the cost of delaying action through failure to postpone it. All right, then, said the most potent, grave, and reverend Senators: If the thing must be done, let's do it. So a small minority of the committee which had the bill in charge,—seven out of seventeen,—by a bare majority vote of that minority,—four to three,—decided not to be deliberative or deliberate, but to report the bill out to the Senate without any investigation, hearings or other consideration.

That started things. It seemed as if, in the words of Hosea Biglow, "the eternal bung wuz loose." Senators raged against the "high-handed iniquity" which "outraged and violated every decent rule of procedure . . . at the first rumblings from the White House." The upshot was that the Senate refused to accept the report which had been pressed upon it by four men out of seventeen, and told the committee to get at least a majority of its seventeen members together and deliberate deliberately; under penalty of having

the measure withdrawn from its consideration altogether and referred instead to some other; perhaps the Committee on Odds and Ends.

Meantime, the war—to help us win which this legislation was so urgently and imperatively demanded—kept right on without so much as a suggestion of recess.

Concurrently with this Matchless Melodrama of Mud-dling over the wire bill,—we would not say, wire-pulling, which might be unparliamentary,—the Prohibitionist Propagandists got busy some more. The Agricultural Committee of the Senate reported in favor of refusing to grant eleven millions as an emergency appropriation for the promotion of agricultural production, unless it should be made a penal offense for a housewife to make currant or elderberry wine for her family to drink. Of course, all are agreed that there is imperative need of increasing the yield of our farms. We have to eat bread made of oatmeal and potatoes and what not else, for lack of wheat. At that we do not grumble and shall not grumble, even though sawdust be added to the compound, so long as it is necessary to the most effective prosecution of the war. Nor should we demur for a moment at the appropriation of eleven millions, or eleven times eleven millions, for the promotion of agriculture, even though it caused some further increase of the income tax which our next-door neighbor pays. But what are all these things, and what is victory in the great war itself, compared with the supreme and transcendent necessity of stopping this mad production of currant juice and elderberry wine?

Note that the amendment, upon which our Prohibitionist Patriots stand ready to stake the prospects of victory in the war, provides literally that "no fruit shall be used in the manufacture or production of wine for beverage purposes;" and "any person who violates any of the foregoing provisions shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both." Wherefore, if this enactment is made, we warn the thrifty housewife to let the seductive currants moulder on the bush and the convivial elderberries decay along the hedgerow, lest in transforming them into simple and pleasing "vinous liquors for beverage purposes" she find herself confronted by a year in quod.

Josephus manfully declares that this war shall be won if it takes every man up to sixty years; while Newton perkily pipes: "Not even to forty-five if I can help it." As for us, we say, Good old Josephus!

Philip Scheidemann, the German Socialist leader, demands "peace with honor." That means, then, that it is not to be a German peace.

Expectancy prevails upon both the Western and the Italian fronts, with what seem like pretty plain symptoms of further Hunnish drives. We have hitherto pointed out what may be regarded as a military and political necessity of renewed attempts to break the Allied lines. To refrain from such attempts would be to accept repulse, and that would be much like confessing defeat. That would not be a good platform on which to go to the people this Fall for another war loan. At the same time, while no great drive is

undertaken by the Allies, there is incessant activity with almost daily gains; a policy well calculated to prevent the Huns from concentrating their forces on any particular point, for fear of an Allied drive elsewhere. It is against a quiet and inactive army that an offensive has the best chance of success, and the Allies are now anything but quiet.

And now the Lord Harry purposes to put every home in the land on coal rations, and to say "The micro-thermopile and calorimeter indicate that eleven tons, three hundred and eighty-seven pounds and four and a half ounces of coal will with proper stoking keep your house at a temperature of 68 Fahrenheit, wherefore that is all you shall have instead of the twelve tons which you wickedly and profligately requested." We have often wondered what would happen if he devoted one half of the zeal to increasing production which he seems to be giving to reducing consumption.

The Huns declare that the statement that one of their submarines sunk the hospital ship *Llandovery Castle* is "probably incorrect." Their disclaimer is probably a deliberate lie, like their charge that the *Lusitania* was armed with cannon, which they afterward had to admit was a premeditated perjury. They have now sunk ten hospital ships, and there is little reason to doubt that in a majority of the cases they did so knowingly, deliberately, and under orders from the All Highest.

We are unable to avoid wondering if there was any connection of cause and effect between the dinner which Sultan Mohammed gave on May 20 to the Austrian Emperor and Empress, and his not altogether untimely death. As we remember it, on that occasion Mohammed addressed Karl as "the ruler of the great monarchy to which we have been bound constantly for centuries by ties of sincere cordiality," and Karl replied with a reference to "the alliance that happily exists between Turkey and Austria-Hungary, that corresponds to very ancient traditions." Shades of Hunyadi Janos and John Sobieski! If the utterance of and the hearing of such things were not enough to make Mohammed intone his *nunc dimittis*, he should have been immortal.

We are told that fifty millions in Russia are in imminent danger of famine. That is a most distressing state of affairs. Of course, it is directly to be charged against the Bolsheviks, who in their monstrous treachery not only demoralized the industries of the country but surrendered its resources to the Huns. Now the Huns have stolen all the food supplies they could lay their hands upon and have left the Russians to starve. And, of course, if we send supplies thither to feed the hungry, there is nothing to prevent them from being stolen also by the Huns. The choice is, therefore, between feeding our enemies or leaving their victims to starve. In the last analysis, it will be difficult to avoid placing some responsibility for this upon our policy of watchful waiting—euphemism for indecision and delay. It was long ago obvious, at least to our Allies, that Russia was urgently in need of economic aid; and it was equally obvious that such aid should be given only in conjunction with such measures of military rehabilitation as would assure its not being diverted to the assistance and comfort of the Huns. It was therefore

urged that America should take the initiative in, or at least give its assent to and participate in, the sending thither of an international force which should serve as the nucleus of a restored Russian army, capable at least of protecting the country from further spoliation if not of taking once more the aggressive against the foe. Now, after weeks of costly delay, with matters brought to a most distressing crisis, it is intimated that something of that sort may be done.

Amid a number of Presidential dispatches acknowledging Fourth of July greetings, we observe just one single, lone and solitary "May I not?" Wherefore let us thank God and take courage.

It used to be said of office-holders that "few die and none resign." But the United States Army contains at least one distinguished officer who declines promotion; though it might be difficult to find many who were so deserving of it.

That is a highly interesting statement of Mr. Kerensky's, that the Constituent Assembly of Russia, which the Bolshevik bandits forcibly dispersed, reassembled secretly in May and adopted a formal protest against the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and a declaration that Russia is still at war with Germany. We do not recall that the Assembly ever adjourned sine die, or acquiesced in its own dissolution by Lenine and Trotzky. If it did not do so, it is constructively and legally still in existence, and might be recognized as the real government of Russia; having been formed by the free suffrages of the entire Russian people. In that case, its action as reported by Mr. Kerensky may be worthy of serious recognition.

General Pershing reports that the Huns are showing increasing nervousness; a symptom which our soldiers will doubtless continue to promote. It does not distinctly appear whether this is a new development of the Boches, due to their realization that the tide of war is turning against them, or is something that has existed all along whenever the attack upon them got pretty warm. In either case it is indicative of the inferior morale of the German army. That army is a magnificent machine, but it is a machine and nothing more, and so, whenever it "slips a cog" there is trouble. The parts of a mere machine suffer a fatal lack of individuality and capacity for initiative. The Allied armies may be less perfect machines, but we have no recollection of their suffering from nervousness.

Following the Presidential injection of Henry the Pacifist into the Senatorial campaign in Michigan comes the report that New York Democratic leaders are being hard pressed by the Administration to get behind Representative Lunn, formerly known as the "Socialist Mayor" of Schenectady, for Governor. Which reminds us of the observation of a former President of Princeton University, who became President of the United States, that the Presidential Chair was originally not only the real throne of authority but also the "frequent source of politics." But of course that was only in early times. Nowadays "politics is adjourned."

"Americans are Ready to Meet German Blow." How sorry the creel will be that he won't have another cause for thankfulness!

Anarchy—I.W.W.—Bolshevism

THE wheel turns; always and eternally it turns. Thirty-two years ago the forces of law and order were fighting Anarchy. Those of us whose memories run back the day before yesterday recall the horror of the Chicago Haymarket riot on the night of the fourth of May, 1886, when sixty policemen were wounded by bombs and rifle fire, of whom seven died. August Spies, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg and Albert Parsons—Germans, of course—self-confessed anarchists, were the leaders of the mob, and later paid the penalty. Their object was to overthrow society. Unable to accomplish their purpose by lawful means, their weapons for the regeneration of mankind were the bomb, the torch, the gun. "Dynamite is the stuff, and don't you forget it," one of their rags proclaimed. "Enough of it to fill your vest-pocket has power to do more for the wage slaves of this country than a bushel full of ballots." It is the same old cant, the same mouthings with which we have been long familiar. "The wage slaves of the country"—this the appeal to American workingmen, the best paid, the most intelligent, and the most self-respecting of any workingmen in the world.

The wheel turns; always and eternally it turns. Anarchy was too clumsy a thing for German murderers, and on the ruins of Anarchy rose a more insidious and dangerous movement directed against the well being of society. Under the pretentious name of the International Workers of the World, Anarchy is rampant in this country and it has spread to England and Australia. The members of the I. W. W. are anarchists pure and simple. Waging war against so-called "capitalism" their sole purpose is to bring confusion. They resort to murder, the torch, sabotage. They have no country and no patriotism.

The wheel turns; always and eternally it turns. Anarchy hides in its slime, the I. W. W. are being squeezed to death under the remorseless hand of the law they would attempt to defy, but out of the Russian *débâcle*, like those noisome things that come to life when the foundation stones of a great building are uprooted, has come Bolshevism. Between it and the Anarchy of the Haymarket riot and the I. W. W. of today there is no difference. Spies and his carrion crew spawned Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, blood brothers of Lenine and Trotzky, the so-called Government of Russia.

Their ideas are the same, their methods are identical. Consumed with hate and envy, irresponsible, with the brains of children but the malice of fiends, they will shrink at nothing to tear down the work of the ages, so as to set up their own fantastic and impossible scheme of social disorder. They are not fanatics whose fanaticism leads them to extremes but leaves their sincerity untouched. They are not martyrs to whom no sacrifice is too great if the cause prevails. They have no cause, no principles, no sincerity. They are cunning, dishonest men who have long been seeking their opportunity and who believe they have now found it. They no more represent Russia, the real Russia, than the I. W. W. represent America. They no more speak for the Russian peasant or the Russian workman than the I. W. W. speak for the men who are building ships in American yards or the Americans who today in France are killing Germans so that the world may live.

It is time that the American people should understand this, that disillusionment should be torn from their eyes, that their vision should no longer be obscured by the glamor of words. Nicholas is overthrown, the autocracy that made Russia an archaic survival in the path of progress crumbles, and there is born a new republic. To Americans it is almost the magic touch. In the midst of the most stupendous war the world has known, the forces of freedom massed against the hordes of despotism, on the very eve of America joining her strength with liberty and justice, Russia casts off the autocrat and the shackles of autocratic tradition boldly to stand as the champion of liberty, to join hands with the free men of Europe and America to fight for freedom. No wonder the world hailed Russia and believed that the men who could break a dynasty for the encouragement of democracy were men in whom faith could be placed.

We have no doubt that if Kerensky had been as firm in purpose as he was in intention and had remained at the head of affairs, that faith would have been justified, but when he allowed himself to be ousted by the Bolsheviks, Russia fell into the talons of an autocracy ten times more dreadful than that from which for a brief space it had been liberated. Nicholas had his vices, but he had some virtues, the pride of tradition and race, and the knowledge that the heritage he received from his fathers was his only until he gave it undiminished to his son. The present rulers of Russia have no traditions other than the obsession of hate and the love of destruction.

Americans know the I. W. W. and are not misled by their false teachings, their appeal to class hatred, their wicked endeavors to bring ruin. We deal with the Bolsheviks in America as we deal with the I. W. W., but for the Bolsheviks in Russia we are asked to have forbearance, to regard them as souls struggling to escape from darkness, as generous and unselfish men whose faces are turned to the light. We must do nothing to offend them, for fear they will turn against us and cast their lot with Germany. This excuse is their condemnation. If they are sincere, if their motive is altruism and not sordidness, if they stand with us in the cause of Democracy and not to gain their own selfish ends, they would perish to the last man rather than make a compact with the accursed Prussian, or do aught to rivet the infamy of Prussianism upon the world. They are the curse inflicted upon Russia as the *communards* were upon France, after she lay prostrate in 1871.

It is Russia and not the Bolsheviks who needs our help, and the greatest help we can give Russia is to enable her to conquer Bolshevism.

The extreme limit of asininity, we suspect, is attained by Mr. William E. Dodd when he writes in the *New York Public*:

Josephus Daniels is a Christian and it distressed a large element of the country for a long time that a Christian should be Secretary of the Navy. He is also a democrat, and the difference is really not noticeable. If a man is a Christian he cannot avoid being a democrat; if he is a democrat he is apt to be a Christian. Daniels is both.

Passing the suggestion that all previous Secretaries were Pagans, there still must be a few stragglers without the fold; so why not, conformably to custom, empower the President to commandeer them "for the duration of the war"?

It was characteristically thoughtful of Senator Weeks, himself a graduate of the Naval Academy, to propose that the Secretary of War be directed to issue a distinctive button or badge to all honorably discharged men, and it was no less characteristically considerate of Senator Brandegee to urge that like recognition be accorded those who have been rejected. "I know," he said, as indeed we all know, "of instances where perfectly loyal and enthusiastic young men of draft age, walking about the streets, have been accosted by passers-by and asked, 'Are you a slacker? Why are you not in the war?' And wherever they go they are open to that imputation. A man may have valvular disease of the heart, which does not show at all to the ordinary person as he walks along the street, and he may have tried to volunteer and enlist. Where there are some physical reasons of that kind, there ought to be some way of relieving him of these opprobrious remarks." Both propositions, we are glad to record, were adopted unanimously. What a pity it is, in view of the suffering and shame endured by many patriotic young men, that an identical suggestion submitted directly to the President more than a year ago was either disregarded as of trifling consequence or was ignored entirely!

It is kind of George Harvey to suggest elimination of Congressional elections in all sure Republican or Democratic districts, but he could earn more gratitude from a long-suffering public if he could put the kibosh on the oppressive burden of campaign oratory.—*Indianapolis Star*.

We did our best to achieve both results, but Mr. Vance McCormick's boss, whoever he may be, wouldn't have it.

Mr. Harvey, it may be recalled, predicted the election of Charles E. Hughes in 1916.—*The World*.

Quite so; and on the day after election the *World* said in large headlines that he had been elected, as of course he would have been if Hiram Johnson had not betrayed him.

If the Republicans do not put Frank P. Woods out of the chairmanship of their Congressional campaign committee, they might as well give up the ship.

Mr. Baker and the Junk Dealers

OF all the strange and unbelievable tales that have been wormed from under the cobwebs of the War Department during the last year, none we believe compares with that of the Bannerman guns. Some people at the Capitol call it a comedy—others call it a tragedy.

The first scene, as far as the official record goes, was staged behind the closed doors of the House Committee on Appropriations on May 20. Brigadier General Tracy Dickson, representing the Secretary of War, laid before the committee a schedule of appropriations desired to carry out our ordnance programme. In the schedule was one item of \$450,000 for the purchase of 30 guns from Francis Bannerman.

Mr. Bannerman was not identified nor were the guns described except by the mere statement that they were 6-inch cannon needed by the army. A few days later General Dickson reappeared and repeated the request.

Then Colonel Samuel McRoberts appeared before the committee and was interrogated about Mr. Bannerman and the guns.

MR. BORLAND: It was stated that we had purchased 30 6-inch naval guns from a man named Bannerman, who is a dealer in naval stores, and the statement was made that you were familiar with the purchase.

COL. MCROBERTS: The only one I am familiar with, and there has been only one recent purchase, is one that is in process now.

MR. BORLAND: Has there been any contract made by you with Bannerman?

COL. MCROBERTS: Not yet.

MR. BORLAND: Has he named any price?

COL. MCROBERTS: I think he has named a price, but that will not interest me until I find out what he paid for them.

MR. BYRNS: How long has he had the guns?

COL. MCROBERTS: Six or seven years. They were abandoned guns on the part of the Navy.

MR. BORLAND: What do you mean by abandoned guns?

COL. MCROBERTS: They were guns that were obsolete for some reason or other, I suppose. I assume that to be the case. I have practically no knowledge of the thing. The way these things operate is this: Guns that were considered no longer usable would be cast aside and Bannerman would probably buy them with the idea of selling them to some South American Republic. He is a broker in that sort of thing. He is also a broker in all kinds of material such as small arms.

MR. BORLAND: If we are to need them at all we need them right now.

COL. MCROBERTS: Yes, sir.

MR. BORLAND: You say you have not had information from the Navy, as to what Bannerman paid for the guns?

COL. MCROBERTS: No, sir.

For some reason, unknown to us, neither General Dickson or Colonel McRoberts furnished the missing information concerning the cost of the guns to Mr. Bannerman, so that when Rear Admiral Earle, Chief of Ordnance of the Navy, appeared, Chairman Borland decided to see if he could throw any light on their value:

MR. BORLAND: It appears that the Army has under contract thirty 6-inch naval guns from a dealer in naval stores named Bannerman.

ADMIRAL EARLE: Yes, sir.

MR. BORLAND: Do you know anything about those particular guns?

ADMIRAL EARLE: Yes, sir; those guns were taken from the cruisers of the *Newark* type. Those are 6-inch .30 calibre guns. Mr. Bannerman has gathered together from year to year a motley collection of ordnance and he has come to the fore with a proposition to sell those guns. Those 6-inch guns are of some value on shore, to be used against trenches, but they are of no value on board ship.

MR. BORLAND: Do you have a record of the price at which they were sold?

ADMIRAL PALMER: I will put that information in the hearing.

[NOTE: Francis Bannerman, of New York, purchased eighteen 6-inch .30 calibre guns on March 23, 1913. The price paid on these guns was based on weight of steel and ranged from 53 to 71 cents a hundred pounds, and in case of eleven of the guns from \$12.66 to \$13.02 a gross ton. The total weight of the guns sold to Mr. Bannerman, including the foregoing, as well as two 8-inch guns, was 246,914 pounds. In other words, the price paid by Mr. Bannerman for 6-inch .30 calibre guns was in the neighborhood of \$78.67. This was bought by him as scrap only.]

We did not inquire, and in fact we had no right to inquire, just what happened behind the closed doors of that committee room when Admiral Earle's note was presented. We shrewdly suspect, however, that the committee demanded to know forthwith from Mr. Baker who was responsible for offering to pay \$15,000 each for guns which were sold five years ago for \$78.67 each.

Whether Chairman Borland wrote Secretary Baker a note or demanded an oral explanation we don't know; but we do know that General Tracy Dickson was ordered from Washington to Bethlehem (Pa.) and the contract prepared for Mr. Bannerman was cancelled forthwith.

Up to this period the entire business had been carried on without benefit of publicity, but before the appropriation bill reached the floor of the House, Mr. Cox of Indiana heard

about it and when the debate was started he demanded an investigation to place the responsibility. He didn't get the investigation and probably will not but he got five minutes or so to tell the House what he thought of officers who entered into such deals with public money.

Then Mr. Good, a Republican of Iowa, got five minutes more in which he told the House what he thought of a Secretary of War who approved of such an item and sent it on to the Capitol with the request that Congress appropriate the money.

Of course Chairman Borland came to the rescue, announced that nothing more than a fair price would be paid for the guns and the House let it go at that. The inquisitiveness of the committee members saved the Government probably \$400,000. The question is, how many more such sums were included in Mr. Baker's estimate for ordnance which covers several billions, and how many slipped by under the eyes of the members of Congressional Committees who do not even pretend to be ordnance experts?

If Colonel George Harvey has completed all the Sherlock-holmesing he staked out for himself, he might tackle the job of finding out whether it is really Pershing who keeps Leonard Wood at home.—*Indianapolis Star*.

We know now. The New York *Herald* had it right when it said editorially on June 1:

If General Pershing has played any part in the eleventh hour switching of Major General Wood from the command of the division which he has brought to the seaboard it can only have been because of inspiration from above. Even a general in command is sometimes human enough to know a "tip" when he sees it, and to act upon it.

Seventy-five American cities are reported to be planning to celebrate Bastille Day. Are there, then, only seventy-five cities in the United States? We have not heard of one single French city that did not celebrate the Fourth of July.

Financing the War

AS foretold in THE WAR WEEKLY, Secretary McAdoo has submitted to Congress his financial programme, which calls for the raising of \$24,000,000,000 this fiscal year, \$8,000,000,000 of which he would raise by taxation, and \$16,000,000,000 by loans. Explaining the necessity of so greatly increasing the tax burden, Mr. McAdoo uses these significant words:

I doubt seriously if the Government can be financed with only \$4,000,000,000 derived from taxation, because with a tax bill no larger than this, sufficient economies will not be enforced upon the people of America, and without such economies I see no way in which the great financial operations of the Government can be safely conducted.

Secretary McAdoo is unquestionably correct, but he might well have gone further and said that economies far beyond those enforced on the people are essential to the safe conduct of the Government's financial operations. The war can be won only by sacrifice, and sacrifice does not mean simply paying higher prices for what we desire and demanding higher wages in order that we may pay the higher prices.

Sacrifice means giving up, going without; an abstinence from many of the things which we have come to regard as essential to our happiness—although most of them we are just as well off without.

It sounds well to talk of taxing the rich, because none of us has so much that he considers himself rich. It is like

the Scriptural anathemas on sinners. We always apply them to the other fellow. But there are not enough rich to go around, and to meet the war needs of the Government not only "the rich" but all who are comfortably off, indeed, all who are not in poverty, must deny themselves many things which they want and want badly. Unless the great rank and file of citizens do this we cannot win the war. The denial will be only temporary and the reward will be great. The man who denies himself and lends his dollar to the Government is not only contributing to winning the war but is laying by for the rainy day which is certain to come. We must sacrifice, save, and lend our savings to the Government. That is the duty of the citizen, and unless he does his duty the Government cannot raise the \$16,000,000,000 by bond sales which form part of the Nation's financial programme.

But there is a duty which devolves on the Government. It must practise economy. It must set the example of thrift. It must spend and spend lavishly, but not extravagantly; and every penny expended must be for the sole purpose of winning the war. The people will not make sacrifices and deny themselves if they see certain classes of Federal employees especially favored in the matter of wages because their votes are wanted at the next election. They cannot be expected to practice self-denial that the interests of one of the great parties may be favored at the polls, or that the personal, political ambitions of certain statesmen may be promoted.

The Government is now the great employer of labor. If the Administration shall abuse its power and pervert its responsibility by boosting the price of labor beyond the needs of the employees in order to affect the political elections, the people will refuse to deny themselves. Never in the history of this country has labor been so highly paid. Never have the farmers received such prices for their crops. No longer do the laws of supply and demand prevail. The Government fixes the prices of leading commodities, the prices of leading farm products, and the wages of labor; and this tremendous power carries with it a responsibility of incalculable proportions.

Nor will the Administration promote its bond sales by traducing, directly or indirectly, the business men of the country. The Government shouts "profiteering" and the salaried man and the wage-earner inquire why they should deny themselves that others may profiteer. The Federal Trade Commission has held up as "a horrible example" of profiteering the United States Steel Corporation, the Commission declaring that the concern made a profit of 24.9 per cent during 1917. The report also says that the corporation invested \$1,920,500,000 in its business—it fails to say that most of this investment was for extension of plant to meet the war demands of the Government—and that after deducting this outlay and paying its excess profits tax, its net earnings amounted to only 11.9 per cent. But it was the "24.9 per cent profit" which caught the newspaper headlines, and it caught them because the report was misleading, was written from a demagogic rather than an economic standpoint. And that sort of demagoguery will not help Mr. McAdoo to borrow \$16,000,000,000 during the current fiscal year because it not only misleads the people, but it discourages the practise of self-denial and thrift.

More Pay; Less Money

THE railway telegraphers seem to be approaching in perspective a situation with which employees of the Pullman Company are face to face as an actuality. The Pullman men are in the paradoxical position of receiving higher pay under the benevolent Government control than they did under the authority of the soulless corporation and yet having less money to show for their services at the end of the year than they had when they were on the corporation's pay-rolls.

It sounds queer but it is the fact, for the Pullman Company had a system of bonuses under which employees received at established intervals substantial little sums of money, in certain cases amounting to over \$200 in the year. The corporation bonuses, plus the corporation salaries, amounted to appreciably more per annum than the Government's nominally higher rate of pay foots up to. Pullman conductors, for instance, in some cases get over fifty dollars less money per year under the Government's higher scale of wages than they did under the company's lower scale. For the Government does not undertake to stimulate meritorious service by the bonus system and the Pullman Company did.

Should the Government take over the telegraph lines as it has the railroads and the Pullman service, the railroad telegraphers are apt to find themselves involved in the entanglements of the same higher-pay-less-money paradox as that over which the Pullman employees are puzzling. At hundreds of small railroad stations, and even in towns of considerable size, the railroad station is the telegraph office. The telegraphers in such cases are paid by the railroad companies.

In addition to this pay the telegraph companies pay the operator a commission on every commercial telegram he handles. And, in addition to that, many of the station-agent-operators handle business for one or more of the express companies also. In very many cases the combined commissions and pay from the telegraph and express companies amount to more than the actual salary paid by the original employer, the railroad company.

Now with the railroads, the express companies and the telegraph companies all operated by the Government, how are these now thrice-paid men going to fare? That is the problem to which the railroad telegraphers are just now devoting a good deal of very serious attention. They want to know if they are going to be left holding the bag the way the Pullman employees now are? Of course under Government Ownership everybody is going to get a big jump in salary. What's the odds how great may be the salaries paid or how scientifically the number of employees is increased to meet political exigencies, so long as the good old taxpayer is right there every time to make up the deficit? Of course all that is true enough. It is axiomatic, for that matter. But if higher salaries from a lavishly liberal Government disbursement of other people's money do not foot up to as much at the end of the year as the sordidly grinding corporation paid out of its own money, why, clearly there is something wrong somewhere.

It is an unpleasant insect in the amber. It is a harsh discordant note in the Government Ownership Millenium Symphony.

May we not invite the serious attention of Politicalmaster-General Burleson to this very intricate problem? It obviously falls within the jurisdiction of his peculiar activities. He is an avowed advocate of Government Ownership. Only recently he even referred to it before a Congressional Committee as one of his "hobby-horses." And one of the assertions on which he laid much stress was that under Government control of wire communications employees would receive very substantial increases in pay. As Politicalmaster-General it was a sagacious and timely remark to make. But how is he going to manage so that in such cases as those mentioned the higher pay will not mean less money to the beneficiary?

A delicate task whichever way you look at it, and doubly delicate in a season of adjourned politics with elections only a few short months distant.

We Need More Officers

THE *Army and Navy Journal*, in its issue of June 29, took us to task in most severe terms because of our warning that the army is short of mature officers and that Secretary Baker has been deliberately inviting disaster by failing to make good the deficiency.

"We know from a statement furnished by the Adjutant General's Office on May 16 that on that date there were 10,295 officers in the Regular Army, 79,038 in the Reserve Corps, 16,906 in the National Guard and 33,894 in the National Army, or a total of 140,133 officers," the *Journal* announces by way of refuting our warning of a shortage of mature line officers.

Undoubtedly the layman looking over this formidable list of figures and comparing it with the totals of a year ago would be impressed just as the *Journal* intended to impress him. Unfortunately it is so absolutely misleading, when offered to refute our statements, that it would almost do credit to the Secretary of War himself. We have never charged that there are not now in the service as great a number of officers as the *Journal* announces on the authority of the Adjutant General. In fact we believe that if the *Journal* asked the Adjutant General for the figures to-day it would find an aggregate of nearer 160,000 than 140,00. But that is neither here nor there.

The point we made, which we now repeat and shall continue to repeat until the condition is remedied, is that there are not enough officers of mature years, of sufficient training and experience, in the line of the Army to lead the men now with the colors and those who are to be called in the near future.

Had we the space we could draw upon British and French reports showing their experience, and upon tables of American organization to prove this to a mathematical certainty. But in lieu of such a tiresome and space-taking process we suggest that if the *Army and Navy Journal* will take the trouble to interrogate General Pershing, General March, or any ranking officer of the line it will find that the statements we made are absolutely true and correct.

To take up the formidable figures presented by the *Journal*, what if anything do they prove? To begin with, of the 140,000 odd officers listed by the *Journal* approximately 50 per cent are in the various staff branches and will never command a company. Of the remaining 70,000 the overwhelming majority are youngsters whose ages bar them from more than a company command. This leaves us the officers of the Regular Army, a handful of National Guard officers and a few thousand reservists and National Army men for the senior commands of millions of men.

Of course the number is inadequate. We must have older and more experienced men than those who are now being commissioned from the ranks, and they must come from civil life. We note with some degree of satisfaction that Secretary Baker has finally discovered the fallacy of the present system, and in the new camps to be opened in September a limited number of civilians will be enrolled. The preference, however, will continue to be given to enlisted men despite the fact that the age limit has been raised to 40 years.

When Mr. Baker abolishes this line between candidates from the ranks and those from civil life, a sufficient number of officers will be available and not until then.

Like Politics, Congress adjourned only for a day.

"German to Direct Austro-Hungarian Armies." That isn't news.

Which is the more important, to win the war or to prevent the owner of a grape arbor from squeezing out grape juice and letting it ferment?

If the Colonel still has hopes of that third cup of coffee he'll have to drink it without sugar.—*Charleston News and Courier*.

Hist! No third term talk, please!

Bolo Pasha is dead, but his malign spirit seems to be marching on; in our own country. Have we no firing squads here?

To those who think we speak too harshly at times we commend perusal of the following from Mitteleuropa:

Of the state of things here it would be difficult and not very, very prudent to speak at large, the Huns opening all letters. I wonder if they can read them when they have opened them. If so, they may see in my most legible hand that I think them *damned scoundrels and barbarians* and their emperor a fool, and themselves more fools than he; all of which they may send to Vienna for anything I care.

Addressed to Mr. Murray by the gentle poet Byron in 1821.

While there may have been a touch of friendly exaggeration in Mr. Schwab's reference to Mr. Bainbridge Colby at the San Francisco launching fête as "an incomparable orator," we have no doubt that the Commissioner spoke eloquently and convincingly, as usual, but it was Mr. Schwab himself who gave the punch and won the enthusiastic co-operation of his fellow-workers when he told them with forceful earnestness that "the credit for winning this war will be shared equally by the workmen of America and the fighters of America."

CERTAINLY

SIR,—Your WEEKLY has contained references to Secretary Baker's statements before the Congressional Committee relative to the war being 3,000 miles away and on the subject of urgency or lack of urgency in the matter. If you have not already produced an exact transcript of what Secretary Baker said, I would appreciate it if you could do so, as a number of my friends have expressed skepticism on the subject. We are delighted readers of your publication.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

IRA JEWELL WILLIAMS.

[See Pub. doc., Hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs, United States Senate, Part 3, Page 1615:

SECRETARY BAKER—The war was not on us in the sense that the enemy was at our doors. He was 3,000 miles away.

Also Page 1616:

SECRETARY BAKER—I ask permission to call your attention to the fact that the battle front was 3,000 miles away.

SENATOR WEEKS: I want to say that, to my mind, it does not make any difference practically whether it was 10,000 miles away or 1 mile away. Our obligation was the same.

EDITOR.]

"In Father's Place"

Lines from a Cambridge boy at the front addressed to the folks at home.

[From the Boston "Transcript"]

Because I am his father, they
Expect me to put grief away;
Because I am a man, and rough
And sometimes short of speech and gruff,
The women folks at home believe
His absence doesn't make me grieve;
But how I felt, they little know
The day I smiled and let him go.

They little know the dreams I had
Long cherished for my sturdy lad;
They little guess the wrench it meant
That day when off to war he went;
They little know the tears I checked
While standing smiling and erect;
They never heard my smothered sigh
When it was time to say good-by.

"What does his father think and say?"
The neighbors ask from day to day.
"Oh! he's a man," they answer then,
"And you know how it is with men."
But little do they ever say
They do not feel the selfsame way:
"He seems indifferent and grim,
And yet he's very proud of him."

Indifferent and grim! Oh, heart,
Be brave enough to play the part,
Let not your real grief be shown;
Keep all your loneliness unknown.
To you the women folk must turn
For comfort when their sorrows burn;
You must not at this time reveal
The pain and anguish that you feel.

Oh, tongue, be silent through the years,
And eyes keep always back the tears,
And let them never see or know
My hidden weight of grief and woe.
Though every golden dream I had
Was cherished in my dear young lad;
Alone my sorrow I must bear;
They must not know how much I care.

Though women folks may talk and weep,
A man, unseen his grief must keep,
And hide behind his smile and pride
The loneliness that dwells inside.
And so, from day to day I go,
Playing the part of man, although
Beneath the rough outside and grim,
I think and pray to God, for him.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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Six months: One dollar.

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NO. 29

AMERICA AT THE MARNE

*"Who would not, thanking God for this great chance,
Stretch out his hands and run to succour France?"*

—Harold Begbie.

July 18, 1918

Greatly thou striv'st against three,
Thou serpent in shining steel,
But the direst blows
At thy heart are those
Which thou thyself dost deal.

Prey to thy venomous offspring
Shrouded in horror and dread,
The great ship sleeps
In its somber deeps,
Tomb of the innocent dead.

Thy plighted honor dishonored,
A nation in agony prays,
From its sweat of blood
To an outraged God,
On His judgment seat He repays.

A woman, a cell at midnight,
Murdered, yet all in vain,—
Thy heaviest blows
Come not from foes,
But are dealt by these, thy slain.

So be thou conquered or conquering,
The scroll shall be writ the same,
And the anguished tears
Of a thousand years,
Shall never wipe out thy shame.

WASHINGTON, July 18, 1918.

THE news is from the Marne.

On Sunday we were pledging fealty to France. With band and banner, with speech and screed, with song and sermon, America celebrated Bastille Day. It was a graceful act. Ten days before France had pledged her fealty to us and had celebrated our Fourth of July; and it was fitting that we should reciprocate the attention.

But there was a difference.

For four years, weary, heart-breaking years, France had already proved her fealty to us, by standing like a wall of brass between us and the foe. Her celebration of our Day was but the seal upon the record of the arduous greatness of things done. But our fealty was yet to be proved. Our work was yet to come. And our celebration of her Day was but the promise, yet to be fulfilled.

That was on Sunday. On Monday came the Marne. Centuries ago upon those fields the soul of France had smitten the gross mass of the Hun. Four years ago, once more, the soul of France had been the savior of the world. Now, upon the very morrow of Bastille Day, came the test of the fealty that we had pledged. Once more the Hun came on with all his force, to drive his road to Paris. The picked "shock troops" of the Crown Prince's army, the very flower of Hunnish savagery, trained for the enterprise, were hurled against our lines, where we for the first time stood in force to meet a German drive. It was for us to make good Sunday's pledge with Monday's deeds.

Thank God, we stood the test!

The long-expected drive came on, the fifth of the present year. In accordance with the expectations of the best informed observers, it was directed toward Paris and not toward the Channel Ports. The bottling up of Zeebrugge and Ostend, and the planting of an all but impassable barrier of mines, have lessened German interest in the Narrow Seas. But the lust for looting Paris is as insatiable as ever. Besides, it was known to the Hunnish High Command that long stretches of the Champagne battle front were held by American troops, the "Yankee pigs" whom Hohenzollern Junkers affected to despise. It was reckoned that they were unused to such warfare as that which they were about to meet; that, being independent citizens instead of slavish subjects, they were lacking in discipline; and that through their sectors, therefore, was the line of least resistance.

How confidently the Germans, even the High Command, expected to break through the American lines was strikingly disclosed at the very moment when the attempt was being made. The Kaiser's own particular pet among his "reptile

press," the *Lokal Anzeiger*, of Berlin, thus delivered itself:

If they have any sense left in the Entente capitals, they must see that all prospect of America saving the situation has disappeared. Anyone who knew the Americans in the Boxer war . . . must have recognized at first glimpse that these troops knew little of military discipline. A strongly developed spirit of independence makes an undisciplined crowd of soldiers. The American soldier fights or marches if he wants to do so, otherwise not.

That was the Potsdam view, not comprehending that a man may be as well disciplined as a machine; that loyalty is more potent than servility; and that soldiers who are men, who know what they are fighting for, and who fight because they believe in the cause for which they are fighting, are certain in the end to win the victory over those who are chattels, who know not what they are fighting for, and who fight merely because they fear the punishment that would befall them if they did not fight.

So at the very hour when the arrogant and contemptuous words which we have quoted were being published and read, the picked veterans of Potsdam were being baffled and checked by the troops that "knew little of military discipline," and were being driven back across the glorious Marne, in bloody rout and with fearful loss, before the crimsoned bayonets of "an undisciplined crowd of soldiers."

The Crown Prince hurled the very élite of his troops against our lines, with numerous "tanks" and close-packed infantry waves; hoping to overwhelm our supposedly untried men and justify the Hunnish pretension of contempt for "Yankee pigs." But at not one point did our line waver. Every man stood firmly in his place, and with barrage fire and the death-dealing chatter of machine-guns, held back the Hunnish rush and exacted a fearful penalty for the insolent attempt. Nor were they content with merely holding the line unbroken. At the psychological moment our troops broke cover and rushed into the open fighting that has ever been dear to the American soldier's heart. That was too much for the Huns. Machine-gun bullets had been deadly, but bayonet tips were glittering damnation; wherefore, before those who were at first "Yankee pigs," then "pig-dogs," and then "hounds of hell," the picked veterans of the Imperial and imperious army reeled and fled back beyond the Marne.

One swallow does not make a summer. One victory does not win a war. The splendid work of Monday did not end the drive. But it would be difficult to overestimate its moral value and significance. We can imagine the delirium of exultation that would have swept through Germany, and the consternation with which our Allies would have been stricken, if at that first impact the American lines had broken and the Huns had poured through toward Paris. Then, indeed, the sneer would have seemed justified that "all prospect of America saving the situation has disappeared."

So then, commensurately, we may estimate the heartening, the confirmation of morale, and the stern joy and gratitude, which prevail in our own ranks and among our Allies, and the chagrin and dismay which afflict the enemy, at this week's tidings from the Marne.

"*Force, force to the utmost, force without limit!*" That is the moral and that the inspiration of this week's news from the Marne.

The Albanian Advance

THE anxious waiting on the southern Balkan front has been so prolonged, we have so often been deceived by signs and omens that the Saloniki forces were about to "start something," that a great Allied offensive in that quarter was about to begin—all this has occurred so often and has so invariably come to nothing that it is not surprising there is reserve on the part of the strategical experts in the matter of interpreting the Albanian advance of the Italian and French forces supported by English monitors along the coast of the Adriatic. Hardly attracting more than desultory attention at first, this movement has grown rapidly to almost sensational dimensions. At the beginning a brief newspaper paragraph was deemed sufficient to measure its importance. Within three days it advanced from that obscurity to the rank of a feature in the war news summaries. Then Berat fell, and it got into top headlines stretching across the newspaper page.

And still the home strategy students refused to commit themselves. The whole affair apparently was to them more or less a mystery. There had not been an inkling that such an offensive was contemplated. Of the number of Allied troops involved there has not come a suggestion. The immediate objectives were unrevealed; could only be vaguely guessed at. The larger plans, if there were any, remained quite undefined.

One or two things, however, did seem to the experts as reasonably explanatory. If the advance went on with the accelerating gait that was struck quickly after its initiative, and if the force itself were at all formidable, the Bulgarian western flank stood to find itself in uncomfortable quarters. The Saloniki army holding firmly as far as Monastir had been recently reinforced by something like 200,000 Greeks. Since the removal and subsequent retirement of General Sarrail, the Commander-in-Chief of all the Allied forces, General Foch, has made two changes in this army's commander. This, per se, suggested the possibility that the long inactivity along that Balkan front was to be broken. It suggested that General Foch had some definite plan in mind. The collapse of the Austrian offensive might not illogically be taken as affording the opening for developing such a plan. And, fitting in very well with that theory, came this mysterious Albanian movement. As usual with the Austrians when they had only themselves to rely upon, they were rolled back, defeated at every point where they attempted to make a stand. The Allied lines were pushed over twenty miles northward and stretched virtually from the Adriatic to the Ægean at Saloniki. Nothing, apparently, save the enormous physical difficulties of the wildly mountainous country itself prevented the Italian-French forces from going as far and as fast as they chose. The Austrian resistance soon became negligible. The wild mountain tribes seemingly welcomed the invaders. The Albanians were with them. That Austria can detach any considerable force from the Italian front is not conceivable. About every man Austria can command is sorely needed on that front to keep the impetuous and victorious Italian armies from sweeping on to their old high water mark of invasion of Austria itself.

Had we not had so many disappointments with reference to a south Balkan offensive, there surely would be ground in this situation for a hope, almost amounting to a conviction,

that at last something worth while was going to happen in that quarter. It would really look as though that shaky back door of the war was about to get a hard battering; that the Berlin-Constantinople link might be severed; that Austria's collapse as a belligerent was near at hand, with the Hun hordes having enough troubles of their own on hand at the Western front to prevent them for once from coming to their lackey's help in time to save him.

To the lay mind it hints pretty strongly at a frontal and a flank movement against the weak joint in the Hun armor—the Austro-Balkan back door to the international brigand's lair.

Wilful waste makes woeful want. Four tons of print paper are used daily by the *Official Bulletin* and, adds Senator Smoot dolefully, "there are some forty-seven publicity bureaus besides."

The *Nation* on the President's speech:

Whatever the distinction, however, the implication is grave. There will be no negotiations. Peace will come only when Germany and her allies have been beaten into helplessness or when they have confessed defeat and abjectly surrendered. It is war to the bitter end, no matter what Germany may say or do. Sentiments like these are the more disappointing because the occasion on which they were uttered was so uniquely great.

Disappointing to whom? The *Nation* ought to change its name.

Activity in Russia

THERE is obviously "something doing" in Russia, at several points. Allied occupation of strategic positions on the Murman coast proceeds in increasing force. This is the more significant because of the attempts of the German-Finnish combination to seize that region and thus to give the Huns an outlet on the Arctic Ocean, as well as to close that avenue of communication between the Allies and Russia. It is of course inconceivable that a force would be sent to Kola and Kem without a resolute purpose to hold those places against the enemy, even though it should be necessary to add numerous reinforcements. We may therefore assume that what is practically another battle-front has been established in that region; on which, happily, American troops are operating together with British and perhaps other Allies.

At the other extreme of the former Empire similar activities prevail. The Allied forces which were landed at Vladivostok have not been withdrawn, but rather have been reinforced. Their presence is obviously welcome to the Czecho-Slovaks, who have done so much to rescue Siberia from Bolshevik chaos and Hunnish invasion, and will doubtless also be agreeable to the organized Anti-Bolshevik Government which has now been proclaimed in that part of Siberia. This Government is headed by a man of character and experience, who seems to be supported by a substantial part of the population. What recognition will be given to it by the Allies is yet to be seen; but if it is approved by the people, if it maintains the treaty obligations formerly entered into by Russia,—which were treacherously repudiated by the Bolsheviks,—and if it efficiently undertakes to discharge the

duties of an organized Government, it is difficult to see how *de facto* recognition can be withheld.

A third movement of significance is reported. It is said that General Alexieff, the former Chief of Staff of the Imperial Russian Army, is at the head of a large Anti-Bolshevik army at Omsk, where he is favorably regarded by the people. Now Omsk is the metropolis of Western Siberia, just beyond the Urals. With General Horvath in control at Vladivostok, therefore, with the Czecho-Slovaks holding Irkutsk, and with General Alexieff at Omsk, practically all of Siberia, eastern, central and western, is in revolt against the Bolsheviks and is organizing for resistance to the Huns.

These two general movements, in Siberia and on the Murman coast, should surely assist the substantial elements of the Russian people to "find themselves" and to rally for their own rehabilitation. But this end will be the more certainly and the more speedily achieved if the Allies give to these praiseworthy efforts the largest possible measure of encouragement and aid. It is to be noticed that nowhere, apparently, has there been any resistance to or even protest against such Allied intervention as has been effected. On the contrary, as we have said, that intervention has been welcomed and has served as an inspiration to the Russians themselves to take up arms in their own behalf and in conjunction with those who have come to aid them.

It would be foolish to repose great expectations in these Russian enterprises. But it would be still more foolish to ignore or to slight them. The war may or may not be won by hard fighting on the western front. But every stroke that can be given at the east or at the north will contribute to the victory. And everything that is now done to save Russia from further disintegration and demoralization, and to promote its military, political and economic rehabilitation, will be of actual present service, and of inestimable future value in the readjustment and reorganization of affairs at the end of the war.

The two shining human lights of the ten umpires of wartime labor disputes designated by the President are Mr. Henry Ford and the Hon. John Lind. The official announcement says that "up to this time, there has been no final decision of the National War Labor Board upon which the entire membership has not been in complete agreement; and the necessity for the selection of one of the President's nominees to act as umpire is not immediately in view." Nevertheless the appointments were made, possibly and possibly not to the gratification of Mr. Taft, whose outspokenness respecting certain acts of the Administration we remarked with some surprise last week. The picking of Mr. Ford is attributed by the *Times* to an official impression that "his position as a prospective Senatorial candidate would be strengthened" thereby, thus affording another vivid illustration of the adjournment of politics. Why the Hon. John was resurrected nobody seems to know; probably something was coming to him as a reward for faithful reticence.

Farmer Jim Martine was picked for United States Senator by the same power that has commanded Henry Ford to run in Michigan.—*The Sun*.

And now, forsooth. Jim Ham!

The Railroad Operating Contract

RAILROADS and Government are suffering from the bickerings and suspicions of the past. That is the most obvious reflection upon the controversy—which we believe is not a serious one—over the draft of an operating contract between the two. For many years the Government has been too much inclined to regard the railroads as guilty of most of the crimes in the Newgate Calendar, until they could prove their innocence. Now the roads, or some of them, in turn show an inclination to regard the Government with aversion and distrust. There may be as much reason for such a feeling in the one case as in the other; or, rather, there is probably as little reason for it in the one as in the other. To our minds there is so little reason for it on either side that it may as well be altogether dismissed, and the two parties be brought together on grounds of mutual confidence.

There is no question that some of the solicitude expressed by the Association of Security Holders is not only sincere but commendable; such, for example, as that for stronger assurance of the provision for payment of dividends and interest. But it is inconceivable that the Government would neglect that point or, having inadvertently slighted it, would hesitate to deal with it satisfactorily. For that is a point in which the Government itself is directly and deeply interested. Deprived of their dividends, security holders would not only be inconvenienced if not actually distressed, but also would be unable to pay income taxes, to purchase Liberty Bonds, to contribute to the Red Cross.

Legitimate, too, is the question which is raised concerning the compensation of railroads for losses sustained by the diversion of business to other lines. There is no doubt that if in the case of two parallel and competing lines the Government were to put all the first-class passenger traffic on one, and nothing but freight and way trains on the other, the value of the good will of the latter might be materially impaired. But it is not to be assumed that the Government would do this wantonly or maliciously, or without adequate cause for the promotion of efficiency; or that it would disregard the actual effects of it upon the road concerned. If such changes are made for the public good, doubtless the Government will recognize the justice of making the public bear the cost. But we venture to expect that, in a majority of cases of changes of traffic routes, the roads themselves will be actual gainers.

Beyond doubt, among so great a number of roads, in such a variety of circumstances, there will be some to which the general principles of this contract will not be altogether satisfactory. It would be impossible to frame a contract that would be equally acceptable to all. For such special cases, it should be possible to make special arrangements. But for the vast majority of cases we are inclined to regard the proposed contract as acceptable, and as a creditable and commendable piece of work. The fact that a conference of official representatives of about ninety per cent of the railroad mileage of the United States considered the contract "in the main acceptable," is a most gratifying and convincing testimony to its merits; and the further fact that that conference, and also the representatives of the security owners, found no fault with it beyond some points which they regarded as proper subjects for negotiation and thus for

modification and amendment, indicates how well the drafters of the contract have done their work.

To our mind, this most difficult of tasks has been performed admirably by Secretary McAdoo and Judge Payne, and we would not withhold from either an iota of the credit fairly due them for the rendering of an extraordinary public service.

We quote from the *Times*:

Washington, July 11.—Fear that Postmaster General Burleson would impose an arbitrary censorship upon war news, if the resolution for Government control of telegraph, telephone, radio and cable communication should be adopted by Congress, was expressed today in Senate debate. * * * So acrid did the attacks upon the control resolution become that Senator Lewis of Illinois left the chamber to confer with Mr. Burleson.

Senator Lewis told the Postmaster General of the impression that seemed deep-rooted in the minds of opponents of the resolution that Mr. Burleson would avail himself of the opportunity to establish a drastic censorship of war news. He wanted some word to carry back to the Senate to dispel that idea. The Postmaster General assured Mr. Lewis that he did not intend setting himself up as a censor. If the resolution should be passed and the supervision of press dispatches turned over to him, the Postmaster General said, he would put all press wires under a director to be approved by the newspaper publishers of the country.

We quote from the *Congressional Record*:

MR. LEWIS: The Senator having yielded to me, I say this: I did not know there was any censorship by the Postmaster General under our law of local mail. I have understood there is no such law and that there was no such censorship. I am not aware that the Postmaster General has attempted to exercise it. I should like to know. Therefore, as there is no law for censorship on the mail, I can hardly assume a censorship on wire messages, and if the eminent Senator can cite me to any law authorizing such I would like to know and to have him mention the instances.

MR. SMITH of Michigan: Oh, Mr. President, even Russia, disorganized as she is, would not pass a law permitting a postmaster general to read letters passing between citizens. I should hope we had not yet come to such a pass; but that it has been done by an assumed right has been asserted over and over again.

It would seem, therefore, that whatever pledge Mr. Burleson may have given to Senator Lewis was personal or confidential and not, for some reason or other, made a matter of record. It is not even "a scrap of paper." No sane person can doubt for a moment that, if he gets the chance, as he probably will, the Politicalmaster General will appoint whomever he pleases and read or have read for him whatever telegrams may interest him. If, moreover, Senator Smith really believes that "letters passing between citizens" have not been tampered with, he is more credulous than we had supposed.

Germany refuses to believe Secretary Baker.—*Headline in The World.*

We wonder why?

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Must It Be Burleson?

THERE never for a moment was any doubt that authority to take over the control and operation of the telegraph and telephone lines would be granted to the President. It is true there was no demonstrated need of such action, as undoubtedly there was in the case of the railroads. The railroads had been shackled and strait-jacketed by demagogue legislation until they were crippled to the verge of bankruptcy and physical helplessness. If the war work of the roads was to be done, these bonds must be broken. The only authority to short cut action in this direction was the authority of the Federal Government. The emergency demand for that authority was pressing and obvious. So the authority was granted.

But the case of the wire lines was entirely different. Neither the telegraph nor the telephone systems had as yet been deliberately legislated into that position of impotence where the Socialistic Government Ownership medicine seemed the only cure. The service in both branches of wire communication was admirable. Admittedly it was not only the cheapest, except possibly in certain restricted cases of foreign Government operation where deficits were passed on to the tax-payer and made up from his pocket, but it was so far beyond any other similar service in the world in point of speed and efficiency that it was justly a source of national pride, and, perhaps, of rather too frequent and vociferous boasting by Americans on their travels.

Since the war began, this efficiency has been especially emphasized. The service the wire companies have been able to render the Government has been beyond reproach. Not even the Socialistic Government Ownership fanatics of the Administration could find a word of fault with it. There was not the slightest criticism, even from those who would have been only too eager to criticise, as to the secrecy or the promptness with which the Government business was despatched. Mr. Carlton, of the Western Union, in the secret star-chamber interrogation to which he was subjected, said that 95 per cent of the Western Union employees were of tried and absolutely unequivocal loyalty. Could the Government itself say as much of its own employees? It is to be hoped so, in Heaven's name, but certain Departmental episodes in the not remote past led, for the time being at least, to painful suspicions to the contrary.

No, Government Ownership could not be saddled upon the wire lines by any pleas of inefficiency or news leakage. Some other explanation, we shall not say excuse, must be found if Mr. Burleson's pet idea, his "hobby horse" as he termed it, in his pro-Government Ownership speech before the Congressional Committee, was to be advanced. It was an exceedingly favorable moment for that species of spy to appear who in the autocracies so often instigated what he was hired to reveal. And, as fortune would have it, precisely such an instigating agent projected himself into the problem. A labor union of Canadian antecedents suddenly threatened a strike of telegraphers on all the Western Union lines. Of the 57,000 or so employees of the Western Union, precisely 58 men were members of the labor organization threatening the strike—about one in a thousand. Overwhelming numbers of the Western Union operators joined in communications to the Administration and to Congress in which they gave positive assurance that they had no thought of striking.

Had the threatened strike been called nobody would ever have known it, so far as any effect on the company's service was concerned. It would have been a grotesque fiasco.

But the strike was never called. It was never intended that it should be called. Those back of the move had done all they intended to do when they made their threat. They had precipitated the question of Government wire control. Then they "called off" the strike which never struck and never would have struck. That "calling off" farce, too, was an essential part of the grandstand play. Under duress of a strike threat there were some Senators, Mr. Lenroot among them, who would not have voted for the resolution the Administration desired. So the fictitious "duress" was removed. All things considered, a masterly *coup*. Had Mr. Burleson and his fellow advocates of Socialistic doctrines in the Administration planned the whole thing from start to finish it could hardly have worked out to a conclusion more satisfactory to them.

But now that Government wire control is inevitable, is it also inevitable that the telegraph and telephone service, with all the political and inquisitorial potentialities involved, must pass into the hands of Politicalmaster General Burleson? Must our telegraphic and telephonic communication fall under the same blight which has reduced the mail service to its present wretched status? Why can not the Navy Department or the War Department handle the wire service? Surely the guarantees of secrecy would be greater in the hands of either of these Departments than in the General Post Office. And as to efficiency, now that the gifted Baker is more or less effaced, either the War Department or the Navy Department might, not without reason, be expected almost to equal the fine work of the private companies themselves. Why Burlesonize these admirable wire equipments into the same junk heap with the mail service?

Why should the *Sun* waste its invaluable editorial space in fruitless discussion of correctness in form in beginning and closing a letter? Surely Dr. Mitchell cannot have overlooked the fact that official usage has stamped its indelible imprimatur upon "May I not—" and "Cordially and sincerely yours." Stand by the President, sir!

A Creelian Masterpiece

UNDOUBTEDLY the country is under a distinct debt of gratitude to Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Illinois. In an address before the Senate he has rescued from what seemed to be impending oblivion one of the masterpieces of Public Information literature. Why it is that Mr. Creel's beautiful composition, "Around the Clock with Secretary Baker," has received so little public attention, even making all allowance for the uproar of the times, is hard to guess. It is by no means a mere "piece for the paper." It is more than that by a deal. It is more than prose; it is poesy. It is more than poesy; it is rhapsody. It should be set to music. Yet, until Senator Sherman, inspired by a fresh perusal of the masterpiece, spread its beauties before the Senators and the Senate galleries in a finely worded appreciation, the country seemed stolidly unconscious of the fact that its store of literary treasures had been enriched by this priceless Creelian contribution.

Incidentally and necessarily as part of his text, Senator Sherman has added to the pages of history intimate glimpses of the Greatest Secretary of War the World Has Ever Known as he appears in the daily whirlwind routine of his duties. This in itself is invaluable. For this alone posterity will be under as great obligations to the Senator as are we of this present day for fishing out this glittering Creelian jewel from the (shall we say rubbish?) heap of daily Public Information output. To be sure Senator Sherman's speech was in a sense a critique as well as an appreciation of Mr. Creel's masterly effort. We may or we may not agree with the Senator in all he says by way of criticism. If we were to criticise the critic, for example, we might perhaps be led to suggest that the distinguished Senator's characterization of the Creel production in its entirety as "hogwash" left something to be desired in the way of that restraint, that artistic delicacy of touch with which one naturally approaches the estimation of a work of art as such. But, however that may be, our obligation to Senator Sherman for his luminous revelation of the beauties of the Creel rhapsody as well as the incidental glimpses it carries of the orientally imaginative subject of the eulogy, the romantic but circumstantial Baker, is none the less heavy as lead.

Before presenting Senator Sherman's summarization of the Creelian word picture of the gifted Baker in the actual routine of his daily duties, we may introduce the Haroun-al-Raschid of the Thousand and One Arabian Aircraft Yarns as he presents himself to the Senator seen through the Creel eyes. Speaking of the Secretary of War as he appeared in France, not saluting the flag but in his daily walks, Senator Sherman said:

We are permitted to gaze upon the greatest Secretary of War the world ever saw. Stanton struggles dimly into view merely as a basis of comparison to enable our staggering mentality to gain a last look of Baker walking serenely on the summit of inaccessible grandeur before we lapse into unconsciousness.

The peerless strategist and lawyer finishes the moving picture by remaining four hours in the trenches and dugouts in mortal peril from bursting shell and scattering shrapnel. Here the dazed audience dispersed.

But it is with the picture of the Greatest of All War Secretaries in the performance of his daily tasks that posterity will be most interested. Senator Sherman thus reduces the Creel poetical soarings to prose:

Suddenly he appears, mingling with the ambassadors, the wise, the good, fair forms and hoary seers. He turns aside in the twinkling of an eye to meditate, while contractors hang in midair and profiteers wildly clutch their pocketbooks in deafening silence.

"Yes" or "no," comes with a decisive ring in his voice, and hundreds of millions of dollars gush from the Treasury at his nod. Then the earth temporarily resumes its customary revolutions. Five stenographers then rush in. He dictates to nearly all of them at once. Others linger in hailing distance as a reserve if some, perchance, should drop dead. Immense bundles of documents of state appear, in which he immerses himself, lost in a profound vacuum of sublimated thought.

The shorthanders flee madly from the incarnated human tempest, waving their notebooks ominously. Now the landscape fades away in a haze of tobacco smoke. Gradually the scenery reveals a briar root pipe, with the Secretary of War attached, curled up in a deep, soft-armed chair, revelling in his Theocritus and Juvenal or a biography of Tom Johnson and three-cent carfares.

For our own part we cannot refrain from expressing regret that Senator Sherman mentioned Tom Johnson and three-cent car fares. It is a harsh and jangling note in the melodious tinklings of the Creelian lyric. And emphatically we protest against the Senator's comparison of Creel with

Boswell. We hold no brief for Bozzie, but the literary cross that Thomas Babington Macaulay and others have put upon that unhappy Scotchman is pretty hard to bear, and, well, we think the line of endurance ought to be drawn somewhere, even for Boswell.

A Tax On Luxuries

THE tax on luxuries suggested to the House Ways and Means Committee by the Treasury Department is right in principle; and so far as we have been able to judge it is in the main right in detail. If any particular items in it are not justified by the general principle, there will be sure to be vigorous objection, and it will be hard to put them through. The danger is rather that items which ought to be retained may be knocked out through the protests of those specially affected by them.

That some hardship will be involved by the imposition of these taxes, it would be idle to deny. We do not refer, however, to the hardship to consumers. Thus any person who buys an article of jewelry ought to be ashamed to think it a hardship that, while he is paying \$100 to indulge his—or somebody else's—taste for display, he should be called upon to contribute \$50 toward carrying on the war for which thousands are giving their lives and on the issue of which depends the salvation of the country and the world. The hardship in this—and the same is true of pleasure vehicles, of expensive clothing, of high-priced hotel accommodations, etc.—is not in the expense imposed upon those who, in the very act, show that they can afford the tax. It consists in the reduction of demand for the services of those engaged in the business of supplying the luxuries. But this hardship, such as it is, is a necessary incident of war on a large scale. We cannot concentrate our energy upon the essentials of war and the essentials of life, and at the same time keep undiminished the activities devoted to non-essentials. The tax on luxuries is right as a source of revenue, it is right in the moral aspect of its bringing home to millions of people the concrete duty both of cutting down on luxuries and of contributing directly to the support of the war, and it is right as a means of automatically diverting a large amount of productive energy from non-essential to essential objects.

As to details, the kind of error which may be committed in such a tax is well illustrated in the instance of jewelry and in that of automobiles. There is no reason why a low-priced watch should be classed as jewelry, and no reason why an automobile used for business purposes should fall into the same class with a car used for pleasure, or even for personal convenience. Apparently the necessary distinction in these cases has not been made in the Treasury Department's sketch of the proposed tax. On the other hand, the point has been kept well in mind in relation to apparel; men's suits whose retail price does not exceed \$30, for example, are not to be subject to tax, and similar limits are set in the case of men's haberdashery, and of women's and children's apparel. It ought to be easy to see that the necessary discrimination is made all along the line.

The criticism has been made that a tax of this kind tends to cut down the revenue from the excess-profits taxes that would accrue if the sale of luxuries were left undisturbed by this burden. That some loss of this kind will

occur is true enough; but there is no reason to suppose that it will come anywhere near the amount which the tax itself will bring in. The mere fact that the double purpose—the purpose of bringing in revenue and that of diminishing undesirable expenditure—is in some degree self-contradictory, is by no means a vital objection to the tax. A tax of prohibitory magnitude would, of course, defeat the revenue object completely; a very moderate tax, on the other hand, would effect little or nothing in the way of lessening waste. But a little practical common sense will suffice, in most cases, to indicate approximately at what point the line should be drawn in order that both objects may be in large measure attained—a substantial addition to Government revenue and a substantial reduction of unnecessary expenditure. Moreover, British and French experience with luxury taxes during this war is at our disposal. With the vast outlay to which we are pledged for the winning of the war, there is every reason why this thoroughly legitimate resource of taxation should be added to those already brought into play.

The Muenchner *Neueste Nachrichten* has it all figured out. "America," it declares solemnly, "does not intend that Germany shall be thoroughly defeated, and both America and Japan can be depended upon to play false to the Allies." Having fortified itself with this comforting reflection, the paper continues:

America is becoming more and more a decisive military factor in the war, but even from a purely military point of view America cannot desire that England shall win the war outright. America's interest lies in compromise, so therefore I regard Wilson with less suspicion than usual. It must not be forgotten also that for America the world war is merely an expedition. America cannot be defeated on French soil, and for America and Germany there is no front upon which a tactical victory will involve a political decision.

An absolute victory for England would break the so-called Anglo-Saxon circle and sooner or later produce a struggle between England and America for domination of the world. With inimitable cunning Oriental Japan awaits this last issue of present history.

Truly, the ways of German reasoning are past finding out; or, rather, as the London *Times* neatly puts it, the Munich editor must be "aware that the political ignorance of his readers knows no depths." We can only hope that he will get a copy of the President's Fourth-of-July speech and have a fresh struggle with his fascinating suspicions.

Mr. Hughes's final statements will everywhere carry weight, because they will be the result of close study of the aircraft situation and will be carefully considered before publication.—*The World*.

By whom, does the *World* surmise? Mr. Hughes is a stickler for the proprieties, but he is also accustomed to do his own considering.

Mr. Creel really need not have apologized for giving the *World* a beat inadvertently or otherwise; it has fairly earned more than one; and why should he lug in the information that the Government is paying "the bare expenses" of the *World's* Mexico correspondent? That seems hardly fair to a proud and prosperous public journal.

As we sit here tonight there are actually more mothers who are afraid that their sons may come back from the other side moral wrecks than there are mothers who are afraid that their boys will become victims of German bullets.—*Secretary Daniels*.

Oh, dear! there he goes again.

Major Mitchel and the Air Service

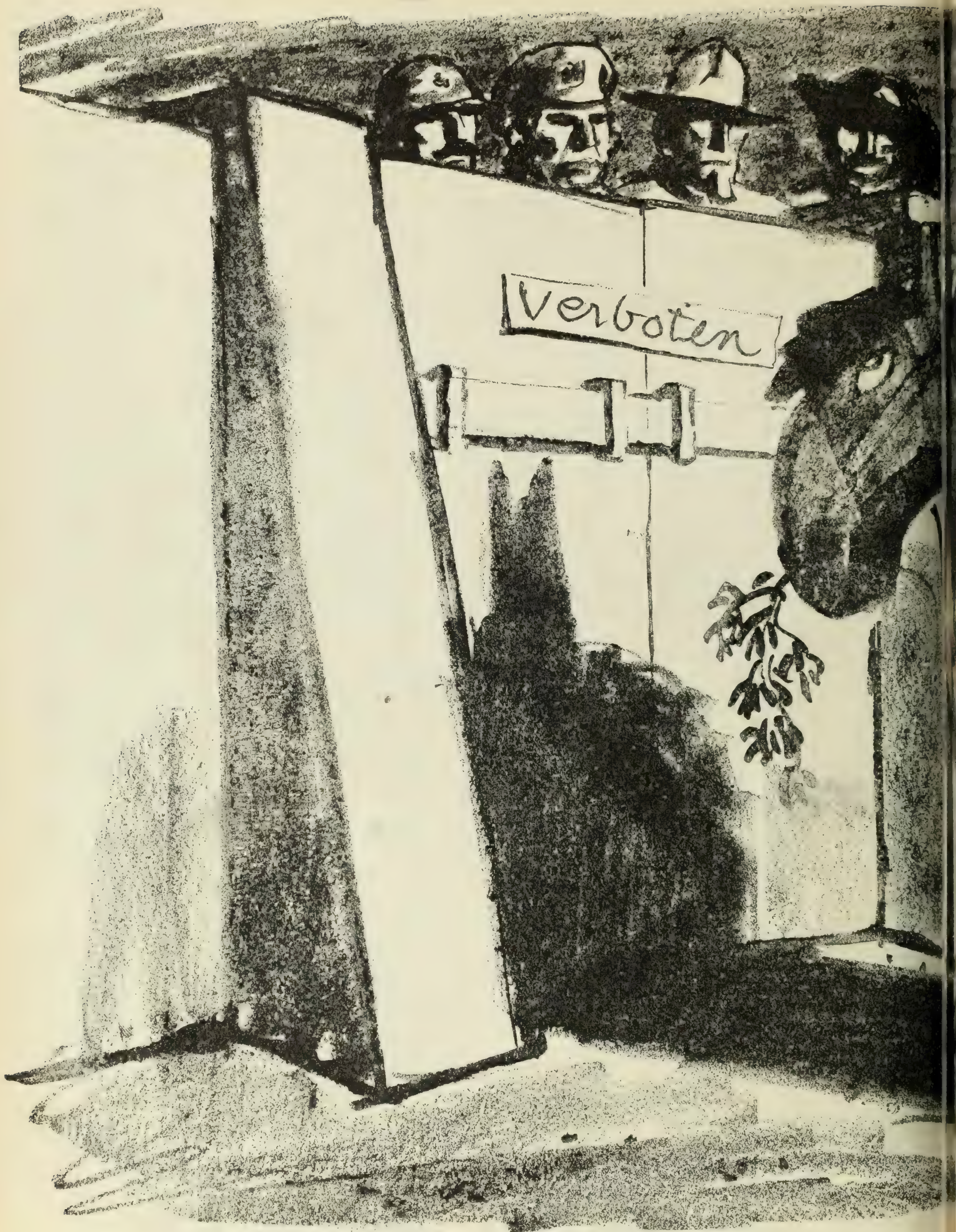
KEENLY as we regret the death of John Purroy Mitchel, we do not believe that he will have died in vain if the criticism resulting from his accident causes the War Department to reform the lax methods which are prevalent in our aviation camps. Newspaper reports indicate that his safety belt was not hooked and that he slipped or fell from the machine. This may or may not be true. We do not pretend to know. But we do know that scores of student aviators have been killed in this country through carelessness. The War Department does not make a practice of publishing the reports of the investigation of these accidents. We have been informed that many of them are due to the "carelessness" of the young flyers. Frequent statements have been made here that many boys ascend without having properly inspected their machines, and when they get in the air some vital part gives away and the machine crashes to the ground.

If such explanations were offered occasionally we should not be surprised, but for the life of us we cannot understand a system which tolerates the repetition of such calamities. There appear to be but two elements in the situation. One is the flyer and the other is the machine. If the machine is in good condition and the aviator is properly instructed in handling it, of course the danger of accident is extremely small. If the machine is not in good condition—a fact easily ascertainable—it should not be used. If the aviator is not competent to fly, or is not willing to use every precaution, he should not be trusted in the air. These facts are so simple that they appear to be axiomatic, and yet every day of the week we are informed by the press that they are overlooked. We believe that if General Kenly, the new chief of the service, would make a complete overhauling of the training system, so that competent instructors would let none but properly trained students pilot machines, and painstaking inspectors would let none except perfect planes leave the hangars, the number of accidents would be reduced to the minimum.

"When Will the War End?"

Absolute knowledge I have none
But my aunt's washwoman's sister's son
Heard a policeman on his beat
Say to a laborer on the street
That he had a letter just last week
Written in the finest Greek
From a Chinese coolie in Timbuctoo
Who said that the negroes in Cuba knew
Of a colored man in a Texas town
Who got it straight from a circus clown
That a man in the Klondike heard the news
From a gang of South American Jews
About somebody in Borneo
Who knew a man who claims to know
Of a swell society female fake
Whose mother-in-law will undertake
To prove that her seventh husband's sister's niece
Had stated in a printed piece
That she had a son who had a friend
Who knows when the war is going to end.

—J. M. P.





The Week

WASHINGTON, July 18, 1918.

THE German drive on the western front, of which we speak more at length elsewhere, began in the usual way, and is destined to have the usual result; save that for the first time American troops will have a conspicuous part in producing that result. It is the fifth drive since last spring, but it may not and probably will not be the last. As we have hitherto pointed out, the German High Command does not dare to abandon the aggressive, since to do so would be to confess defeat. The Beast will continue to struggle until it is slain. But its struggles will grow weaker and weaker; and the American bayonet is already feeling for its throat.

The increasing activities on other fronts than the western are to be regarded with satisfaction. Italian troops are making very substantial progress in Albania, other progress is being made north of Salonika, and intervention in Russia, both in Siberia and Murmania, is an achieved fact. We repeat our conviction that this is sound policy. Much as we appreciate the necessity of throwing our strength chiefly upon the western front, we hold that when you are at war with an enemy you are at war with him all over, and that it is desirable to strike wherever he appears vulnerable, and to block him at every point at which he seeks to advance. Let us mass our millions, by all means, in France and Flanders, and conduct the hunting of the Blond Beast across the Vosges and the Rhine. But still we can spare enough men to help Russia to rehabilitate herself and to prevent her from falling into the hands of Hunnish ravishers.

Congress had been in session for about seven and a half months. Beginning its work with a declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, it gave the President potential control of all the railroads, telegraphs and telephones, for the period of the war; it created a war finance corporation, with extraordinary powers and with funds to aid the Government and also private business; it gave the President unexampled power to transform and reorganize at will all the executive departments of the Government; it saved daylight and thus saved artificial lighting by setting the clock-hands forward an hour; it enacted espionage and sedition laws contrasted with which the notorious "sedition laws" of John Adams's time were "as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine"; it extended the draft law so as to conscribe men who had come of age within the year; it submitted a prohibitionist Constitutional amendment to the States for ratification; and it authorized a fourth Liberty Loan of eight billion dollars. The President personally addressed the Congress in joint session no fewer than five times: once for war, twice about peace terms, once to ask for control of the railroads, and once to ask Congress to remain in session and to enact war legislation.

On the whole, it was a momentous session, marked with much making of history. Unhappily in its record of things talked about but not done, as well as of some things done, it belied the jocund pronouncement that "politics is adjourned"; and in permitting Secretary Baker to apply the brakes to the process of army enlargement it did a distinct and grave disservice.

Hertling's latest peace propaganda is no new thing. It indicates no change of policy, no change of heart. We have his own word for it. It is a coherent and consistent part of the same German policy that four years ago lied about Russia, lied about France, lied about Belgium, and plunged the world into war. His pretence that Germany desires and is ready for an "honorable" peace is an integral part of the policy that regarded the Belgian treaty as a scrap of paper and suborned perjury about the guns on the *Lusitania*; and is entitled to the same respect that we gave to those former items.

Let us, however, while detesting its cynical hypocrisy, make no mistake about its purpose, nor fail to meet it as it should be met. Its purpose is threefold. It is to promote a pro-German sentiment among pacifists. It is, if possible, to bring about a premature—which would mean a made-in-Germany—peace. It is, above all, by dint of persistent advertising and "damnable iteration," to identify Germany, in the mind of the world, with ironic proposals and with a desire for peace. It is to get people into the habit of thinking of Germany as always ready for peace. If that could be accomplished, Hertling thinks, a popular sentiment favorable to Germany might be created, which would be of value either now or at least when the reckoning comes before the bar of humanity at the end of the war. That is the scheme of the peace-palavering Hun.

The answer, the only possible answer, must be obvious to anybody save a fool. It is that, just as persistent as Germany is in her unchanged and unchanging policy of peace-drive camouflage, so persistent must we be in declaring, proclaiming, and emphasizing our invincible unwillingness to consider or even to listen to a German proposal of peace. There can be no compromise. There can be no peace through negotiation. There can be no thought of peace until, through our exercise of force, "force to the utmost, force without stint or limit," the Hun has been beaten and broken to the complete satisfaction of the Allies, and they then at their own volition offer to the crushed remnant the terms on which they are willing for it to continue to live.

In vetoing the bill for raising the price of wheat to \$2.40 the President gives a welcome intimation that there is, after all, a limit somewhere to the increase of the cost of living under Government control.

Once more we have occasion to congratulate the country on a good appointment in the War Department. Major General Frank McIntyre, recently appointed assistant chief of staff, is one of the most able officers in the service. A classmate of General Pershing at West Point, he served with distinction in the Philippines and came to Washington as General Clarence Edwards' assistant in the Bureau of Insular Affairs. When General Edwards went to Panama, McIntyre succeeded him, and has supervised the administration of the Philippines with rare tact and judgment. General McIntyre asked for a division immediately after we entered the war, but he was held in Washington, where his large fund of common sense and judgment has helped to save the War Department from more than one blunder, although his name has rarely appeared in print.

Poor old Hindenburg is dead again. Not that it matters very much whether he stays dead this time or turns up alive and kicking once more. As a bogey he long ago ceased to scare anybody, and even as a Hun fetish he has seen his best days. At the right psychological moment he emerged from obscurity to win a victory with an overwhelming force against what practically was an unarmed mob. On the wave of a reaction from deep Hun depression he was borne to a high-water mark of popular adulation. His square-jawed, pompadoured, rectangular head and face were plastered over a large part of the world in public prints. It was a typical Hun face. It would have been ideal on the broad shoulders of a bar-keeper behind a lager beer counter. It appealed to all the finer sentiments of the Hun populace. They made a full-length wooden image of the owner of it and drove nails into it as a testimonial of sentimental esteem. They named an imaginary "line" on the western battle-front after him. Hindenburg became a Hun cult. Then he became more or less a myth. Then he began dying deaths of varying violence, ranging all the way from pneumonia and typhoid fever to apoplexy. It was this cerebral hemorrhage which killed him the last time, we believe. But between deaths he has been in a lunatic asylum several times. Not altogether a rollicking time of it for the old man, all things considered. Maybe he is dead for keeps this time, and maybe he isn't. But it is a safe bet that if he isn't, he soon will wish he were.

Nothing could be more characteristically German than the intimation that in the event of civil war in Russia, Germany may be obliged to intervene. Nor could anything be more logical. Having herself provoked and fomented civil war in order to provide a pretext for intervention, why of course she intervenes!

Senator Reed has disclosed the interesting circumstance that Secretary Baker's "thousand airplanes" in France, which the creel would have had us believe were American battle-planes ready to "grapple in the central blue," were in reality nothing but French training-planes which do not fly at all beyond a few feet from the ground. Falstaff with his men in buckram seems to have been a mere piker compared with the creel.

"Either German principles or Anglo-Saxon principles must be victorious." So says William the Damned, and he says quite truly; though in his characterizations of those policies he impudently lies.

In wantonly destroying the orchards of France, and historical monuments of no possible military value, the Huns maintain to the letter the account which Caesar gave of them more than twenty centuries ago. "They deem it," he said, "an honorable distinction to have their frontiers devastated and to be surrounded by immense deserts. They regard it as the highest proof of their valor for their neighbors to abandon their territories out of fear of them. Moreover, they thus have an additional security against their enemies." As in the last century B. C., so in the twentieth century A. D.

The exposure of German control and propaganda in the office of the *Evening Mail* of New York has caused no surprise to those conversant with the course of that paper since the early part of the war. There are Bolo Pashas, we suppose, in all countries; though not all countries dispose of them as appropriately as does France. Those superficial observers who can see no open treason in the columns of a German-controlled paper here, and who therefore think that no real harm is being done, are sadly in error. By the garbling of news, just the elimination or the insertion of a word or a phrase, here and there, great mischief can be done. But after all, the chief devilry of the disloyal newspaper man is not in the things which he prints, which may all be quite innocent, so much as in the things which he is able to find out and then secretly to transmit abroad. Every important newspaper frequently comes into the possession of information of the highest importance, which it is supposed to hold in strict confidence. All honorable papers and loyal editors do thus hold it. But a traitor coming into possession of it, while he does not publish it in his paper, may clandestinely transmit it to the enemy. That is the serious consideration concerning disloyal editors, and that it is which so strongly commends them to the executive attention of a firing squad.

None but a Prussian could be such a fool as to charge America with waging this war for money, in view of Prussia's own record. Since the time of Frederick II, miscalled the Great, practically every war waged by Prussia has been waged for marks and pfennigs. That predatory Power attacked Denmark for loot; attacked Austria for loot; attacked France, on the basis of a forgery, for loot in both lands and money. Ever since its entrance upon the present war its aim has been loot, loot, loot! It has stolen hundreds of millions from Belgium and vast sums from the other lands which its soldiers have overrun, and is reported even now to be levying several billions of blackmail upon Russia. And yet it charges us with going into the war for money! Well, it is a Hunnish trick to judge others by themselves.

Hertling says that Germany does not mean to keep Belgium. Perish the thought! She is only holding it to use as a pawn in the game of trade and barter in the peace conference. The distinction between pawn and plunder is not convincing.

If "only from 8 to 10 per cent of the sixty million horsepower of available water power in this country is utilized," as we are told, there would seem to be a legitimate and most desirable field for progressive war legislation. If a few more million horsepower could be put to use, the power-fuel stringency would be much relieved. Instead of devising ingenious ways and means for making people get along on less coal than they really need, it would be well to exercise inventive faculties in substituting for coal the water power which is now running to waste. That would be a kind of war legislation, too, which we should be glad to have retained after the war.

It may have been a mere coincidence, but the fact remains that the enemy started his last drive as soon as Hayti entered the war and before she could get her troops into action.

Preaching the Jihad

IN that curious state of mind in which Europe moved prior to 1914, with its false evaluations, distorted perspective and ignorance of national psychology, one of the pawns that England was supposed to have given to Germany was the fear of an uprising in the Mohammedan world. Germany played her game in the Balkans with an eye on India and Turkey as a partner. Hence the peculiar diplomacy of the last decade. The Kaiser sedulously cultivated his fellow murderer of Turkey, ostensibly because Asia Minor offered a field for German peaceful penetration, but really to use the Sultan, the Sheik-ul-Islam, the spiritual ruler of hundreds of millions of Mohammedans, to preach the Jihad, the Holy War, when the day arrived for Germany to shatter the British Empire.

The Holy War was a long-established English tradition. English schoolboys were brought up to do it reverence, English publicists discussed it, English statesmen saw it always as a spectre, and because their great Indian empire was at stake thought it wise not to press the Sultan too hard. Perhaps this fear was not surprising when one recalls the Indian mutiny and knows the part religion and obedience to spiritual devotion play in the life of the Asiatic and his philosophy of life. Life to him is merely a passage from the cradle to the grave, beyond the grave lies Paradise, which no true believer can gain if he has violated the commandments, and the greatest of these is to hear and obey. When the Sultan unfurled the green banner of the Prophet, Islam would rise to a man and put the infidel to the sword.

When Turkey cast in her lot with the Great Assassin of Potsdam, the Anglo-Saxon world, especially that part of it which had long had to do with India and the far East, braced itself for the shock. The Kaiser had taken the first trick. Having brought in Turkey as an ally, the next thing was to proclaim a jihad and thus call to the standard every Mohammedan throughout the world. It would mean, so the German Emperor calculated, India in ferment from one end to the other, Englishmen and all other Europeans murdered, the power of the British Government crippled, as it would have to send troops to India to put down the rebellion, and instead of India being a source of strength it would be a burden so heavy that England could render little assistance to France. It made no difference to the Kaiser that religious fanaticism was to be added to the horrors he had brought on the world. The more blood shed, the more cruelty inflicted on his enemies, the better pleased he was. He tried to inflame the East against the West, to let loose religious and racial hatred, and he failed—failed signally. None of his failures has been so conspicuous as this; in nothing that he has attempted has such conspicuous proof been given that the German mind is a thing unlike the mind of any other race, white, black, yellow or brown; that the German is a savage who can understand his fellow savage but has no contact with civilized beings.

The Mohammedan population of India has been loyal to the King-Emperor and has fought under the British flag against their co-religionists of Turkey. There could be no greater proof of the way in which England has administered her great Eastern dependency or the unfitness of Germany to rule subject races. If, as Germany has tried to make the world believe, the natives of India were longing to break the bond, this was their opportunity; such an opportunity as

never again would be given to them. India was stripped of white troops, the natives in overwhelming numbers could annihilate their governors; the supplies on which England to a certain extent depended to prosecute the war could be withheld by industrial paralysis on the part of the native population. Yet nothing that Germany anticipated happened. Germany has spent millions in trying to corrupt India, she has fomented plot and intrigue, but she has gained nothing. Her money and her unintelligent labors have yielded as little return as the money she has wasted in Mexico or that which she spent in the fantastic belief that she had only to give the word to provoke civil war in the United States.

Greater triumph even than the defeat of German intrigue has been the material strength India has given to the Allied cause. Indian regiments, native regiments led by their own commanders, have fought in France, they formed part of the ill-fated Gallipoli expedition, they are fighting in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and wherever they have fought it has been with the same courage, tenacity and contempt of death that is their history. There are no more terrible fighting men in the world than some of these native Indian regiments, who place implicit confidence in their white officers, who have for them an attachment that is rarely seen in other armies, whose code of duty is the very simple one of killing their enemy or being killed by him. The Mohammedans of India have fought the Mohammedans of Turkey, their loyalty to their alien sovereign greater than the fear of their spiritual ruler.

It is a very wonderful thing this, unexampled, perhaps, in the history of colonization, but the reason is not difficult to explain. England has brought to India justice, she has given the native security and protection, and has respected his customs, religion and social observance. The subtle mind of the Oriental, because of its subtlety, distinguishes very clearly between right and wrong, between the temporal and the spiritual. He has seen the Englishman showing reverence to his holy places, and he has seen the German destroying the great temples of Belgium and France. He has seen the Englishman at war and he has seen the German, and the contrast is so awful that he knows what would be his fate if Germany and not England exercised domination over India. He has rejected the spiritual leadership of the Sultan because he knows no question of religion is involved: that it is a political and not a religious war. Had their religion been threatened, nothing could have induced the Mohammedans of India to take up arms against men of their own faith; had they believed German victory would be to their advantage they would not to-day be fighting in the British Army.

To know Germany is to be convinced. Germany has carried her *Kultur* to India, and India, in common with all the rest of the civilized world, rejects it.

Mr. McAdoo's Reorganization

WHEN, a few weeks ago, Director General McAdoo announced that he intended to supplant all the railroad presidents in the country with Federal Managers of his own choice, a great many people were astounded—to put it mildly. The fact that the announcement of the far-reaching changes was made in quite a casual manner with virtually no explanatory statement did not tend to reassure many of those good people who unconsciously attribute to politics every innovation ordered from Washington.

It goes without saying that most of the gentlemen affected were shocked. Many of them resented the original appointment of Mr. McAdoo himself, and they could not be expected to accept with grace an order from him which virtually ended their careers. They had been Czars in the railroad world for decades and they keenly resented being compelled to abdicate on orders from an outsider. Of course some of them honestly believed that they were essential to the well being, if not the actual existence, of the lines which they had been managing until it had become a habit.

The fact of the matter is that soon after assuming control of the railroads Mr. McAdoo discovered that the greatest obstacles standing in the way of absolutely essential reforms were a large body of executives who were not capable enough to handle the properties efficiently, nor big enough to realize that they belonged to the country, during the period of the war, rather than to the stockholders. In his plan of re-organizing and co-ordinating the properties on efficient and national lines the Director General found it essential to remove these burdens.

Doubtless some of the men who have been demoted will be recalled to assist in solving the great transportation problems, but many others who owed their positions to influence rather than merit have been shelved permanently, and for this the country should be truly thankful. Of course the sole basis for judging the wisdom of Mr. McAdoo's rather drastic order will be found in the type of men whom he appoints to the vacancies. Until all the appointments are made it would be futile to attempt to pass judgment, but we feel that we are justified in stating that the men named up to the present time represent the very best type of practical railroad executives in the country. If Mr. McAdoo causes the remaining vacancies to be filled with men of the type who have been appointed during the last few weeks we believe that he will have brought about the greatest single railroad reform ever accomplished in this country. We say this, not solely upon our own judgment or knowledge of railroad executives, but upon the authority of men who have studied the lines and their management from every angle.

When the general re-organization was contemplated originally Mr. McAdoo found it essential to divide the country into zones or regions so that the co-ordination might be carried out on a local as well as a national plan. When these zones, seven in number, were created, it was essential that a director responsible solely to the Director General should be placed in general supervision of all lines in each territory.

With the advice of his "railroad cabinet" Mr. McAdoo chose directors for these regions, who, we believe, are as efficient as could be found. They are: Eastern Region, A. H. Smith; Allegheny Region, C. H. Markham; Pocahontas Region, N. D. Maher; Southern Region, B. L. Winchell; Northwestern Region, R. H. Aishton; Central Western Region, Hale Holden; Southwestern Region, B. F. Bush.

Each of these directors has been authorized to nominate Federal Managers for the lines in the regions. Many of them already have been nominated and promptly confirmed by the Director General. We believe that these appointments mean that the railroads are entering a new and better era, at least as far as management is concerned, and for this the country is indebted to Mr. McAdoo—political snipers to the contrary notwithstanding.

No Conscription: No Home Rule

THE indefinite postponement of both Conscription and Home Rule for Ireland has happily not caused any such disturbance in the domestic politics of the United Kingdom as many feared and as some doubtless hoped. There was at first a lot of wild talk about the Government's being hopelessly discredited and perhaps driven to resignation, and what not else, all of which may have been a sweet morsel under the too credulous pro-German tongue, but which was regarded with a mixture of amusement and weariness by judicious observers. As Kipling says, we "know that breed", the breed of fearsome and exaggerated forebodings and of molehills magnified into mountains, of "Lo, here!" and "Lo there!" with the end of the world impending every time somebody takes snuff.

The incident was doubtless from some points of view to be regretted. We can imagine that it was unpleasant, possibly a trifle humiliating, for the Government of the United Kingdom to be compelled practically to confess its inability to proceed with two major measures to the execution of which it had committed itself. But that sort of thing has happened before, at Westminster and also at Washington, too often to warrant regarding this incident as a unique or even an unusual phenomenon. Some British and Irish papers applied to it some particularly vituperative expressions, and a few over here, which usually try to be more Tory than the Tories or more Irish than the Irish, have done the same. With the former, we have no controversy. We are too fond of lambasting our own Government to condemn British and Irish prints for doing likewise to theirs. But to the latter, particularly in existing circumstances, we object. The Irish settlement or non-settlement is a domestic affair of the United Kingdom and is not our business; and just as we should resent having British papers larrup our Government for some failure in domestic administration, so we should refrain from gratuitous censoriousness concerning British domestic administration.

That rule always holds good. At the present time the circumstances of the war and of our alliance with Great Britain doubly emphasize it. For us to make an attack upon our Government which might embarrass it in its prosecution of the war would be seditious and would be penal. For us to make a similar attack upon the Government of one of our Allies certainly seems to be, morally, if not technically, a similar offence. It will therefore be well for us to mind our own business rather than to rail at our neighbors for the way in which they mind theirs.

Apart from such considerations, however, there seems to be little cause for throwing dust into the air and howling "Woe is me, Alhama!" Since Conscription and Home Rule were inseparably bracketed together, it was logical to drop or to hold in abeyance both of them if it was necessary thus to deal with either one. Nor is it profitable to argue that both might have been adopted if they had been taken up in proper order. Maybe. People said that Mr. Lloyd George had blundered in demanding Conscription before Home Rule was granted; but as many more would equally have damned him for granting Home Rule before Conscription was required. Some say that if Home Rule had been granted there would have been no need of Conscription, for the Irish would have volunteered without it; but as many more reply that if the

Irish had volunteered, Home Rule would have been granted. Some say that England ought to have granted Home Rule and have trusted Ireland; others that Ireland ought to have accepted Conscription and have trusted England. There seems to be what they used to call in Chicago "incompatibility of temperature."

But really there seems to us to be little ground for lamenting loss on either side. The Government by dropping Conscription will lose some troops. But Ireland's quota under Conscription would have been so small that the kingdom can probably afford to get along without it rather than to endure all the fuss and ruction that a draft would almost certainly cause. On the other hand, Ireland can better afford to wait a little longer for Home Rule than to get it now in circumstances which would exacerbate Unionist condemnation of it, and which would always have given some show of ground for the reproach that it had been extorted by taking undue advantage of England's extremity in the war.

We are inclined therefore partly to approve and partly to disapprove the recent letter of Mr. John Dillon to his countrymen in America. He is quite right in denouncing it as libellous to "hold up the Irish people before America as pro-Germans and enemies of the liberty of Europe out of hatred and animosity to the British people." We ourselves have emphasized and enlarged upon that very point, urging that Ireland and the Irish should not be judged by the Sinn Fein, whom Mr. Dillon himself charges with being the real source of the present trouble. On the other hand, we cannot agree with him in asking that Americans of Irish blood shall intervene in the matter, to influence and control the course of the British Government. Any such meddling would be one of the worst things that we could do, not alone for ourselves but no less for Ireland herself. We wish Ireland well, and we wish for a just settlement of the so-called "Irish problem." But just now, we, together with the kingdom of which Ireland is a part, are engaged in a war so great as to overshadow, dwarf and eclipse all other issues. What we want is for Irish and English and Americans to throw every possible ounce of belligerence into the war against the Blond Beast and not to remit an effort until the foul thing is slain. Then will be time enough to consider other matters.

A Doleful Hun Howl

IN the obviously sincere distress of the Cologne *Volkszeitung* over the collapse of *Kultur* in the United States we may measure the magnitude of the hopes the Huns had hung on that campaign of peaceful penetration which they had been carrying on here for so many years as a part of the preparation for their present colossal brigandage onslaught.

With the aid of a strong Teutonic press directly under their control by subsidy, and indirectly by insinuatingly flattering attentions to owners and editors, they had what they thought was an all but irresistible political leverage. By the carefully managed investment here of over two thousand millions of dollars in large commercial and manufacturing concerns at strategic industrial centers, they thought they had such a strangle hold upon American business life that we could never break loose. By years and years of sneaking, skulking espionage in all departments of our social, political

and business activities they thought they had the keys to all our innermost thoughts, aspirations and weaknesses. By a chain of hyphenated organizations, such as the pestiferous German-American Alliance, they thought they had a highly trained army ready equipped and mobilized to press to overwhelming victory any and all forms of propaganda. Potsdam might launch through the controlled forces of German newspaperdom here. For years they had been forcing the German language, German Kaiserworship and the glorification of all things German down the throats of our school children. The substitution of German for English as the national speech was one of their avowed aims towards which they thought they were moving with ever accelerating momentum. They thought they had us just about where they wanted us. It was all very simple. They had the idiotic Yankees fast shackled to them with links of steel.

And then, of course, there were the controlling axiomatic propositions which alone were sufficient to ensure our falling into the procession behind the Hun war chariots. Of course we were a disorganized mob of cowardly shop-keepers; a race of dollar worshippers ever ready to be bought out by the highest bidder; a self-seeking, money-stuffed, luxury-sodden lot. We could be walked over, used as swabs to mop up the earth with. Our army was a joke; our navy was a joke. Our potential military resentment of any and all violations of our territory as a Hun plotting and bombing and incendiary base was a nullity. Murdering, maiming and drowning our women and children on the high seas with entire impunity was a matter wholly within Hun discretion. There were thousands upon thousands of Hun reservists here ready to plunge us into civil war at the slightest manifestation of aggressive restlessness under Hun brutality and insolence. And back of all were myriads of Hun *bunds* and "alliances" and what not ready to crack the political whip over any obstreperous official or statesman.

Now all this, fantastic and absurd as it is, existed in the Hun mind not as a mere dream, an inspiration, but as an accomplished, concrete fact. It was an accepted article of Hun faith.

It is the awakening from this cataleptic trance which recently gave the Cologne newspaper so much pain. "The German press is already nearly crushed out of existence in America," it says. "The greater part of the German schools are closed. The German associations are required to strip themselves of all vestiges of Germany. It is a complete débâcle."

And lifting up its voice in a still more strident key of lamentation, the *Volkszeitung* goes on:

After the war Germany will no longer be able to enter America; the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd lines are entered in the black book. Shipbuilding yards and offices have been sold with prohibition of re-selling to Germany after the war. The American press speaks of forbidding Germans to buy shipbuilding yards. It will be the end of our transatlantic commerce.

Besides these maritime losses, German estates representing millions of dollars, stocks of copper, nickel, cotton, leather and chemical products have been seized and utilized to fabricate American war material.

Now all this is true enough. The Cologne newspaper has not overdrawn, but rather underdrawn, the inventory of our humble past, present and future offerings on the shrine of *Kultur*. But, after all, why should they lament, no matter what comes their way? They have the Kaiser left.

Our Deadly Automatic

IT is most satisfying to announce that through the foresight of General Crozier and Colonel Thompson of the Ordnance Bureau, America's armies are being equipped with at least one weapon that means sure death to the Hun when he is caught within short range.

The story of the ".45," which has finally come into its own, dates back to the Philippine campaigns. In those days our troops discovered that the .38 calibre, which had been the favorite American revolver, was not a fatal weapon, as army men had always presumed it to be. In former wars when a soldier was hit in a vital spot by a bullet from a .38 he was supposed to be done for. Not so with certain tribes of the Filipinos. Although the wound from such a bullet might eventually prove fatal, it frequently passed through the bodies of the Filipinos, who in close-range fighting often succeeded in killing Americans before they dropped.

General Crozier thereupon decided to enlarge the calibre and reduce the velocity of the weapons so that they would be absolutely fatal. The chief of ordnance and Colonel Thompson devoted much time during the following years to the problem, and after the most exacting experiments they eventually perfected the present weapon. Meanwhile, the European Governments were paying little or no attention to the development of pistols and revolvers. Germany contented herself with the "Luger," which is a toy compared to the .45, while Great Britain and France made no changes in their accepted types.

Undoubtedly the fact that none of the European Powers have ever taken the pistol seriously as a war weapon accounts to a large extent for their lack of interest in its development. Germany, as well as the Governments now allied with us, has always considered pistols and revolvers in the nature of side arms for the use of officers only. The same view has been reflected in our own army by many officers who were opposed to equipping even our cavalry with the small weapon.

Despite strong opposition from the line, our ordnance officers have insisted that it would be extremely foolish to omit the .45 from general use in the service. When the first contingents of American troops were sent abroad the small detachments of cavalry carried .45's, but none of the infantry was equipped with them. The army assumed that we would naturally follow the experience of our Allies and use hand grenades and bayonets for close fighting.

One incident opened the eyes of General Pershing's staff to the value of the .45 as a trench weapon.

An American sergeant was called from a dugout and summoned to surrender by a German lieutenant in command of half a dozen men. When the lone American reached the surface he found the Germans standing a few feet away from the entrance with drawn bayonets. He whipped out his automatic, blew the lieutenant's brains out and killed two of the astounded soldiers within much less time than it takes to tell it. The other Germans retreated as he shoved in a fresh "clip."

This incident was followed immediately by others of the same sort. General Pershing thereupon cabled Washington to make millions of automatics instead of thousands, so that each soldier could be equipped with a pair of them. The Ordnance Department is rushing work on new factories and

the General Staff has concluded that the American .45 will do much more deadly work in the trenches than grenades, bombs or any other weapons devised abroad.

The bullet is 50 per cent bigger than that used in the machine gun, while the extreme smallness of the weapon, coupled with its capacity for rapid fire, makes it ideal for fighting at close quarters.

Dr. Clark Reviews the Situation

DR. CHARLES HOPKINS CLARK, Connecticut's distinguished publicist and veteran editor of the *Hartford Courant*, has taken a broad survey of the Nutmeg State's war activities and general conditions and finds much to commend and little to criticise. His presentment of Connecticut's vigorous contributions towards winning the war is an encouraging document, and one of which the citizens of the State may well be proud.

In furnishing men for both the army and navy Connecticut has filled her quotas and gone away beyond them. And not only in furnishing men, but in every field of war activity Connecticut is right up to the front rank with the best of her sister States. Connecticut holds \$2,500,000 of Liberty bonds in her treasury as a part of her sinking fund, and individual purchases of the same war pledges have been as large, in proportion to population, as those in any State of the Union. Connecticut's Liberty Bond purchases are, in fact, far in excess of the State's allotment. In war savings stamp purchases, in Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus, Jewish Relief Fund and Salvation Army contributions, the citizens of his State have poured out their money lavishly.

Dr. Clark is speaking as a Republican in politics to fellow Republicans in his review of Connecticut's efforts in the war, and, if he does not precisely recognize that "politics is adjourned," he himself adjourns it long enough to speak first of all as the staunch loyal American of the root-and-branch stock that he is when he refers to the war's causes and America's purposes therein. He says:

At this crisis in the world's history, the supreme determination of every man who believes in individual liberty and breathes the spirit of democracy must be to crush the attempt of the German autocracy to substitute a military dictatorship for self-government and the right of independent thought.

But here is a sentence which, with all deference to Dr. Clark's high standing among the conservative thinkers and writers of the country, almost suggests the propriety of shaking a warning finger and even going so far as to say, tut! tut! Dr. Clark daringly remarks:

While Republicans are eager to assist and stimulate the present Democratic Administration in the prosecution of the war, and know no party in their patriotism, they realize the inconsistency of the suggestion that politics is adjourned, when every day gives evidence to the contrary.

Now if this is not precisely *lèse majesté*, it is perilously enough near it to justify Dr. Clark's hosts of warm friends in warning him that he is skating on mighty thin ice. He may break through and find himself in the chilly waters of non-constructive criticism if he doesn't look out.

Comrades

By ALFRED NOYES

[The following verses were read by Mr. Noyes at the recent dedication in Princeton, New Jersey, of the monument erected on one of the old battlefields of the Revolutionary War to the memory of the American and British soldiers who fell there on January 3, 1777, and were buried together in the same trench.]

Now lamp-lit gardens in the blue dusk shine
Through dog-wood red and white,
And round the gray quadrangles, line by line,
The windows fill with light,
Where Princeton calls to Oxford, tower to tower,
Twin lanterns of the law,
And those cream-white magnolia boughs embower
The halls of old Nassau.

The dark bronze tigers crouch on either side
Where red-coats used to pass,
And round the bird-loved house where Mercer died
And violets dusk the grass,
By Stony Brook that ran so red of old,
But sings of friendship now,
To feed the old enemy's harvest fiftyfold
The green earth takes the plough.

Through this May night if one great ghost should stray
With deep remembering eyes,
Where that old meadow of battle smiles away
Its blood-stained memories,
If Washington should walk, where friend and foe
Sleep and forget the past,
Be sure his unquenched heart would leap to know
Their hosts are joined at last.

Be sure he walks, in shadowy buff and blue,
Where those dim lilacs wave,
He bends his head to bless, as dreams come true,
The promise of that grave,
Then with a vaster hope than thought can scan,
Touching his ancient sword,
Prays for that mightier realm of God in man,
"Hasten Thy Kingdom, Lord.

"Land of our hope, land of the singing stars,
Type of the world to be,
The vision of a world set free from wars
Takes life, takes form, from thee,
Where all the jarring nations of this earth,
Beneath the all-blessing sun,
Bring the new music of mankind to birth,
And make the whole world one."

And those old comrades rise around him there,
Old foemen, side by side,
With eyes like stars upon the brave night-air,
And young as when they died,
To hear your bells, O beautiful Princeton towers,
Ring for the world's release.
They see you, piercing like gray swords through flowers,
And smile from hearts at peace.

THE USES OF CRITICISM

SIR,—Permit me to say briefly that the same reasons that Judge Baker alleges for not reading your criticisms prompt me to read them carefully. When I was a small boy I used to be told that "our best friends are those persons who point out to us our faults and show us how to correct them." Many times since then have I found the dictum to be true. I do not believe anybody is helped by compliments; I am sure many are helped by criticism. If we believe our Government to be the best in the world—and most of us do—it is mainly because we are a nation of critics, or "grumblers", if that be a better term to use in this connection.

If we are to believe what can hardly be doubted, the German people have been fooled during the past four years by false news assiduously spread by the militarists through the press. They have been fed on promises that have not been fulfilled and never will be. They have been deluded by reports of victories that were never won. I need only mention the naval battle off the coast of Jutland. They were assured over and over again that America would never enter the war; then that it made very little difference whether we entered or not, as the U-boats would prevent our getting more than a small number of men to the front. Nobody but a fool or a German pays any attention to what the German newspapers print, for the reason that they never criticize or print anything which the militarists disapprove. Unfounded criticism defeats itself; just criticism is always its own best vindication. The Germans prepared for this war with sys-

tematic lying; they justified it with more lies and they have persistently lied since it began. While it is true that some Germans knew better, they were not permitted to tell the truth in print. A subsidized or a cowed press is far more dangerous than any foreign enemy.

ATHENS, OHIO.

CHAS. W. SUPER.

FROM A GENEROUS FRIEND

SIR,—Because I believe you to be a man of the very broadest generosity I am impelled to write this brief note. I have read with care your criticisms of the President and Congress and then noted how ungrudgingly you bestow praise and commendation on whatever you think worthy of praise and commendation. Hearty laughter has been provoked at your answers to critics of yourself, and I wish self-control had been always given me to do likewise. Your answer to the correspondent who, very offensively, wanted to know what you had done for the glory of the cause must have humiliated him almost unthinkably. I believe that if one were to write you in bitterest denunciation, and concluded with a fittingly fine expression of patriotic fervor, you would pass the denunciation with an admission of any truth it might contain, with a word of irony or delectable ridicule, and address yourself at once in praise of the patriotic utterance. I denominate that quality, or characteristic, evidence of very great breadth.

THE WAR WEEKLY is a most informing publication.

If some of our statesmen had some of your fine qualities it would be much better for their constituents and for our great country.

DUBUQUE, IOWA.

FREDERICK O'DONNELL.

A FRENCH SCHOOL GIRL ON THE WAR

SIR,—I am sending you what seems to me to be one of the most perfect little masterpieces that I have ever read. It was written by Odette Gastinel, a thirteen-year-old schoolgirl in France, and sums up with exquisite simplicity of expression the thought that is in the minds of half the people of the civilized world to-day. Is this not, perhaps, the foreshadowing of an epic on the greatest event in the history of the world? If beauty like this can spring from the ashes of the war, the conflict cannot have been an utter calamity.

PORTSMOUTH, N. H.

DOROTHY HARDING.

"It was a little river—almost a brook. It was called the Yser. One could talk from side to side without raising one's voice. The birds would fly over it with one sweep of their wings. And on its banks there were millions of men, the one turned toward the other, eye to eye. But the difference which separated them was greater than that between the stars in the sky. It was the difference which separates justice from injustice.

"The ocean is so great that the sea-gulls do not dare to cross it. For seven days and seven nights the great steamships from America, going at full speed, must drive through the deep waters, before the lighthouses of France come into view. But from one side to another hearts are touching."

FROM ONE IN UNIFORM

SIR,—Enclosed please find my contribution for THE WAR WEEKLY. I wish I could subscribe to one hundred copies instead of one.

I read the issue of last week, and never was I more rewarded for my pains. It is particularly refreshing to one in uniform, who is thereby prevented from unrestrained expression concerning the conduct of affairs.

My feelings are not as harsh as those expressed by Colonel Harvey, nevertheless they run in a similar channel, and I assure you I look forward with great pleasure to his subsequent expressions of opinion.

NEW YORK CITY.

L. H.

REFERRED TO MR. DAVISON

SIR,—Please make an effort to help Serbia. It is beyond comprehension how that brave people can be slighted in this country in the face of their splendid history up to this very hour. Will you start a fund for the thousands of war prisoners until the Red Cross can get organized enough to take care of them all? England is sending still a hundred and fifty thousand a month to the Serbian Relief Fund, after all these years of sacrifice.

SAN FRANCISCO.

JANET M. PEAK.

FROM A GOOD AMERICAN

SIR,—As a good American, all I can say is—God bless the WAR WEEKLY and the work that it is doing!

Enclosed herewith my check, for which please send me the WEEKLY.

NEW YORK CITY.

FRANKLIN ESCHER.

RESTLESS

SIR,—Here's a check for two more subscriptions. I won't rest until all my friends get that "Harvey viewpoint"!

SAN FRANCISCO.

J. W. LILIENTHAL, JR.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

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WEEK ENDING JULY 27, 1918

NO. 30

"AUX ARMES, CITOYENS!"

LET us cherish no illusions!

Above the tumult and the shouting of the glorious Marne sounds one clear voice, vibrant, convincing, soul-compelling. It is the call to arms. It is the cry of battle, urging more speed and yet more speed, calling for force and yet more force. It is the summons of Democracy, of Freedom, of Humanity to every lover of the great cause to hasten to the front millions to back up our thousands and crush for all time the Beast of Despotism and despoiler of homes.

That is the lesson of the news, the only lesson worth our heeding. Pershing has told his wounded soldiers that America is proud of them. She is, inexpressibly proud and grateful. Yet more to the purpose of the work that we have in hand is it to make sure that they shall be proud of America, and that can be achieved only by America's hastening to send a man for every drop of blood that has been shed, and a regiment for every life that has been lost.

There could be no greater mistake, no more monstrous treason, than to slacken in the least our utmost efforts to push the campaign with every attainable man and gun. Splendid as is the achievement at the Marne, it has not won the war. It has not even definitely turned the tide. It has simply shown us what we can do if we ever get fully into the war. It has simply demonstrated to us the need of more men, more guns, more airplanes, more munitions.

Are the Hunnish armies checked in their latest drive? Then the check should be made a defeat. Are they defeated? Then the defeat should be made a retreat. Are they retreating? Then the retreat should be made a rout. Are they routed? Then in God's name and Democracy's, make the route annihilation! This is no time for hesitance, for watchful waiting, for looking for something to turn up that will make it unnecessary to send another million men across the seas. It is rather a time to gird up our loins and press on and on, lest "these dead shall have died in vain" and our first battle be sacrificed to the gods of procrastination and pacifism.

When the great Russian drive into East Prussia was made in the first year of the war, what would it not have been worth to have had it so supported and followed up that every inch of ground would have been held? What would it not have been worth if last year's magnificent drive on the

Somme could have been backed up by a million American troops, to hold all that had been won and to continue the drive to and beyond the Rhine? Those lessons should be seared with fire upon our consciousness, to rouse us to make every gain a call for further effort, every victory a requisition for more force.

Make no mistake. The hateful Hunnish propaganda is already abroad with suggestions that the war is practically won and that we can now afford to take a breathing-space, and that there will be no need of further conscriptions for the army. The enemy, they say, is down, and there is no reason for pounding his prostrate form. It is time now to think of coming to an agreement with our beaten foe for an honorable ending of the war.

Before God, it would be well if those who put forth such treasonable gloze were placed between a blank wall and a firing squad. Such counsel is for prolongation of the war, for adding to its cost in treasure, blood and lives. Its purpose, conscious or unconscious, is to give the enemy a chance to get upon his feet again and to renew the fight with recruited strength; and in our very hour of potential victory to imperil our success and if possible to doom us to defeat.

So far as America is concerned, this is only the beginning. We shall have need of three, four or five times the number of troops that we now have on the line, and the more we speed up, intensify and increase our efforts, the sooner the war will end. In conflict with an honorable foe the old rules of chivalry might prevail. A Grant at an Appomattox might well say to a Lee, "Keep your sword, and let your men keep their horses; they will need them for spring plowing." But when we fight a foe that knows not truth or honor, a foe that violates treaties, ignores the laws of nations, outrages the precepts of humanity, and flouts the everlasting will of God, there is but one course to pursue. When he is down, keep him down and strike the swifter and the harder until he is entirely slain.

In the words of the President, "This intolerable Thing, without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed!" In the words of the President: "Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished."

"Aux armes, citoyens!"

The Republican "Near Convention"

AS not unfrequently happens in matters personal as well as in those of broader concern, the Republican gathering at Saratoga, which was sporadic in its origin and indeed emerged as the outcome of a not very edifying internal party squabble, became in its climax one of the most dramatic and possibly one of the most far-reaching events in the political history of the State. For one thing, it was the beginning of the end of the primary system of nominations. To all intents and purposes it overruled and overrode the primary. The wave of emotion let loose by the mere presence of Mr. Roosevelt, under the cloud of personal affliction which had befallen him, swept everything before it. Plans and schemes, political fences and all the political intrigue accessories, which had cost so many months of patient toil and tinkering in assemblage and construction, went down before the torrent like the wreckage of a Johnstown flood.

But that was merely an outstanding feature of the gathering in its narrower field. It is in its broader, National influences that the memorable assemblage was most remarkable. Ex-President Taft referred to it as a "near convention." If it was that, it was much nearer to being a "near" National than a "near" State convention. From its rostrum the voices of men whose utterances command the serious attention of Americans everywhere, quite irrespective of political lines of cleavage, spoke to Republicans throughout the entire country. In the speeches of Ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, of Mr. Root, of Chairman Hays and, if last by no means least, of the Hon. J. Sloat Fassett, we have pretty clearly defined the lines on which the Republicans evidently are going to carry on a very vigorous campaign for the control at least of the next Congress. As to 1920, that, as one of the speakers in substance said, is too far away and too obscured by portentous uncertainties to be visualized.

Mr. Fassett, in an opening speech hard to match for impressive earnestness and masterly diction, outlined the significance of the war we are waging in a few sentences which lifted his address to a plane of patriotism wholly above any remote trace of partisan narrowness. It prepared the ground superbly for that one overshadowing, first-of-all purpose enunciated as the fundamental Republican objective—the purpose, as Mr. Roosevelt put it, "to win the war and win it now;" to win it by victory complete, overwhelming and crushing, and, to that end, to have done with palterings and hesitations and holdings back, and to throw into that purpose every ounce of man power and money power and material resources our nation of 120,000,000 people possesses. That is the sentiment which rang through every one of those memorable Saratoga speeches. It is the basic proposition on which the Republican party is going to the country this Fall and for so long a time as the war shall be continued. On the extent to which they measure up to virile support of that proposition, all in office and all candidates for office are to be approved or condemned. There must be no hospitality in the Republican party for pacifists, or temporizers, or hesitating opportunists. A war party from the start, the Republican party is a war party to the finish in this righteous war.

With that as the keynote, the campaign as further outlined by Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, Mr. Root and Mr. Hays, will be

a campaign of criticism of men and measures and methods wherever the door to criticism is legitimately open. More than that, the demand for the control of Congress is to be frankly based on the desirability of having a critical and not a politically coerced and subservient House and Senate to watch over the exercise of those enormous and hitherto unheard of powers vested, and properly vested, in the Administration as an essential war measure. As Mr. Taft put it:

What is needed then to help this Administration most is a co-ordinate branch of the Government with power and responsibility in fighting this war, which will perform two functions. The first is that of constructive criticism of Administrative action or inaction. A criticism is constructive which will point out a defect for the purpose of having it remedied, which will emphasize a need for the purpose of having it supplied. It is a criticism from a source of independent power which will minimize the numbing security of official reserve and concealment and stimulate executive sensitiveness to the duty of quick decision and action in time of war. The second function is by law to enlarge our military preparations at once so that they shall clearly be adequate to our declared national purpose.

And the importance of a Congress of a high order of capacity was further urged by Mr. Root:

We have been building up by a great mass of statutes, an executive authority unprecedented in scope and absolutism. We have done it with alacrity because it was necessary for the conduct of the war. We shall continue it so long as the war lasts. But when the war ends, all this system of executive government will have to be unscrambled and we shall have to get back to a government of limited powers and individual freedom. We shall not go back where we were. That never can be done. And it ought not to be done, because we are learning valuable lessons and we must utilize them in the rearrangement which follows the war. But that rearrangement must be based upon the same fundamental principles which have made America great and free. Never in American history have brains and character been needed more in the Congress of the United States than they will be at the time, probably within the life of the next Congress, when Germany breaks and peace comes.

Which naturally suggests the reflection that that spacious-minded publicist and broadly trained specialist in international relations, the same statesman who set in motion a selected shock corps of assorted cranks and fellow pacifists to "have the boys out of the trenches by Christmas," and who suggested the diplomatic propriety of tying tin cans to applicants here for loans to enable our Allies to fight for our lives while we watchfully waited—namely, Henry L. Ford—may, by the beautiful mechanics of the Michigan primary system, become the candidate of Mr. Root's own party for a seat in precisely that United States Senate, where, as Mr. Root says, exceptional sagacity will be so sorely needed.

On this Win the War and Win Now plank, with free criticism of Administrative measures past and to come; with a demand for universal and compulsory military training; for a national budget system and for an immediate study of demobilization and industrial problems by a competent commission—on these lines the Republicans are going to the country this Fall in a campaign to win control of Congress which promises to be almost as interesting as though politics were not adjourned.

WASHINGTON, July 7.—For a second time the application of Gordon Auchincloss, son-in-law of Col. E. M. House, to enter an officers' training camp has been rejected. He tried for the first officers' training camp, but his application was refused on account of trouble with his eyes. Recently he renewed his application to the Adjutant-General, but the War Department refused to alter its decision.

So he need not have induced Secretary Lansing to ask exemption for him, after all. It was better to be on the safe side, of course, but really there was no occasion to doubt the dependability of the good old War Department.

Drive and Counter-Drive

THE Huns' fifth drive this year has been the worst failure of all. Its four predecessors were, as we have hitherto pointed out, all failures, inasmuch as they did not attain the ends at which they were aimed. But at least they secured some gains of territory, and took from the Allies many prisoners and guns; though at a cost in lives which Germany could ill afford to pay, and which might well cause the Kaiser to say with Pyrrhus, "If we have another such victory, we are undone." This fifth attempt has, however, resulted in not even that poor satisfaction, but has made no net gains whatever in territory, in prisoners, or in captured guns. Indeed, the balance of gain and loss is probably somewhat against the Huns.

This is the more significant when we consider it as the culmination or at least the latest development of a consistent process. The first German drive was by far the most formidable of all and made the greatest gains. The second fell far, very far, short of it. The third showed some revival of strength and was much more efficient than the second, though far short of the first. The fourth was not only weaker than the third, but also weaker and less effectual in gains than the feeble second. And now the fifth fails to show any such revival after the fourth as the third did after the second, but is by far the most futile of all. That seems certainly to indicate a progressive decline in Hunnish driving power.

That, however, is not the complete explanation. We believe that there has been also an increase in the resisting power and in the counter-driving power of the Allies. This is due to two causes. One is, the unification of command under a single Generalissimo. We do not say that the agonizing losses of the Allies in that first drive in Picardy last March were altogether due to the lack of such command. It is a fact of record that they occurred before the appointment of General Foch as Generalissimo, and also that it was largely because of them that the necessity of that appointment was recognized.

The other cause of the progressive failure of the German drives is, the increasing participation of American troops in the operations on the battle front. It will be recalled that there was practically no such participation at the time of the first drive, or not until near its end. It was the awful need of aid, when the British army stood "with its back to the wall" in defence of the Channel Ports, that caused Americans to be flung into the fight, at first merely brigaded with French and British troops. And that American participation has been effective for checking subsequent drives in three ways. One is, doubtless, through the encouragement, the heartening, the improvement of morale, which the other Allies have received, and perhaps through the discouragement and demoralization which the Huns have increasingly suffered. Another is, obviously, through the actual and considerable numerical increase in the Allied forces, making them not, perhaps, nearly equal to the Huns in numbers, but at least approaching such equality.

The third feature of the American participation has been too much overlooked. That is, the improvement in quality as well as the increase in numbers of the Allied forces. We do not mean that, generally speaking, American soldiers are any better than the superb Poilus and Tommies who for four years have formed the bulwark of civilization against the

barbarians. There never were finer soldiers in the world than those at Ypres and the Marne. But we must remember that these four years of war and sacrifice have swept away many of the best fighting men of those armies, and that the ranks now contain many, very many, who are too old or too young, or too recently recovered from wounds, to be of the highest efficiency; while on the other hand our men are all of the best fighting age, unwounded, and of the very highest efficiency, so that every American division is literally a *corps d'élite*. It is the infusion of scores of thousands of what are practically picked troops into an army of wearied men drawn from all ages and classes.

So while the four preceding drives ended in a check after more or less net gains by the Huns, this fifth is apparently ending in not merely a check but a counter-drive and a material net loss for the Huns. That is a result which we must contemplate with profound gratification and with pardonable exultation. But we should shamefully mar its glory if we permitted it to excite in us the least degree of over-confidence or of a feeling that the crisis of the war is past and the need of our utmost exertion is ended. There could be no greater mistake than to think any such thing as that. If those magnificent achievements between the Marne and the Aisne mean anything at all to us, it must be the need of pressing on with redoubled zeal on precisely the same two lines that have led us to them. Those are, unity of action, not alone on the battle front but in diplomacy, economies, commerce, and everything that pertains to the war; and the swiftest and greatest possible increase of the American fighting force "over there."

Beware of the German propagandist who suggests that since we are winning there is no need of sending so many more troops. We are not yet winning to any extent which would warrant such a slackening. And no matter how much we were winning it would still be desirable to send as many troops as possible, in order to minimize our losses and to expedite and perfect the result. For it is certain—it should be obvious to all—that the more men we send to the front, the quicker and easier and more complete will our victory be, and the smaller will be our losses.

Mr. Baker having rejected the Provost Master General's plan to expand the draft ages and having made no provision for the continuance of conscription after January 1, there seems to be little left for General Crowder to do in Washington; so why should he not be banished to France to do hack work? Perhaps he will be. One must take care not to prove so efficient as to attract public attention while serving under Mr. Baker.

Mr. Schwab telegraphed to the striking boilermakers:

It seems incredible to us that at the moment when the Germans are making a renewed drive against the Americans in France any body of American workmen could stop for any reason whatever.

But it had no effect; the strike continued, and hardly a day passes in which more strikes are not called, without the slightest heed of the pleadings of Mr. Gompers, who has risen with such splendid spirit to the occasion. That trouble will ensue from these unpatriotic performances we must take for granted, but the most we can do at present is to warn the inciters of disturbance that the country is in no mood for nonsense, and to direct their attention to the fact that bayonetting has already begun in Massachusetts.

The Loss of the "San Diego"

ON the morning that the *San Diego* was destroyed, the Navy Department was warned that a periscope had been sighted off the New England coast. The warning was promptly relayed to Captain Christy, and he replied that every precaution had been taken to ward off an attack. Despite these precautions, a stern explosion sent her to the bottom. No periscope was sighted. Captain Christy was of the opinion that she was torpedoed, but Admiral Palmer, acting head of the Navy Department, upon expert advice disagreed with the commander, and announced that he believed that she had been mined or was wrecked by an internal explosion.

Two days later thousands of spectators saw a submarine attack a tug towing barges along the coast, and immediately all question of an internal explosion was discounted, and the Navy Department concluded that the cruiser was sunk either by the submarine torpedo or by a mine sown by her.

That is the record of the case as we have it at this writing. Later developments may change it, but at the present time the country is justified in believing that a submarine "got" the *San Diego* either by direct attack or as the result of a mine explosion.

We have not the slightest doubt that the Navy Department will take every precaution to warn coastal and trans-Atlantic shipping against the submarine and her mines. We assume that routes will be changed to avoid mines and that such merchant ships as go to sea will be protected. Likewise at the present time we are not particularly interested in trying to guess what the Germans are aiming to accomplish by this new submarine attack on our coast. We leave amateur strategists to do the guessing—satisfied that the Navy will solve the purpose of the campaign soon enough to check its ultimate objective.

But what we are interested in knowing is how it happened that the *San Diego* was ordered "outside" without proper protection. We are not inclined to be hypercritical of the Navy as a result of the loss of this ship, which in truth we could ill afford to spare, because God knows the Navy has been the one bright spot in our horizon up to a few days ago. We are surprised and aggrieved, however, that our one bright record should be darkened by the loss of this vessel, when the loss was occasioned by a violation of every lesson that we have learned in fighting the submarine.

Our experience in protecting the transports has established an axiom that *all capital ships* are prey to submarines and mines when unprotected by destroyers and sweepers, but that they are virtually safe when properly guarded by the smaller vessels. A submarine will not attack when a destroyer is within range. A mine cannot touch a ship when the course has been properly swept. We trust that the loss of the *San Diego* will imprint these facts indelibly upon the mind of every officer in the Navy who is responsible for ship movements.

If the *San Diego* had been properly protected she would be in New York harbor to-day on the active list of the Navy and just as surely as other capital ships are allowed to cruise in the Atlantic without proper protection we may expect them to follow this armored cruiser to the bottom.

The *San Diego*, we are told, was unlucky. Maybe so. By the same rule of reasoning the Navy was lucky, because

the *Pennsylvania* or *New Mexico*, our greatest dreadnoughts, would have met the same fate in the same circumstances. Luck will not beat the submarine. We must use constant vigilance to beat the human shark whose eye never closes.

The present Congress cannot be charged with any lack of loyalty. What it needs is brains and leadership. A concerted movement should be made throughout the country to strengthen Congress intellectually. Never before was there such need of men of high character, independence, ability and experience. There is no danger that pacifists or pro-Germans will dominate or even vex the new Congress, but the prospect that it will be largely a nondescript aggregation of nobodies, experimenters, shellbacks and faddists is all too good.—*The World*.

Confession; frankness; truth!

Adjourning Politics in Part

DESPITE the refusal of Chairman McCormick to join with Chairman Hays in sanctioning the plan proposed by this journal to eliminate Congressional elections this year in confessedly "safe" districts, the rank and file are responding more patriotically in several States. The latest instance is afforded by the Democrats of the Tenth district of California, who wrote to Republican Representative Osborne:

The undersigned Democratic constituents of yours believe that you should be nominated for Congress by the Democrats of this district, and thus render unnecessary any campaign on your part for re-election. This would enable you to devote all your time and energy to the service of your country.

We feel that this is a time when all other considerations should be subordinated to winning the war, and as you have earnestly supported all great measures in Congress without seeking partisan advantage, we feel that your constituents should show their approval of your course by giving you their support without regard to party.

The Boston *Transcript* supported the suggestion from the beginning and, as a consequence of its persistent urging, there is a fair chance of an agreement being reached to apply to all but one or two of the districts in Massachusetts. An understanding has also been reached in six New York districts and an effort is now being made to unite the two parties against the Socialists, Meyer London and Morris Hillquit, and to re-elect Mr. La Guardia, an ardent loyalist, whose majority was only three hundred two years ago. As the *Times* belatedly inquires, "In districts clearly Republican or Democratic, and now represented by men of undoubted patriotism, what is the use of wasting time, money and energy on a minority candidate?"

There is no use, of course; there never was; but it has taken the *Times* a long time to find it out,—about as long, in fact, as it took Mr. McCormick to consider the advisability of considering what he had already considered.

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The Dress of a President

EVERYBODY knows, of course, that Mr. Wilson is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, but not everybody knows why he does not wear a uniform like Messrs. Hohenzollern and Hapsburg, who also hold that most distinguished military rank. Having never given any particular thought to the matter, we had supposed that the black cutaway and creased Sargeant trousers in Winter and the blue sack and ironed white flannel pants in Summer were attributable merely to custom. But therein we erred. It seems that these modest and comely garments bear to the tutored mind a deep and abiding significance which hitherto has escaped the attention of the public.

The discovery was made in this way: Mr. Bernhardt Wall, a real artist, made an etching of the President in full regalia and politely sent a copy to him. Whereupon, in courteous acknowledgment, the President wrote a cordial and sincere letter, which was duly printed in *Bruno's Bohemia*, poetical for *The Dog's Paradise*, to this effect:

I warmly and sincerely appreciate the sentiment which led you to make the etching of which you were kind enough to send me a copy, but I feel bound, in replying to your letter, to say that there is a sense in which putting me in uniform violates a very fundamental principle of our institutions, namely, that the military power is subordinate to the civil.

The framers of the Constitution, of course, realized that the President would seldom be a soldier, and their idea in making him the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States was that the armed forces of the country must be the instruments of the authority by which policy was determined. It is for that reason that we can so truly say that our organization is in no sense and can in no sense be militaristic.

I do not think this a mere formal scruple on my part. I believe it goes to the root of things, and I am sure I may thus candidly express it to you without creating the impression that I do not fully appreciate the motive and the idea of your etching, by which I am very much complimented.

Now, speaking with the utmost candor, this came to us as a complete surprise. We knew, of course, in a general way, that the Fathers intended to assert and to maintain the supremacy of civil authority, but we had not the faintest suspicion that they deliberately symbolized their design in the manner aforesaid. Indeed, even now, after careful scrutiny, we find no suggestion to that effect in the great Debates; nor does an index finger of the famous *History of the American People* by Woodrow Wilson point to a single illuminating passage.

If, moreover, the framers of the Constitution really took for granted that "the President would seldom be a soldier," how pathetically inadequate has been their realization. They began themselves by electing General George Washington, a well-known commander in the Revolutionary war, and since then,—well, let us see: There was Monroe, also in our first conflict; there were Jackson, W. H. Harrison, Tyler, Taylor and Buchanan in the War of 1812; Lincoln in the Black Hawk war; Pierce in the Mexican; Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur and Benjamin Harrison in the civil struggle; and Roosevelt in the war with Spain,—fifteen soldiers altogether out of twenty-seven Presidents, or more than half.

True, none of them wore a uniform while acting as President and all of them were not famous as soldiers, but nevertheless each served creditably in a military capacity and most of them were elected for that reason. A yet more interesting, if not significant, fact is that invariably each of our important wars has produced a conspicuous soldier President, to wit: The Revolution, Washington; the War of 1812,

Jackson; the Mexican war, Taylor; the Civil war, Grant; and the Spanish war, Roosevelt.

The cause is apparent. Invariably our soldiers, upon their return from fighting for their country and risking their lives, have assumed charge of affairs as a matter of right and, with one exception, have required that a President be chosen from their number. It was with this tradition in mind undoubtedly that McKinley sent Shafter to Cuba instead of Miles, and there are those who think that General Wood has been shelved and that Mr. Roosevelt was denied a command in like apprehension. But we know nothing about that. All we started to say was that we were, and still are from any standpoint except that of hitherto unrevealed divination on the part of a distinguished historian, ignorant of the obviously unrealized intent of the Fathers, while strongly upholding the Commander-in-Chief in his insistence that, as a matter of propriety, khaki could never so well become a democratic President, sternly opposed to monarchical or autocratic tendencies in any form, as a pearl gray suit.

Whether or not former Attorney General Thomas N. McCarter, a lifelong Republican, depicts Governor Edge of New Jersey accurately when he pronounces him "no better than a political horse thief," we are not prepared to say; but his appointment of the Hon. Davy Baird affords substantial confirmation. And now the precious pair, Edge and Baird, are to be the Republican candidates respectively for the long and short Senatorial terms. If the Democrats had men of calibre to pit against them, the disgrace to the State might possibly be averted, but there seems to be nobody except Lindley M. Garrison, and he—oh, what's the use?

Mr. Burleson at Work

THE following letter appears in the *Tribune*:

HON. A. S. BURLESON,

Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Permit me to extend to you my congratulations on your great aeroplane mail service between New York and Washington.

Yesterday morning at Washington, a little before 10 o'clock, I paid the trifling sum of 24 cents for an aeroplane stamp, instead of squandering 3 cents on regular postage. I stuck it upon a letter and posted the letter before 10 o'clock. I waited until 12:40 A. M., took a train to New York and got to my house a little before 8 o'clock, and, believe me, the aeroplane letter actually got there before 9 o'clock this morning. I know it, for I saw it when it came in; I came into New York a little ahead of it. And the best part of it is, the man who handled it had been so careful as to stamp on it that he had claimed the fee at the first address to prove that it had been handled through the postoffice just like a special delivery.

Yours very truly,

JOHN S. WISE, JR.

Mr. Wise does well to chronicle his remarkable experience, and we join heartily in his congratulations to the Politicalmaster General. We have heard of other instances of aeroplane mail being sent by train and arriving almost, though not quite, as promptly as this communication. We can easily picture the elation of Mr. Burleson when, some time in the dim, distant future, if he has luck, he receives Mr. Wise's gracious commendation.

We regret, however, the necessity, as a matter of constructive criticism, of directing our Politicalmaster General's divided attention to a less gratifying happening. These are the facts: Mr. George S. Watson is Secretary of Draft Board No. 8 of the District of Columbia, and years ago cherished as his most intimate friend Mr. James E. Sullivan, who also

resided in Washington. On June 22 of the present year Mr. Watson received through the mails a letter from Mr. Sullivan, calling attention to a cartoon by Mr. Berryman, the distinguished artist, which he thought his friend might not have noticed. Mr. Watson read the letter and examined the picture with great interest, but was somewhat puzzled because of the fact that Mr. Sullivan was drowned in the Potomac on June 4, 1916, and Mr. Watson had attended his funeral.

Inasmuch as Mr. Sullivan's life upon this earth had been exemplary in every respect and free from all political entanglements, the bewilderment of Mr. Watson can be, as the saying goes, better imagined than described. The envelope was postmarked with peculiar distinctness "June 21, 1918," but upon holding it to the light Mr. Watson descried a faint postmark as of "Nov. 24, 1915." Naturally he was greatly relieved to discover that his friend had written the letter while still in this life and he rejoiced to receive it, even at the expiration of two years and seven months and despite the clever ruse by which the expungation of the original date of mailing had been attempted.

The actual time consumed in transit is not exceptional; it corresponds, in fact, to instances within our own experience. Our constructive critique is that, instead of fumbling with postmarks, the Politicalmaster General would better transmit all letters by aeroplane and thus allow ample time for the drowning of both the addressor and the addressee.

If, however, as we surmise, he is waiting to use the telegraph as better adapted to such purposes, we hasten to withdraw the tentative suggestion.

"I was really speaking for my people," was the concluding sentence in President Wilson's letter read by Rev. Dr. Jowett in Westminster chapel, and an American resident in London grunts dissent at the term; but we cannot get the excitement; he probably had only Democrats in mind anyway; if so, it is true enough.

From the Baltimore *Sun*:

To the Editor of the *Sun*.

Sir:—Your Washington correspondent, J. F. Essary, in common with other Administration publicity agents, makes the mistake of taking it for granted that the people confine their reading to those apparently subsidized newspapers which bear the rubber stamp of Washington.

In his article in the *Sun* of to-day, headed "Not to Drop Politics," he skilfully endeavors to mislead his readers into thinking that the powers that be are willing to let politics be adjourned, but that the Republicans are not.

In this connection he proves himself very capable of handling the truth carelessly. One would expect that a first-class correspondent would be familiar with all that goes on in political Washington. No doubt Essary is, but is not permitted to publish the truth, for there has been very little of it coming out of Washington lately.

The *Sun* has always boasted of its fairness. Prove it. Publish side by side Essary's article and the correspondence between Col. George Harvey, Chairman Hays and Vance McCormick. Then let the people decide who would not let politics be adjourned.

As Colonel Harvey so truthfully remarks, "Mr. Vance McCormick's boss, whoever he may be, wouldn't have it."

The Democratic party now controls everything from soup to nuts. I crave your pardon. I forgot cotton. But so far our brains are still our own, and until a department of X-ray photography is established we will, no doubt, be permitted to think as we please and vote accordingly, thus proving in November that the people have other sources of learning the truth despite a cowed press.

HARRY W. TAYLOR.

"What hurts the writer," the *Sun* comments, "is that he knows that he is bucking up against the Undeclared Cham-

pion Woodrow,"—which also accounts conversely for the servile attitude of the *Sun* and of all other members of the "cowed press" who are as fearful of losing Jew advertising as they are afraid to call their souls their own.

"The Saddest of Words—"

WAVING aside for the moment its own partisan predilections and speaking after the manner of a truly independent public journal, the *World* marks with characteristic succinctness, although not altogether accurately, the contrast between what is and what might have been with respect to our conduct of the war.

That, as it observes, "a very different record would have been achieved if there had been a Republican Congress during the past year," we have difficulty in perceiving, in view of the support accorded the Administration's measures by large majorities in both bodies without regard to party lines. If it be the *World's* thought that the Republicans would have been more prompt in exposing the shocking derelictions of the War Department during the first "wasted year," its assertion is understandable, but upon the whole we are convinced that the people feel that this essential work was done as well and as quickly as could have been reasonably expected by the Democrats themselves under the forceful direction of Senators Chamberlain and Hitchcock.

Upon the broader ground of Preparedness, as advocated incessantly by Mr. Roosevelt, General Wood and Captain Gardner, versus the Unpreparedness successfully maintained, as evidence of good faith, by the President, to the intense gratification of Mr. Baker and Mr. Creel, the *World* finds a firm footing. There is no doubt whatever that if suitable preparation had been made, as the *World* says, "where we now have 1,200,000 troops in France we should have had 2,400,000," and "where our troops gained three miles on the Belleau-Fontenoy front they would have gained six miles."

We cannot, however, but regard the *World's* assertion that "where an American soldier brought in 159 prisoners he would have brought in 318" as an exaggerated supposition. True, the larger the number of men engaged, the more likely such exploits become, but it is obviously unsafe to base a generalization upon one or more sporadic happenings.

Nor, to our mind, can it be taken for granted that "where the American troops began to check the German advance at 1,000 yards with their rifles they would have done it at 2,000 yards," the range of the rifles being limited; and yet, of course, if it be the idea that a force of double the size could have seized its opportunity with confidence more quickly, the *World's* assumption is not without foundation.

Whether or not "Russia would not have collapsed and the Germans would not have begun a Spring drive" if, as strongly urged by many Republicans, we had entered the war earlier, is clearly a matter of speculation, but it is only fair to remark that the *World's* opinion is sustained generally by expert military judgment.

That "Democrats are notoriously inefficient," we reluctantly concede; indeed, if proof were required, it could be found readily in the necessity finally recognized by the President of calling upon Republicans like Mr. Schwab, Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Potter to save the country from the utter disaster which was facing it under the maladministration of

Mr. Baker and his party associates; to say nothing of designating Mr. Hughes as a capable and trustworthy investigator, in response to a peremptory demand from the country.

But we find no cause for surprise in this. The Southern Democrats now in control of all branches of the Government have had no experience in large affairs or in organization, except political, of any considerable size and could not be expected to develop overnight a capacity for management of the greatest business enterprise the world has ever known. It is but just and right that due allowance be made for these deficiencies, for which by no process of reasoning can they themselves be held responsible.

We dissent sharply, moreover, from the intimation conveyed by the *World's* declaration that "the politics played by Republicans" is "not politics at all, but 100 per cent patriotism." Gratifying as has been the attitude of Republicans generally, both in and out of Congress, we flatly deny that the great body of Democrats are not equally patriotic and equally eager to serve their country. They may acquiesce in the avowed determination of their leaders in Congress, headed by Mr. Claude Kitchin of Scotland Neck, to put the financial burdens of the war upon other sections than their own, and they may not disapprove of the announced resolve of Mr. Burleson and others to utilize so-called "war measures" in arbitrary acquirement of private properties, but surely, upon reflection, the *World* would not deny that their hearts are true.

The further assertion of the *World*, based presumably upon inside knowledge possessed by Mr. Bayard Swope, that "the Kaiser merely laughs at a Democratic Congress," we must consider a mere figment of its imagination. He certainly does not laugh at the President nowadays; and, after all, that is the main point, which candidly and with all due respect, we think our distinguished neighbor should have made clear in the course of its painstaking analysis of existing conditions.

Buzzards

LIKE carrion buzzards after the battle storm has swept by leaving its ghastly wake, shyster lawyers are already hovering about homes in mourning for those who have died on the field of honor in defence of their country. There is money, the back pay of the poor dead young patriot, which, could he speak from the dark beyond, he would ask the Government in whose service he laid down his life to give to those in the grief-stricken home as his last small legacy and memento.

And that is precisely what the Government is prepared to do and wants to do. In every case, and with all sympathy and tenderness of gesture, it wants to put every one of these sad little offerings directly, and through no intermediary, into the hands that they who died on the field of honor would have received them. But at this point enters the shyster lawyer.

Washington at present seems to be the chief center of this branch of legal effort. How many of these vultures there are loose and busy at this game in the National Capital there is now no means of ascertaining. Thus far but one firm there has been specifically inscribed on this roster of the unspeakably mean. The name of this firm, together with indisputable documentary evidence of its infamy, was spread upon the records of the House of Representatives by Congressman McClintic, of Oklahoma, one day last week.

Mr. McClintic caused a letter to be read which he had just received from a constituent. That letter told the whole story. Alexander T. Garrett, a young Oklahoma soldier, was killed in action in a recent battle in France. His father received a letter from the War Department announcing the fact, and accompanied by certain blanks to be filled out in making claim for the back pay due to the soldier, as well as for the amount he had advanced on Liberty Bonds. The papers were filled out by the father and forwarded. From the War Department there came no reply, but from a firm of shyster lawyers there did come a response prompt and explicit. It contained an offer to collect the claim, and it also contained an iron-clad contract binding the father to pay this firm of legal scavengers twenty per cent of the amount collected.

Now, the law specifically provides in the case of War Risk Insurance claims that even to solicit a fee for collection of the same is a misdemeanor heavily punishable. The Government undertakes to pay these claims in toto without any expensive legal intervention whatever. Unfortunately this anti-shyster provision does not apply in the case of the back pay of soldiers who make the supreme sacrifice.

Who steers these creatures to their prey? How is it that letters of application to the War Department are answered by a firm of cormorant shysters? It is unthinkable, unbelievable, appalling to contemplate that there should be in the employment of the Government, paid agents of these legal vultures. But how do the vultures so quickly learn of their intended victims? How is it that they respond when blanks of application are sent to a Government Department? There is work here for a committee of investigation.

Referring to the fact that, after over a year lost in fumbling, blundering, and telling bombastic yarns about non-existent achievements, we have now struck a stride of military production and delivery at the front which is full of promise and encouragement, Mr. Roosevelt made this absolutely accurate comment:

We owe much of this achievement to the work of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and we owe even more to the success of the German drive which began in March. At that time our fighting army at the front was smaller than that of Belgium, (in spite of its striking gallantry it could not play a great part,) and this represented the sum of our military achievement after a year of war!

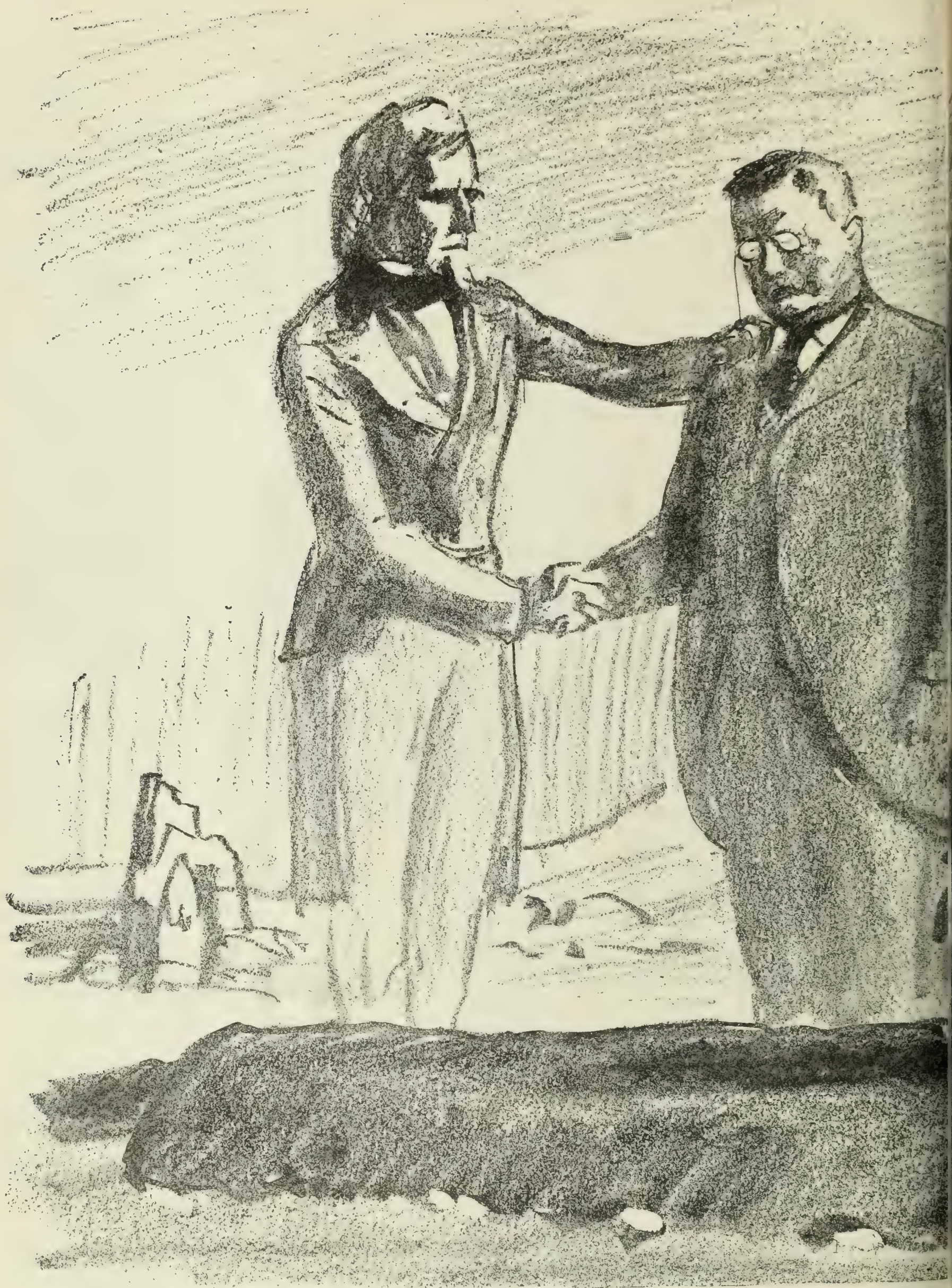
And Mr. Roosevelt might well have added that we owe a lot more to the stern criticisms of the War Department's failures on the floor of Congress and elsewhere.

The announcement from Chicago that Julius Rosenwald is going to France for the Y. M. C. A. reminds us that when William Jennings Bryan handed Henry Morgenthau his credentials as Ambassador to Turkey, he said: "In addition to the fascinations attendant upon life in cosmopolitan Constantinople, think, Mr. Morgenthau, what a great opportunity you will find to help Christianize the Turks."

The German Empress, accompanied by Prince Joachim, has been visiting hospitals on the Rhine towns and is reported to have broken down and wept at seeing so many wounded.—Geneva cable to the *World*.

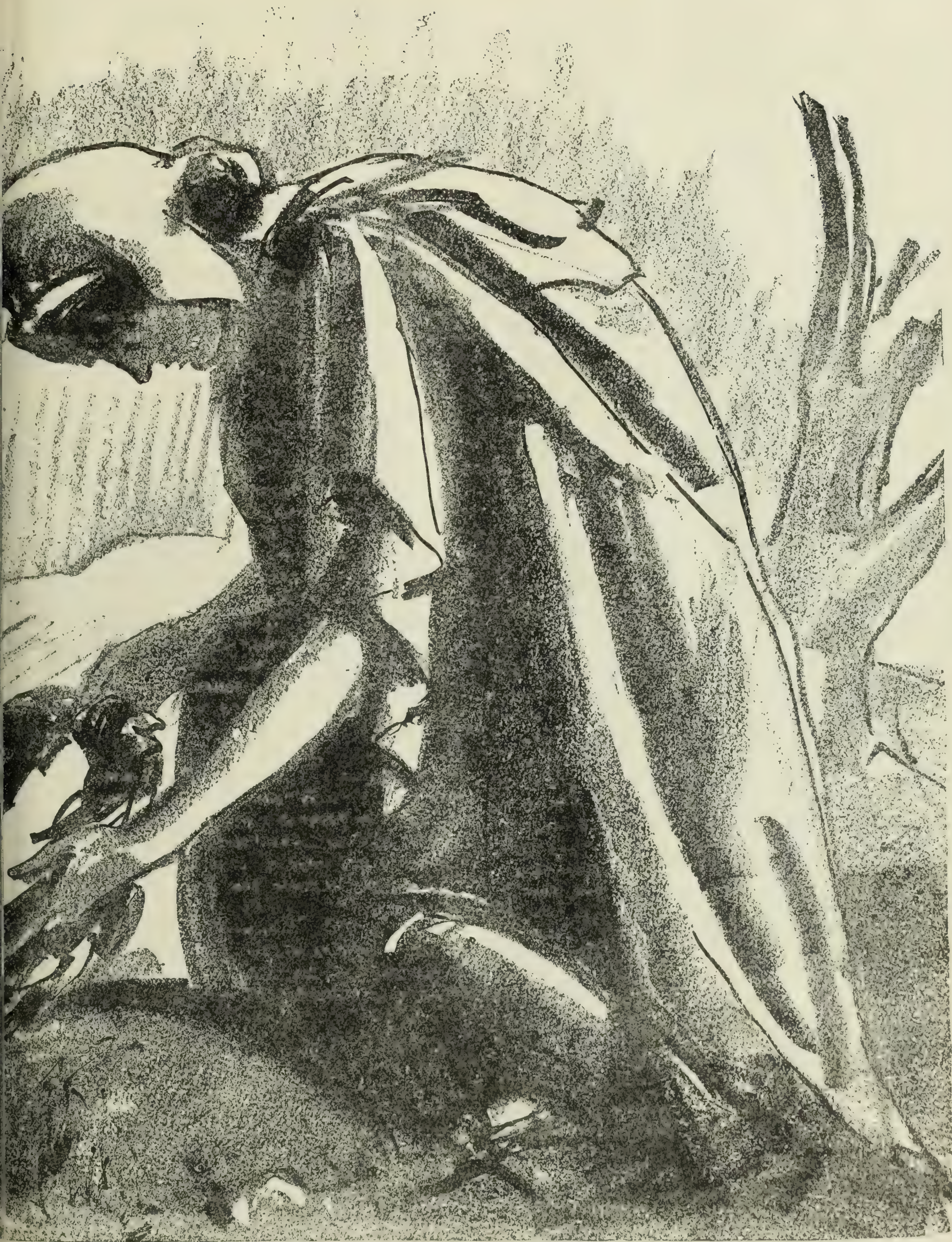
German airmen aimed to hit our hospital and although the German aim was good, fortunately only two enlisted men were killed and nine of the hospital personnel were wounded.—Paris cable to the *Times*.

These two touching items appeared on the same day!



The Patrol

"Had I a dozen sons, each in my love alike and none less dear than
than one voluptuously suffe



Response

my good Marcius, I had rather eleven die nobly for their country
of action."—CORIOLANUS

The Week

WASHINGTON, July 25, 1918.

"WE have won a great victory, and you were there!" Thus happily must Henri Quatre's memorable reproach to Crillon be changed into a message of congratulation to America. The initial triumph of resistance at the Marne, which we chronicled last week, has grown into a really great victory of aggression and advance; for our participation in and contribution to which we can never be too glad and grateful. We cannot exaggerate the significance of Mons, Ypres, the Marne, the Somme, and Verdun. From another point of view this last week between the Marne and Aisne is their peer.

America has arrived. That is what it means. The actual American participants in the Second Marne were numbered by tens of thousands; enough to be of real military importance. It was the first battle of which that could be said. And there are hundreds of thousands more behind the lines, preparing with eager and yet with prudent expedition to take their places at the front. All that is very good.

Good also is it that 46,000 men have just been summoned to the training camps as the first general call for August, during which month 300,000 men are to be enrolled. That is a good rate at which to increase the army. But there are those here who are wondering how long it can be maintained under the Burke decree against extension of the conscription age. "Force without limit" is a splendid thing, and it is the thing which is needed. But how is the force itself to be without limit if the source from which it is drawn is arbitrarily and narrowly limited?

Nothing could be more characteristic of the arrogance of the Potsdam caste than the conduct of a Prussian lieutenant, a wounded prisoner in an American hospital, who, while receiving the same attention and care that wounded Americans were receiving, set up an indignant howl because some of his own soldiers, also wounded prisoners, were placed in the same ward with his own exalted carcass. The Herr Lieutenant was dreadfully mortified, humiliated, insulted, and what not, at having mere "cannon fodder" under the same ceiling that sheltered him. We would piously suggest that it might be for the good of his soul to make him, when he recovers from his wound, camp scavenger.

The benefit of the doubt can no longer be granted to the Huns in the matter of bombarding American Red Cross hospitals. Careful investigation of a recent case shows that the hospital was so conspicuously marked as to be recognizable at a distance of several thousand feet in air; and that the German aviators came within a few hundred feet, flew to and fro several times in scrutiny, and then dropped their bombs. It would have been foolish, after the *Lusitania* massacre, the murder of Edith Cavell, and innumerable other such infamies, to expect that the Apostles of *Kultur* would be squeamish over bombarding hospitals, or that they would refrain from deliberately hunting for them as objects of attack. But we are glad to have their guilt thus circumstantially demonstrated. Perhaps it would be a good plan to keep a number of German prisoners, and particularly German officers, in every hospital; on the same principle as that, waggishly suggested, of discouraging railroad accidents by putting a director of the company on the cowcatcher of every locomotive.

Professor Hans Delbrueck used to be regarded as a gentleman and a scholar, and he evidently wishes to maintain that reputation. Witness his published declaration concerning Belgium:

Germany now will lose nothing by declaring her readiness to evacuate Belgium without conditions and to reinstate her in independence and integrity. Germany has plenty of other safeguards. Belgium is not only a German question, it is a world question. No peace is possible in the world unless Belgium is as free as before the war. Even America has the greatest interest in Belgium. Until Belgium becomes free the world cannot accept even the indirect rule of Germany over her.

No spokesman of the Allies, not even King Albert himself, could have expressed the cold and inexorable truth more accurately. But what does this count for by the side of Hertling's arrogant dictum that Belgium is to be held for use as a pawn in the game? It is Hertling and his kind that we have to deal with, and not Professor Delbrueck. Still, we thank the Professor for that word: "No peace is possible unless Belgium is as free as before the war." Write that upon our banners.

Our appreciative compliments to Mr. H. B. Howe, Judge of the United States District Court at Hartford, Conn., who on Friday last sent to Atlanta for ten years the Rev. (spare the mark!) Theodore Breussel, pastor of a German Lutheran Church. This person had been emitting such amiable and patriotic sentiments as: "Wilson is the meanest coward that ever ran around on two legs. Germany does not break her pledges. One German is as good as 299 Americans. Americans have not got any blood. God's curse upon America. German-Americans, too." Convicted, he pleaded that he was in danger of going insane, and begged to be sent to an asylum instead of prison. "No," replied the Judge, "you are not crazy. You are disloyal and dishonest." A wise and worthy Judge; and yet a merciful one, too, in view of the ten years' sentence.

Only a day or two before, one Duval, director of the *Bonnet Rouge* Hunnophil paper in Paris, had been stood up by a post in the Forest of Vincennes before a firing squad, with prompt and satisfactory results. Wherefore there was a wise and worthy judge in Paris, too; and also a merciful one, seeing how many better lives the loss of that one would save.

Since the expulsion of Prince Lichnowsky from the Prussian House of Lords for telling the truth, it is doubtful if there are ten righteous men left in Sodom.

According to an editorial declaration in the *New York Tribune*, there have been in this country for more than a month documents showing conclusively that Russian Bolshevik leaders have taken German money and have grown rich in so doing—that they have sold their country for a mess of pottage. It would be interesting to know whether those documents are in the hands of the Government, as of course they should be; if not, why not; and if they are, why, with such knowledge before it, the Government has been pussy-footing about intervention, fearing thus to offend these precious Bolshevik Judases, while every other party in Russia and every honest man of representative standing has been imploring us to give our assent to the benevolent intervention which all our Allies have long wished to make.

Hayti's declaration of war against Germany may be of not the slightest military significance, but its subjective spiritual significance to Hayti herself is inestimable. Just as it was impossible for any nation, such as Turkey, for example, to become allied with the Beast of Berlin without perceptible degradation, so no nation can spontaneously ally itself with the cause of Democracy, Freedom and Humanity without a perceptible and conscious elevation of spirit and of purpose.

There are not many men at the front the death of any one of whom would have created a more profound impression or have evoked more sincere sympathy, not only nation-wide but world-wide, than that of gallant young Quentin Roosevelt, the report of which is now unhappily confirmed. There is a temptation to adapt the hackneyed line of Horace, and to apostrophize him—"O patre forte filius fortior!" But we prefer to omit the comparison and regard him as the brave son of a brave sire. Whatever criticisms may be passed upon others, Theodore Roosevelt at least is free from the imputation of having preached without practice. Himself denied—for reasons of which it is best not now to speak—the much-sought privilege of going to the battle-front in arms, he ungrudgingly sent his four sons as his militant proxies. Of them, one, having already won the Distinguished Service Order, is now preparing himself for more important achievements than any he has yet known. Two, wounded in service, are now impatiently awaiting recovery in order to rejoin their commands. And one lies in a hero's grave beyond the enemy's lines. Words of consolation would be vain, and words of sympathy would be so obvious as to seem perfunctory. We shall not be misunderstood if we incline rather to words of congratulation upon the supreme honor which comes through a supreme sacrifice. America contains to-day no household more worthy to be an example and an inspiration to every other in the land than that at Sagamore Hill.

We should be lacking in courtesy and grace if we should fail to recognize appreciatively the form and spirit of the German announcement of Quentin Roosevelt's death. It was worthy of the occasion, and it confirmed the impression which we have hitherto formed of many of the German aviators, that they are brave and courteous foes. We shall not speculate on the question whether this is a cause or an effect; whether it is only the noblest-spirited men who enter that branch of the service, or whether the character of the service, the most grandiose imaginable, inspires with nobility those who participate in it. Certain it seems to be that the "cavalry of the clouds" comprises now the finest chivalry of war.

The Siberian situation remains complicated and obscure, with one fact standing out brilliant and unmistakable—namely, that the Czecho-Slovaks have accomplished one of the miracles of the war, and have entitled themselves to all the honor and all the practical support that appreciative and grateful Allies can bestow. Their achievement has been the most daring and romantic, not only in this war, but in any war, at least since the anabasis of Xenophon's Ten Thousand. We must regard it as impossible that any Power among the Allies could for a moment demur at giving them all the recognition and aid that can in any way be given, and doing so at the earliest possible moment.

Party leaders, both Democratic and Republican, have agreed to the renomination and reelection, without contest, of loyal Representatives in Congress from half a dozen New York City districts. This is done to avert the possibility, however remote, of some Hun-propagandist or other traitor slipping in through a contest between the two major parties. If so high-minded and patriotic a course can be pursued in Darkest Manhattan, where prevails the maximum intensity of partisan politics, it surely should be adopted on even a more generous scale all over the land.

The latest raid of U-boats in our waters is doubly characteristic of the Hun at his damnable worst—at his very nadir of brutality and of stupidity. To fire without warning upon unladen barges, containing women and children, and upon an unfortified coast, was the act of inhuman savages. We can explain it only on one of two grounds. One is, a purpose to frighten the American people into panic and surrender by an exhibition of "frightfulness"—which would imply that the Hun is stupid to an almost incredible degree. The other is the more obvious ground of "the nature of the beast." In any case, it was an exhibition of crass idiocy remarkable even in Germans. For of course the U-boats are over here primarily to attack our transports. If their commanders had had, in Shakespeare's racy phrase, as much brains as earwax, they would have remained in concealment until they got a chance at some vessels worth while, instead of revealing themselves and setting us on our guard by a wanton attack upon a few empty barges, not worth as much as the torpedoes which were used for sinking them. And they didn't succeed in killing any women or children, either. Truly, it was a case of "Hate labor's lost."

Weeks ago, during a former drive, impatient and hot-i'-the-mouth critics were demanding "Where is Foch? Why doesn't he do something? Where is his counter-stroke? Have we been deceived in him, and is he a failure?" There are some of us who can remember similar and even more savage attacks upon "Old Pap Thomas" in 1864, culminating in an order for his actual removal from command, which, however, was never fulfilled. His answer was given at Nashville, when he did not merely defeat but annihilated the opposing army. It looks now as though Foch, having, like all great commanders, chosen his own time, is giving on the Marne his answer to his critics.

On the evening of July 21, the War Department announced officially that "the Americans" had captured 17,000 prisoners and 560 guns. The report was so incredible upon its face that the *Times* did not print it, and, on the following day, Mr. Baker smilingly remarked that the statement must have been erroneous, as he had just received a cablegram from General Pershing saying that 6,000 troops and 100 cannon had been taken by "our divisions." He thought it likely that the larger numbers bulletined were of all captured by the Allies. Probably that is correct. But what can be believed coming from a War Department which lacks the sense of a newspaper editor in translating its own reports?

Court Circular Correction: The announcement that William the Damned and the Crown Prince would visit Paris this summer was premature.

Exit The War Council

LAST Fall, as everyone remembers now with heartfelt thanks—we hope—the Senate Committee started an investigation of the War Department, and within two weeks uncovered such a shocking condition of affairs that the country was appalled and demanded reforms. The President, relying upon Mr. Baker's reports, put his heel in the ground and refused to meet these demands until Senator Chamberlain, wincing under an attack from the White House, as unfair as it was ill mannered, told the country the whole truth of the pitiful mess that the Cleveland pacifist had made of the War Department.

It was quite evident that the country could not be hoodwinked further, and Mr. Baker sought to satisfy public opinion with a promise of sweeping reforms in the War Department, not, mind you, as a result of anything that the Senate had uncovered, but as a result of his own premeditated plans. It was in these circumstances that Mr. Baker announced the creation of the War Council. On December 15 he issued the following statement based on General Order 160:

"Plans which have been under *consideration for some weeks* were consummated today, creating a War Council within the War Department."

After naming the personnel of the Council and announcing that it would "oversee and co-ordinate all matters of supply of our field armies and the military relations between the armies in the field and the War Department," the statement continued:

"The work of the War Council is of the highest importance and there will be added to the Council from time to time general officers of large experience, so that it may constitute the main reliance of the War Department for the large planning and initiative necessary to make our support of the armies in the field most effective and helpful.

"The War Council does not take over the specialized duties of the General Staff or the War College, but is intended to bring to the larger problems of the department both the experience and general training of the officers of most mature years and largest experience in the service."

Of course the lickspittle press and the boot-licking brigade at the Capital immediately cheered for Mr. Baker and the War Council. Here indeed was an organization of experienced officers who would speed up the war machine! It was to centralize all power over the General Staff, the bureau heads and even the field armies, and would represent in effect the efficiency of the German General Staff.

We knew it was all false. We said so in the WEEKLY of January 12. We did not attempt to state whether the Council was the outgrowth of Mr. Baker's duplicity or his stupidity. In fact, we do not even attempt to specify now. Two explanations were current in Washington at the time. Mr. Baker was determined to find berths for certain officers who were thrown under an unfavorable light by the Senate Committee and who could not be kept in their positions. He could not retire them because such action would be tantamount to admitting that he had surrounded himself and been guided by inefficients. Incidentally he was under great personal obligation to them, because as his chosen friends, companions and advisers they had taught him the little he knew of military affairs. This explanation embodied the theory that he believed if he could shelve them

temporarily, while keeping them on the active list, he could find places for them later on.

The second explanation was to the effect that he was sincere in creating the Council and actually expected it to do the promised things.

Seven months have passed. Barring the initial publicity resulting from Mr. Baker's announcement of the creation of the Council, nothing has been chronicled about its activities in the public press until the other day, when this formal announcement was made by the War Department:

"The War Council, which was created under General Orders No. 160, War Department, 1917, is abolished. The room now occupied by the War Council for its meeting place will be turned over to the Statistical Branch of the General Staff."

The Council never did any of the things Mr. Baker promised for it. It was never increased as Mr. Baker said it would be. From its inception until its abolition the Council had little or nothing to do with the war machine.

The record speaks for itself. The public may take its choice between the two explanations made for the creation of the Council, and decide whether Mr. Baker deliberately lied to the country or whether he was merely stupid.

The Council is gone, never to return. The officers assigned to it originally are applying themselves to their assignments in fields where results may be expected. And the War Department, under the impelling force of General March, General Goethals and Mr. Stettinius, is functioning just as it was bound to function when efficient men were placed in responsible positions.

Little by little Mr. Baker has been eliminated from the executive functions of the department and is now busy-ing himself almost altogether with matters of policy.

The first evidence of his elimination from the purely executive branch was shown when, during his absence in Europe, the speeding-up process was started by General March and his associates. But Mr. Baker's hand is seen now, in another matter of policy, just as it was seen in the creation of the War Council. We refer of course to his action in blocking the plans made by General Crowder to increase the army by enlarging the age-limits for the draft.

The war machine should soon reach the point where it must function almost automatically, assuming that the best men in the army are allowed to operate it, but it will not and cannot function to its full force so long as Mr. Baker is allowed to dictate the policies and so long as his withering hand is at the throttle.

Results of Hooverizing

ARE we starving? Are we even going hungry? We have not noticed it ourselves; nor heard of it, unless from pro-Germans who have not yet been lined up against a wall. Of course, we cannot always get precisely what our fastidious and pampered palates would most delight to have. But hunger is satisfied and the physical frame is nourished; and that is the primary intent of food.

Yet what a tremendous contribution we have made to the feeding of the world; or to that large part of it which stands with us, or with which we stand, in opposition to the Huns! Mr. Hoover, who is supremely identified with the process, has made an impressive report upon it to the President, which we commend for careful perusal to all who are in-

terested in knowing what have been the practical results of the wheatless days and meatless days and sugar rationing and all the rest of it.

So far as wheat and other cereals are concerned, the fiscal year just ended, 1917-18, showed an increase over the preceding year of more than 80,000,000 bushels exported, or nearly 31 per cent. That was due not to any such increase in our production, since, despite increased acreage, the cereal crops of 1917, on which the exports of 1917-18 depended, were scanty. It was due chiefly if not wholly to the economies and substitutions practised by the American people.

Still more striking are the results attained in meats, meat products, fats, butter, vegetable oils, etc. In exports of these the last fiscal year showed an increase over the preceding year of 844,000,000 pounds, or nearly 39 per cent. That was an enormous increase, but it was vastly more so when contrasted with conditions before the war. The exports of the first six months of 1918 were 2,133,100,000 pounds. In the first halves of the three years preceding the war they averaged only 801,000,000 pounds. There has thus been an increase of 166 per cent in such exports.

These are the results of "Hooverizing." These figures show to Americans what has been gained through their self-denial in gastronomy. What such increases of exports have meant to our Allies must be left to the imagination.

Taking Advantage of War Needs

WE would not have the President misrepresented; but we must sincerely hope that some of the things which are being said of him by his friends, in his praise, are misrepresentations. We hope this, but we are unhappily not over-confident of it in respect to some of the things, since actual occurrences—which the President permits if he does not cause—give some color of substantiation to them.

Thus we are informed by that most devout and faithful incense-burner, Mr. David Lawrence, that the President is making it clear to Democratic Senators, and particularly to Southern Senators (politics being adjourned), that he sincerely believes the passage of the amendment to the Constitution providing for woman suffrage to be "essential to the conduct of the war." Now, if that is true, we for our part sincerely believe that it is the President's urgent duty to make clear to the public, with his usual directness and explicitness of speech, how and why it is that the war cannot be conducted without the votes of women. We feel perfectly sure that the average American, even the average advocate of "votes for women," does not realize that any such necessity exists. We could readily understand that such a plea of patriotic necessity, if believed, might induce men to vote for the amendment who would otherwise oppose it; or that the driving of the amendment under whip and spur might win the votes of women for the President in the next political campaign. But, of course, such considerations cannot for a moment be imputed to the President. So we are still confronted with the question, Why is the passage of the suffrage amendment essential to the conduct of the war?

This instance is not solitary. We greatly doubt if the average American, who is certainly much interested in the matter, has been made to understand what imperative mili-

tary necessity required the immediate taking over by the Government of all the telegraph and telephone lines, not merely the trunk and long distance lines but all the local service and the press news wires, and what necessity of war forbade the adoption of a provision assuring unrestricted public use of such facilities. Senators declared that no such necessity had been demonstrated to them; if it had, those who voted against the grant would, of course, have voted for it. As it was, they could not avoid thinking that advantage was being taken of the existence of a state of war to force through measures of State Socialism which never could have succeeded in time of peace; or, to quote Mr. David Lawrence again, that the President regards these as "abnormal times, calling for abnormal measures."

These *are* abnormal times. They *do* call for abnormal measures. But the abnormal measures, as we have before insisted, should be solely such as necessarily relate to the abnormal times, and such as will be coexistent only with those times. It would be intolerable to take advantage of the abnormal times to impose upon the country abnormal measures which would continue to prevail when normal times have been restored. To cite a great historic example: The Morrill Tariff of 1861 was an abnormal measure, made necessary by the abnormal times. It was a beneficent measure, and served an indispensable purpose. It was as "essential to the conduct of the war" as the President—according to Mr. David Lawrence—believes the suffrage amendment to be. But when the abnormal times of the Civil War ended, there was a widespread demand that that measure should also be ended, or at least that it should be radically modified to suit the return of normal times; and failure to repeal or to modify it caused a general and justifiable revolt against the party which too long retained it.

This country is ready, promptly and ungrudgingly, to sanction any measure which is really "essential to the conduct of the war." But it is "from Missouri" in wanting to be shown the necessity.

1. The total number of American soldiers on the fighting line is **300,000**.
2. The total number subject to call on January 1 will be **2,000**.
3. *Force, force to the limit!*

Shall We Bull the Cotton Market?

WE acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a letter from Mr. S. S. Sternberg, of Blytheville, Ark., in which the writer makes the interesting suggestion that "we need a United States Government Crop Administrator, with State Crop Administrators under him and Local and County Crop Administrators under them, so that they will be able to see after and have absolute control of all crops that are planted from now."

The provocative cause of our correspondent's suggestion is the plight in which the Southern States find themselves with reference to the cotton crop. When the comfortably Democratic Administration at Washington was fixing the price of about every other commodity under the sun it could not see its way clear to fixing a price on the chief product of the solidly Democratic South. The price of cotton was high and the Southern States planted an enormous acreage. Now

the price of cotton, according to our correspondent, has fallen below the cost of production. And the South is loaded to the scuppers with cotton and much worried about financing the movement thereof. So, says our correspondent, "the South is very anxious to have our Government take over the cotton crop, or help finance the movement."

All of which goes to show that it was bad Politicalmaster-Generalship not to have fixed a good, generous high price on cotton and taken the chances on profiteering. It is surprising that this was not done. Prices were fixed on other commodities which enabled the producers to pocket the tidy little sums of 300 or 400 or more per cent net profit. And these producers are nearly all of them in the North. Inasmuch as the Democratic Administration knows no North, no South, no East, no West, but only broad, unpartisan America in carrying on the war, it surely must have been an oversight which made a price-fixing exemption apply so conspicuously to one section of the country, and that section with a voting population made up exclusively of deserving Democrats. This surely was carrying non-partisan zeal to very extreme lengths; to very disastrous lengths, as it seems to turn out, for the section of the country thus discriminated against. And it should be borne in mind, too, that when the Democratic Administration in its sternly Spartan non-partisanship refused to let its own solidly Democratic South share in the shower of wealth poured by price-fixing on producers elsewhere in the country, politics and political influences were theoretically in full session. It was a long time before both were officially adjourned by that comparatively recent decree from High Quarters.

So now, naturally, the South asks relief from the disastrous results of such discrimination. Our correspondent says the South is anxious to have the Government take over the cotton or help finance the movement thereof. To this proposition, however, he offers an alternative. That alternative is the appointment of a crop of United States Government, State, Local, and County Crop Administrators. He writes:

The knowledge that a United States Government Crop Administrator had been appointed and that next year's crop would be limited to such an extent that there would not be any surplus next year, would create a demand and have such a bullish effect on the price of cotton that the South would not have any trouble in financing the movement of the coming crop. In fact, the prices might go so high that the Government might find it necessary to limit the price of cotton the same as wheat.

So, apparently, there are three things the Government can do—finance the movement of the cotton crop, buy up the crop bodily, or bull the market. And the Crop Administrator bullying, incidentally, would release millions of acres for food stuff planting.

Roosevelt: Man of Destiny

BY another of those dramatic rebounds which have punctuated Mr. Roosevelt's political career at crucial moments he is again at the front, the undisputed leader of the Republican party and the idol of the aggressive, red-blooded Americanism of the country. And that, too, at a time when this same spirit which he ever has typified is dominant and stirred to its depths as it never has been before since the days when the existence of the nation hung in the balance on the battlefields of the Civil War.

When Mr. Roosevelt stepped on the platform of the Sara-

toga convention under the pall of that tragedy which had just darkened his home, not only his own party but the people of the entire State, and of the entire country for that matter, were fairly swept off their feet in the great wave of sympathy and admiration that went out to him. The very character of the tragedy itself threw a calcium light blaze upon those qualities of virile Americanism and lion-hearted courage with which throughout all the United States he has so long been identified in the public mind, and for which the American people have been drawn to him in an enthusiasm of hero worship hardly matched in our political history. Not a person in that audience who did not know that if Quentin Roosevelt must die there was no way in which his father would rather have had him die than the way he did die—his fighting face turned to the last towards the enemy; laying down his young life in defense of his country's honor; not a person who did not know that however bitter Mr. Roosevelt's grief might be, it found consolation in the noble death of the son who was so dear to him. And knowing all this, as those in that convention did know it, as the people of the whole country knew it, Mr. Roosevelt at that moment stood at the supreme dramatic climax of his astoundingly spectacular career. All the prejudices, all the antagonisms, all the bitter enmities which he had left in such profusion in the wake of his masterful, aggressive political life vanished as by magic in the sweep of that moment's overpowering emotion.

And it was all an accident; a series of accidents. The convention itself, which was not a convention, was an accident, the curious product of counter-currents and internal contentions. And the gallant death of as gallant a young soldier as ever wore the American uniform, that sad occurrence, too, coming as it did at precisely the psychological moment to make Mr. Roosevelt's grip on the hearts of his countrymen stronger than ever before—that, also, was an accident.

In this instance as in the tragedy at Buffalo, as in the attempt to assassinate Mr. Roosevelt himself at a critical moment in one of his political campaigns, the overwhelming drama of some tragic event has ever appeared as by the decree of destiny itself, to come at just the moment to lift him up as Fortune's own child and to rivet his hold on the hearts of Americans everywhere.

Barring death, or disability, what is there and who is there to block his way to any honor and high responsibility within the gift of the American people? And to whom else, in this hour in our history calling for all that is most courageous and inflexibly unwavering in purpose, are the eyes of the American people turning as their logical, inevitable leader as they are turning at this moment towards Theodore Roosevelt? We do not say that this is as it should be. We do not comment upon it either one way or the other. We simply record a fact—one more of the many amazing facts in this extraordinary man's public career. Beloved by his party; hated by his party. His party's idol; his party's anathema. One wing of his party adoring him, and another wing sworn to have his political life. The wrecker of his party and now, forsooth, the one man apparently on whom the reuniting of his party and the breathing into it of a new vitality and a new career of victory seems to depend! Surely nothing in all the intricate complexities of political adventure in the United States has anything to match so paradoxical a career as this.

Another Hun Irenicon

BURIAN follows Hertling; and, realizing that he plays only second fiddle to the German Chancellor, tries to make the 'inferior more conspicuous than the superior, if only by violence of tone and discord. We have been wearied with many pronouncements from both Vienna and Berlin; but we are not sure that any hitherto has been more gratuitously offensive than this.

Hertling had the effrontery to speak of 'confidence, good faith and honesty. Burian "goes him one better" by prating of humanity and lamenting the Allies' lack thereof. With ample appreciation of Hunnish density of intellect, we are not unwilling to assume that this man really thinks that, in comparison with the ravishers and murderers of Serbia and Belgium, we are deficient in humanity. If so, we must endure the imputation with Christian fortitude, secure in the confidence that before we approximate the Hunnish—whether Austrian or Prussian—standard, the ice supply of Hades will surpass that of Dr. Cook's North Pole.

Hertling cynically declared that while Germany did not claim proprietorship of Belgium, it purposed to hold that country as a hostage for the return of the German colonies. That was pretty close to the limit. But Burian gets beyond even that with his brazen admission of spoliation and oppression of Russia at Brest-Litovsk, and his intimation that that infamy was the fault of the Allies. They were invited to enter those negotiations, he says, but did not. If they had, Germany and Austria would not have ventured to treat Russia and Rumania so scandalously; but since they did not, the Central Powers felt free to oppress their victims without mercy. If now we will assent to peace on Hunnish terms, we need not fear being so badly treated as Russia and Rumania were; though if we persist in keeping up the war, there is no telling what will not happen to us.

That is the gist of Baron Burian's palaver, with also a declaration that Austria can never consider the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, despite the fact that the Austrian Emperor himself suggested such a return; and with also an admission that there is the devil to pay among the peoples held in subjection by the Huns of the Dual Realm, and an insistence that those troubles are nobody's business outside of Vienna and Budapest. It is not an impressive utterance, but perhaps for that very reason it is most appropriate as an expression of Austrian policy and the Austrian attitude in this war. Its chief value is as cumulative evidence of the impossibility of our entering into council with the Huns, to end the war by negotiation.

"We are ready," said Baron Burian, "for peace negotiations with all our opponents."

Well, *we* are not.

For his pretended readiness the Austro-Hungarian Minister puts forward a number of reasons, chiefly marked with intolerable arrogance, gross inconsistencies, and cynical falsehoods. We shall give two major reasons for our unreadiness, which will at least have the merit of truth.

One is, that there is no assurance that the Austrian or other Teutonic readiness for peace negotiations is sincere. There is, on the contrary, the most convincing presumption that it is not, but is like the cries of "Kamerad!" with which Hunnish soldiers try to throw Americans off their guard until they can get near enough to stab them treacherously. We know the advantage which Austro-Hungary and her Allies

took of Russia during the pretended armistice which preceded the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Under the guise of peace negotiations the Huns pressed war work with feverish zeal. We have no thought of letting ourselves be caught in that fashion. When we agree to an armistice or to the slightest slackening of our prosecution of the war, it will be when we know, on evidence better than a Hun's word, that our enemies are beaten.

The other reason is this, and it is the greater of the two: that even if we knew that the Teuton desire for peace was genuine and the entry upon an armistice and negotiations would be in perfect good faith, it would still be in Germany's time, at her pleasure, and to serve her purposes that we were asked to discuss peace. We do not conceive that the desire of the Teutonic Powers for peace is of the slightest consequence to us, or should have the slightest weight. We do not recall that Germany considered our desires or our readiness when she began war against us. She picked her own time, to serve her own ends, quite without regard to us. And that, which she did in beginning the war, is precisely what we and our Allies purpose to do in ending it. When we are ready to quit fighting and to talk about peace, we shall do so; but not until then. At the present moment we have a much more important task in hand than peace palavering. That is the task to which General Gouraud, the one-armed hero of the Dardanelles, summoned his soldiers the other day when the Huns began their drive at Rheims.

"Each of you," he said, "will have one thought—to kill, and to kill, and to kill many, until they cry 'Enough!'"

The United States cannot assent to any proceeding in the form of a tax, ostensibly or nominally, or the exercise of the right of eminent domain, but which in reality constitutes the confiscation of private property or the arbitrary loss of the rights of possession.—*From President Wilson's recent note on the Mexican oil situation.*

Carranza's reply is in. The tax on oil, already excessive, has been doubled.

Is Colonel McRoberts Immune?

IS it possible that Colonel Samuel McRoberts, Chief of the Procurement Division of the Ordnance Department, realizes that he is violating the law daily and that, if held to a strict accountability, he may spend a term in jail while a not inconsiderable portion of his fortune may be forfeited to the Government in fines? Our attention has just been directed to the most astounding if not actually unbelievable circumstances surrounding the methods employed by Colonel McRoberts in awarding billions of dollars' worth of Government contracts.

Colonel McRoberts, as most of the country knows, or should know, is the New York banker chosen to organize the purchasing end of the Ordnance Department when it became evident that new machinery and unusual business sagacity would be required to direct the huge ordnance programme authorized by Congress. When he took charge of the division there were effective four distinct sections of the revised statutes enacted by Congress to safeguard the expenditure of public money. So far as we have been informed, these statutes have been scrupulously respected by every other official of the Government. The fact that Colonel McRoberts has regularly violated them is all the more surprising because they appear to affect him more than any other

officer, since to him has been assigned the greatest sum of money for expenditure.

The text of the statutes follows:

SEC. 3744. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of War, of the Secretary of the Navy, and of the Secretary of the Interior, to cause and require every contract made by them severally on behalf of the Government, or by their officers under them appointed to make such contracts, to be reduced to writing, and signed by the contracting parties with their names at the end thereof; a copy of which shall be filed by the officer making and signing the contract in the Returns Office of the Department of the Interior, as soon after the contract is made as possible, and within thirty days, together with all bids, offers, and proposals to him made by persons to obtain the same, and with a copy of any advertisement he may have published inviting bids, offers, or proposals for the same. All the copies and papers in relation to each contract shall be attached together by a ribbon and seal, and marked by numbers in regular order, according to the number of papers composing the whole return. [See §§ 512, 515.]

SEC. 3745. It shall be the further duty of the officer, before making his return, according to the preceding section, to affix to the same his affidavit in the following form, sworn to before some magistrate having authority to administer oaths: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that the copy of contract hereto annexed is an exact copy of a contract made by me personally with ———; that I made the same fairly without any benefit or advantage to myself, or allowing any such benefit or advantage corruptly to the said ———, or any other person; and that the papers accompanying include all those relating to the said contract, as required by the statute in such case made and provided."

SEC. 3746. Every officer who makes any contract, and fails or neglects to make return of the same, according to the provisions of the two preceding sections, unless from unavoidable accident or causes not within his control, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred, and imprisoned not more than six months.

SEC. 3747. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of War, of the Secretary of the Navy, and of the Secretary of the Interior to furnish every officer appointed by them with authority to make contracts on behalf of the Government with a printed letter of instructions, setting forth the duties of such officer, under the two preceding sections, and also to furnish therewith forms, printed in blank, of contracts to be made, and the affidavit of returns required to be affixed thereto, so that all the instruments may be as nearly uniform as possible.

Now let us see the procedure followed by the Procurement Division.

The Returns Office has received hundreds of contracts from Colonel McRoberts and has flatly and firmly refused to accept any of them for the files. The chief of the office found that Section 3745 has been violated invariably.

Instead of making the contract "personally", as prescribed by the statute, it appears that Colonel McRoberts allows half a dozen or more officials to use the form carrying his signature, and then another official swears the oath required by the statute.

The result is, in the opinion of the Returns Office, that the contract is actually made by one officer, while another officer takes the oath that *he* is not interested nor knows of any other improper interest in the award. The Returns Office does not intimate that anyone connected with the Procurement Division has profited or even thought of profiting through the loophole made by this technical violation of the law. Nevertheless the department is acting, though the Returns Office has held that the entire procedure is totally at variance with the law because it removes the safeguard imposed by Congress, and that acceptance of the contracts as submitted would be tantamount to compounding the violation.

So the result is that hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of contracts have been dumped into the Returns Office, against the protest of its chief, and lie on table, chair or floor until they are tossed out of the way like so much loose paper. We are informed that the irregularity was never practiced heretofore by any official of the Government.

"The North American Review"

(EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY)
FOR AUGUST

"CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM,"

By the Editor.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE JAMESON RAID,

As told by John Hays Hammond to Alleyne Ireland.

The special Ambassador from the United States at the coronation of George V of England is one of the distinguished members of the profession of mining engineers. This hitherto unpublished story of The Jameson Raid will command wide attention, for Mr. Hammond was one of the leaders in the Reform Movement in the Transvaal.

THE "BERSAGLIERI" OF THE SEA,

By Captain L. Vannutelli.

Captain L. Vannutelli, Royal Italian Navy, is naval attaché to the Italian Embassy at Washington. The recent exploits of the Italian Navy, which Captain Vannutelli modestly relates, have captured the enthusiasm of all the Allies.

LETTERS FROM A FRENCH PRISONER OF WAR

These documents are of such fineness and feeling as to justify one in calling the writer the Donald Hankey of France.

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY,

By H. Charles Woods, F.R.G.S.

Mr. Woods writes on the Bagdad Railway with the authority belonging to the traveled Englishman.

INTERNATIONAL COMITY AND THE JAPANESE WOMEN,

By the Rev. John Cole McKim.

Dr. McKim, long a resident of Japan, but with the educational training of Columbia University and the General Theological Seminary, makes a logical plea for a better understanding between East and West.

MONEY AND PRICES,

By Walter F. Ford.

This Englishman, who has made finance and its kindred interests his major subject, writes frequently for the more important English reviews.

AMERICAN LIBERTY AND SOCIAL EFFICIENCY,

By the Rev. H. H. Gowan, D.D.

The author has lived for many years in this country, but was born an Englishman. A citizen of the world, he has studied many peoples in many lands.

HEDGE ISLAND,

By Amy Lowell.

Miss Lowell exhibits in this example of polyphonic prose a sureness of technique which will further her claim to leadership in the "New Poetry."

THE COUNTRY MY FATHER TOLD ME OF,

By Harrison Rhodes.

This American essayist, who is particularly felicitious as an observer of places and their romance, recaptures a forgotten part of America.

SAMUEL BUTLER'S GOD,

By Felix Grendon.

Mr. Grendon, university professor, philosopher, and student of imaginative thought, finds more truly the God of Samuel Butler than did H. G. Wells his God.

SHELLEY AND NATURE,

By A. M. D. Hughes.

Noted for his sensitive critical judgment, Mr. Hughes has secured a wide hearing by the English public.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

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NO. 31

Henry Ford To The Bar

"TREASON" is defined in part by the Constitution of the United States as "adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

Edward A. Rumely was for years the secret paid agent of the German Government. He acquired the *Evening Mail* of New York with money furnished by that Government. He conducted that newspaper in the interest of Germany. He made under oath false reports respecting the true ownership of the paper. He is now under indictment for perjury, pending the probable formulation of other charges. He is now at large, under bail of \$35,000 in the form of Liberty bonds furnished by an unnamed person.

Rumely's close, if not closest, friend during the past six years has been Henry Ford.

Shortly before his arrest on July 8, Rumely became aware that the Federal authorities in Washington had come into possession of evidence proving his crime. He went at once to Detroit to seek the aid of his powerful friend in an endeavor to avoid paying the penalty. He brought away a pledge from Ford to help him in every possible way.

That pledge was kept. Ford immediately brought to bear his great influence in Washington through the medium of a high official of the Government. Meanwhile, Rumely himself succeeded in obtaining from an influential unofficial source assurance of the delay which he strongly desired.

On July 8, at the instance of Attorney Gen-

eral Merton E. Lewis of the State of New York, and to the complete surprise of the Alien Property Custodian, Rumely was arrested and indicted and now awaits trial. The Alien Property Custodian is in control of the property and the Department of Justice has taken charge of the prosecution of the case.

That is a brief summary of the facts. They speak for themselves. Edward A. Rumely was a paid agent of a Power with which the United States was at war. In common with that Power, he was an enemy. Henry Ford "adhered" to him. In the interest of that Power, Rumely committed a crime under the statutes. Henry Ford gave him such "aid" as he could give him to enable him to escape the penalty of his transgression.

What is that if not treason?

And what is the President going to do about it? Hardly three weeks before the arrest of Edward A. Rumely, Henry Ford went directly from a long conference with the same Rumely to the White House and when he emerged he announced that he had become a candidate for United States Senator at the "urgent insistence" of the President. In the absence of denial, the President stands today as his sponsor before the people of Michigan and of the country.

The facts are absolutely as stated. If confirmation be required, the President can obtain it from his own trusted subordinates.

What, we repeat, is he going to do? What can he do? What will he do? We cannot doubt for an instant that the answer will come promptly, unequivocally, clear and true, after a manner befitting a President and a patriot.

Four Years of War and More; and Why

THIS week has seen the entrance of the war upon its fifth year, and the end is not yet. Thus it is not only the greatest war in magnitude that the world has ever known, but it has already become the longest that the world has known in more than a hundred years.

The Balkan War, which would have settled righteously and forever the long-vexed "Balkan question" if only the Central Powers had kept their thievish hands off, lasted less than eight months. The gigantic Russo-Japanese War was comprised within less than twenty months. The tedious Boer War, the longest for many a year, lasted less than two years and two-thirds. Our Spanish War was all over and the peace treaty signed within eight months. The Chino-Japanese War lasted less than nine months. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 was ended by the Congress of Berlin in less than fifteen months. The Franco-German War lasted seven months, the Austro-Prussian War two months, and Prussia's spoliation of Denmark was achieved in about ten months.

Back of that, wars averaged longer. Our Civil War lasted four years. The War of Italian Liberation was ended by the treachery of Villa Franca in two months; but the Crimean War lasted two years, our Mexican War a year and nine months, and the War of 1812 two years and a half. Our Revolution from Lexington to Yorktown was six years and a half, and to the treaty of peace eight years and a third. The French and Indian War lasted about nine years, and King George's War in America four years. The Napoleonic wars varied much in length, and so overlapped, that measurement is difficult. But the French war with Austria at the beginning of the Revolution lasted five and a half years, and the second war with Austria scarcely two years; while England's first war in that era lasted more than nine years and her second just eleven years. Back of those were the Seven Years' War, the War of the Austrian Succession, less than eight years, and the War of the Spanish Succession, twelve years.

That the present war should last so long is a contradiction of all the cocksure prophecies of modern times. For a generation, men have been confidently saying that because of the formidable character of modern armaments, no war could now be of long duration. One or two big battles would of necessity end it. Now the armaments have been made far more formidable than those prophets foresaw, and yet the war continues and threatens to continue until it has surpassed the duration of those of Marlborough's age.

We have faith to believe that it is for the best. If with Lincoln we fervently pray for the speedy passing of the scourge, with him, too, we as unhesitatingly hold that if it be God's will that it be prolonged until every tear of outraged womanhood and every drop of innocent blood shed in the rape of Belgium and Serbia and France shall be paid for with a Hunnish life, His judgments are just and righteous.

But here, above all, is the lesson of this prolongation of the war: that the blame for it rests and must always rest upon us for our unreadiness, our hesitancy, and our pacifism. Had we been in a rational and prudent state of preparedness, such as men with vision had long been urging, and instantly upon the rape of Belgium had we done our duty to our

neighbor as we now see it; or had we instantly, after the *Lusitania* infamy, avenged our honor as we now purpose to do—does anyone suppose that the war would have lasted until now? Or if, coincidentally with that magnificent drive of our soldiers and our Allies on the Marne, we had had our long-promised thousands of airplanes to sweep like a destroying hurricane over the German lines and their communications and far into the heart of Germany itself, does anyone doubt that there would be a promise of much more speedy ending of the war than any for which we now can hope?

Four years of war; and how much more God only knows. The bloodguiltiness of it rests in awful measure upon us, for our stubborn unwillingness to prepare for it, for our neglect of moral obligations, for our crass persistency in dreaming of being too proud to fight, in thinking that we had no interest in the causes and motives of the war, in pretending that we had no quarrel with the Hunnish nation, in hoping for peace without victory, and in laying to our souls the flattering unction that the war was three thousand miles away. These are the reasons why the war is so prolonged, and why after nearly a year and a half in it ourselves the end still seems so wearily far away.

It is a fearful lesson that we are learning, at a fearful cost; perhaps yet to be prolonged for years. But the part of a man, of a nation, is to learn it at whatever cost; and let him who in smug stupidity or smirking smartness would try even now to ignore it and to meddle with the learning and the application to which the nation is at last coming—let him be ground between the upper and nether millstones of contempt and wrath.

Washington dispatch to the *New York Times*:

It is now virtually certain that General Foch will have at fewest 2,000,000 American troops to supplement his allied armies before the present fighting season closes.

Well, he won't. Out of 1,200,000 so-called troops there now, Foch has only 300,000 on the fighting line.

Secretary Baker announced today the War Department's new programme, embracing enlarged army appropriations, modifications of the draft ages to increase the reservoir of fighting men, and plans for a larger mobilization of the army than any yet undertaken, would soon be ready for Congress.

"New programme"? Fudge! What is it? "Ready for Congress"? When? "Soon"? Not in six weeks, we will wager.

He would give no details, but the plans probably aim at getting under arms without delay a total force not far short of the 5,000,000 figure widely discussed in Congress when the subject was last under consideration there.

"No details"? Certainly not; he has none to give. "Without delay"? That cannot be escaped now. He put on the brakes and they are still on.

There is increased need for haste, in the opinion of officials, in getting full American man-power ready to supplement the efforts that appear now to be taking shape toward hurling the enemy back all along the front and beginning the advance that will end only when victory has been achieved.

Indeed! A marvelous discovery! But history will record that "when he got there the cupboard was bare," because he himself so decreed, overriding the Provost Master General, the House and the Senate. The "reservoir" will be empty before the year ends, and then we shall have to start all over again, thanks to Mr. Baker.

The Work of the Brakeman

THE embarrassing result—to use no stronger term—of the action of the Pacifist Secretary of War in putting the brakes on conscription now begins to be painfully apparent. True, it is announced that 300,000 men were sent abroad in July, and that as many will be sent in August; which is good. True, it is also announced that 367,961 men were called to camp in July and that as many will be called in August; which also is good. But then after August, it is too clearly intimated, the process will come to an end. The Baker brake will become effective. We shall either have to suspend conscription at the very time when it is supremely desirable to speed it up to the utmost, or shall have to impose serious and needless hardships upon the people, with domestic distress and impairment of efficiency in essential industries.

There is a significant intimation of this in the instructions which have just been sent out by the Provost Marshal-General. Apparently fearing that there may not be enough registrants in Class 1 to fill the August quota unless every possible man is impressed, he directs local boards to refuse to release men for enlistment in the Navy, Marine Corps, or Naval Reserve, until the army conscription quota has been filled. Moreover, he urges that considerably more than fifty per cent of the registrants should be placed in Class 1 as physically qualified for army service, even if it be necessary to refuse exemption because of dependent families, or because of engagement in important industrial or agricultural pursuits.

Translated into the language of the Man in the Street, that means that men are to be called away from necessary employments or from dependent families, rather than to conscript other men a year or two younger or older who have no such employments or dependents.

But even this will apparently not avail. Class 1, even thus defined, will not prove sufficient. In ten or twelve States, we are told, there are not enough men in Class 1 at the present age limits to fill the August quota, and in the whole country there are not more than enough to do so. Either, then, conscription must stop at the end of August until Congress can provide for the expansion of Class 1 by extending the age limits, or Class 2 must be drafted.

If the former course is pursued, what will happen? Congress will not reassemble until August 26. Let us suppose that the gifted Pacifist Secretary of War then has ready for immediate submission the plan of age-extension which he insists upon substituting for that which Congress wanted to adopt long ago. It will really be necessary, for decency's sake, for Congress at least to go through the motions of considering it, and not to adopt it instantly at his dictation; and then it will be necessary to prepare questionnaires and conduct examinations. All these things will take time. It would be optimism worthy of Mark Tapley to expect them to be done in less than a couple of months. It will, therefore, be close to the first of November before conscription can be resumed, and September and October will have been *menses nulli*. If only Congress had been permitted to enact a suitable law a month ago, it could have been put into operation by the first of September when the present Class 1 will be exhausted, and there would be no cessation of conscription.

If, on the other hand, conscription is continued without a stop, by drawing upon Class 2, what will happen? September and October will see men drawn from necessary occupations, and from families in need of their support, while multi-

tudes not thus attached will be exempted. Married men of from 21 to 31 will be drafted, while unmarried men above 31 will be exempted. Hard-working farmers and mechanics of the former ages will be sent to camp and "over there," while comparative idlers of the latter ages will be left at home. Doubtless the nation will loyally acquiesce in even so unjust an arrangement as that. But it will realize that it is required to do so solely because of the putting on of the brakes by our Pacifist Secretary of War.

The adjournment of politics was a sublime thought, but the effort to carry it into execution approaches the ridiculous. The leaders of both parties are for it. They sanctimoniously purge themselves of all guilt of partisanship and allow that if politics is not off, it is the fault of the other side. Colonel George Harvey recently issued a letter of invitation to the chairmen of the Democratic and Republican national committees to meet in conference in order to decide which congressional districts should be contested and which not, but so far as we know the conference has not taken place.—*Milwaukee Journal*.

Chairman Hays would; Chairman McCormick wouldn't; that is the truth of the matter.

Sound Advice Against Lawlessness

THOROUGHLY commendable and timely is the President's exhortation to the people of the nation "to see to it that its laws are kept inviolate." His reference was, as he made plain, to the exercise of mob violence, every act of which is a discredit and a damage to Democracy; and it must have been to mob violence in general, and not merely to the specific acts directed by over-zealous patriots against spies and traitors. For these latter breaches of law and order have been too few to warrant the issuance of a Presidential proclamation against them. We must indeed account it one of the marvels of this marvelous time that, with so many and so gross provocations to take the law into their own hands and to inflict upon enemies among them those punishments which their flagrant crimes richly merit and which the deliberate processes of the law have too often delayed or failed to impose, the people of America have been so patient, so forbearant, so self-restrained. Nevertheless, even a single exception to the rule is to be deplored, and may well incur the President's austere rebuke.

We must decline, however, to do the President the injustice of assuming, as some appear to have done, that his admonitions were directed solely against what we may term active as distinguished from passive violations of the law. It is an ancient principle and a sound one that *suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri* are equally culpable. So it must be held that equal blameworthiness rests upon those who violate the law by the use of extra-legal means for the attainment of its ends, and those who violate it by neglecting to enforce its provisions and to inflict appropriate penalties upon criminals. To recall an old and familiar example, Saul of Tarsus, a most learned and accomplished jurist, accounted himself just as guilty of the murder of Stephen in standing by and "consenting to his death" as were those who actually cast the fatal stones upon him.

It must, therefore, be confidently and with gratitude assumed that the President's words were intended not merely as a restraint upon violence but also as a stimulus to vigilance and energy in the prosecution and unsparing punish-

ment of violators of the law, and particularly at this time of those criminals who utter treasonable words or do treasonable acts. For, indeed, this is of the greater and prior importance. If officers of the law deal promptly and appropriately with traitors, there will be no known traitors at large; and if none are at large, none will be lynched or manhandled by mobs. The President well says that "Germany has outlawed herself among the nations because she has disregarded the sacred obligations of law and has made lynchers of her armies." That is quite true; and it does not need the President's forceful words to point out that "the sacred obligations of law" require strict, prompt, and rigorous enforcement of the law against evil-doers no less than they require men to refrain from illegal acts. Mob law and official laxity are equal dangers to Democracy.

Those who have denounced public men for telling the truth concerning Governmental methods and Governmental mistakes should abandon their course and join with all good citizens in backing the Government as it should be backed—by insisting that precious lives shall not be sacrificed to graft, inefficiency and ignorance.—*Boston Traveler*.

An admirable suggestion, we should say, to Mr. Robert Lincoln O'Brien.

A Secretary of Aviation

THERE is sound sense in every word that Major General Brancker, of the British aircraft service, tells us as to the necessity of coördinating our entire aircraft work and putting it under a single head. In substance his suggestion is that we have a Secretary of the Air Navy, just as we have a Secretary of the marine Navy. The air naval service should be made a Department, like the War Department and the Navy Department, with a responsible head and a strong administrative corps of subordinates. At present we have one branch of aviation under the Secretary of War and another under the Secretary of the Navy. In neither the War nor the Navy Department can the task receive the attention it demands. The confusion and cross purposes, the negative or inefficient results inevitable to divided counsels and lack of coördinated unity of purpose, naturally follow. Furthermore, our own troubles have been complicated by the ghastly failures and sinful waste of money consequent upon our Aircraft Production Board's floundering and ineptitudes. Perhaps we are beginning to see daylight through that tangle of wastage. That is as may be. But that wretched experience only adds weight to General Brancker's urgent advice that we do what experience taught Great Britain to do, and that is to create a new Department, the Department of Military Aviation, and put a Secretary at its head with authority corresponding in every way to that of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy. The whole aircraft administration—construction, equipment, operation, personnel, everything—should be as much under that Secretary's authority, with the advice and assistance of a capable advisory board, as corresponding matters are under the authority of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy. The unification of the aircraft service under a single administrative head is an urgent war measure. We can not recognize the fact and act upon it too quickly if we are to proceed in this war with a speed and effectiveness that is worthy of the country's resources and prestige.

Probably the system adopted by England would in general

outline be as good as any. Under Lord Weir, as Air Minister, there is a council of seven—a Vice President of the Council, corresponding to our Assistant Secretary of the Navy; a Chief of Staff; a Master General of Personnel; a Director General of Equipment, corresponding to a Quartermaster General; a Master General of Ordnance; a Director General of Aircraft Production and an Administrator General of Works and Buildings. This constitutes a chief and staff of formidable possibilities and one which in its very breadth and scope indicates how comprehensively Great Britain has grasped the enormous magnitude to which aviation has grown in the prosecution of the war. The Secretary and Council control everything pertaining to aviation in land and sea combat. They supply the army and fleet with airplanes and pilots, and, in addition, maintain an independent force. An enormous task on its face, so enormous and so complicated in its ramifications that to make it a mere appurtenance to one or more other already overloaded Departments is obviously absurd.

More than 150 navy officers to be promoted by the selective process.—*Headline*.

If these selections are made as carefully as were the last batch in the army we shall have another occasion to congratulate Josephus, and we believe they will be.

Mr. J. J. Desmond of Corry writes to the *Times*:

The layman finds it quite impossible to figure fares on what is supposed to be the regular rate, 3 cents in coaches and 3½ cents in Pullmans, and he is forced to accept any figure made him by the ticket seller. He is prompted to emphatic protest when such propositions as the following are presented to him: The fare from Erie, Pa., to New York City in a coach is \$14.11; returning exactly the same way, mile for mile, it is \$16.12. Again, the fare from Corry, Pa., to Washington, D. C., is \$15.76; returning exactly the same way is \$17.17.

This is happening all over the country, Mr. McAdoo. Why?

SIR,—About three or four weeks ago I sent in some six-months' subscriptions for the WAR WEEKLY, three of them. One was to go to S. T. Murdock, 2820 North Meridian, Indianapolis; another to Judge Henry H. Vinton, of LaFayette, Indiana, and another to Room 6 of the Chicago Athletic Club. I understand that up to about a week ago no copies had been received by Mr. Murdock or by the Club. Please look on your lists and let me know if you received my check and if the copies are now being sent out each week. Let us hope that Mr. Burleson is not getting even with Colonel Harvey by throwing these copies into a dark corner somewhere.

GEORGE ADE.

Brook, Indiana.

[Check received and copies mailed promptly. We don't know *what* the Politicalmaster General does with them. The only consolation we can extend to Mr. Ade is that he is one of many.—EDITOR.]

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Dr. Hale's Sorry Plight

WAS Dr. Dernburg's address eulogizing the murderers of the thousand and more men, women with babes in their arms, young girls, and little children who were lost with the *Lusitania* written or only edited by Dr. William Bayard Hale? This is a question of vastly more than mere literary interest, and at the present stage of the inquiry, it still remains obscure. The witnesses questioned by Deputy Attorney General Becker, at the request of the Department of Justice, seemed to be unable to throw any conclusive light on the subject. That the Dernburg address passed through Dr. Hale's hands prior to its delivery they were all agreed. It was positively affirmed, too, that Dr. Hale revised the printed proof and in his own handwriting inserted sub-heads. If the witnesses are credible, and their testimony bore every outward indication of veracity, that much is established apparently beyond doubt.

But as to whether Dr. Hale actually wrote the address there is some uncertainty, and it is only fair both to Dr. Dernburg and to Dr. Hale that that uncertainty be cleared up. If Dr. Hale is really the author of the address he should have all the distinction that is due and coming to him for the effort. If Dr. Dernburg, on the other hand, or the espionage agency of the Hun Government, hired Dr. Hale only to edit this and other Hun secret service copy, then Dernburg and not the bearer of the name of that other and different type of American patriot, Nathan Hale (the one who regretted that he had only one life to give for his country) should have solely the peculiar fame which goes with authorship of such a production.

But, inasmuch as the delivery of the address caused Dr. Dernburg's expulsion from the country, the question whether he was only the phonographic mouthpiece repeating sentiments which were really the sentiments of Dr. Hale, or those which Dr. Hale's Hun paymasters directed him to entertain and express, becomes especially interesting. In that case the weight of the public verdict on the eulogists of the *Lusitania* assassins clearly should be shared by both the persons immediately concerned. It is only fair, in other words, that some portion of that execration which followed Dernburg when he was kicked out of the country should be available to Dr. Hale to bind unto himself as a crown and testimonial of the real sentiments of his countrymen towards him.

As a matter of fact Dr. Dernburg would unquestionably appear at a distinct advantage, as compared with Dr. Hale, whether Dr. Hale were or were not proved to be the real author of the address. Dr. Dernburg was an open and avowed Hun propagandist. He came here confessedly to endeavor to swing American opinion to the Hun side of the war. His allegiance was to the Kaiser. It was not to us. It was to the country then engaged in piratical warfare against us.

Dr. Hale, on the other hand, is an American. His allegiance as a native born American citizen was due to the American Republic and to the American flag. He stood well in the opinion of many of his fellow countrymen. His loyalty had never been questioned. It was even said of him that he enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the President. The Huns who were associated with him in the propaganda of lies calculated to be of far-reaching injury to his country, and that group of them also who carried on, aside from the propaganda work, a general criminal conspiracy involving arson and murder right here among us—these Huns so far believed

in Dr. Hale's influence with the President as to jocularly refer to him as "the kitchen entrance to the White House." Moreover, unlike Dr. Dernburg, Dr. Hale's connection with the propaganda conspirators was clandestine. He was at pains to conceal the trail of Hun documents to and from his office. His consultations with the leading and the worst conspirators were secret. Thus Dr. Hale's efforts in behalf of the Kaiser and adverse to the interests of his own country would be on an entirely different plane from those of Dernburg and his associates of the German espionage service. However guilty they may have been in aiding and abetting treason, they at least were not traitors. Their treachery was not towards their own country; it was towards ours. It was the mere treachery of lies and deceit, when it was confined to pure propaganda ends. It was not the treachery of a traitor to his own country and to his own fellow countrymen and neighbors.

For this reason, if for no other, the real authorship of the Dernburg encomium on the assassins of the American men, women and children among the *Lusitania's* dead is of very grave interest, and to no one more than to Dr. Hale himself. If he were the mere clearing house, the editorial sewer, as it were, through which flowed the Hun filth and lies, his responsibility is evidently different, in degree at least, from that of an author as well as disseminator. Either alternative is not precisely what a patriotic American in these days, when the country is fighting for its very existence, would regard as enviable, but to one or the other horn of the dilemma Dr. Hale's activities would seem, on the face of the statements of which the Deputy Attorney General has authorized the publication, to have hopelessly committed him.

So the "bombs" dropped by our aviators upon the submarines which sank the barges off Orleans, Mass., were not even "duds," but only sandbags; "all they had," the report reads. Why was that?

The Crime of Night Letters

WE should, of course, not think of committing so gross an impropriety as to challenge the good faith or wisdom of the Government's prosecution of the Western Union Telegraph Company, a procedure which last week reached the point of indictment of that corporation on two counts. It is obviously a mere coincidence that this occurs simultaneously with the Administration's almost passionate insistence upon taking possession and control of the telegraph lines, though it may be that to some minds it will supply a justifying reason for the latter which had formerly been lacking. We prefer, however, to regard the two as entirely dissociated.

The charge in the first indictment, that in sending deferred dispatches by train instead of by wire the company entered into competition with the Government's mail monopoly, is very serious, especially when we consider the extraordinary pains which Mr. Burleson is taking for the perfection of the mail service. Last week we published a communication showing by how many hours a letter carried by a passenger on an ordinary railroad train between Washington and New York could beat one carried by that expensive aeroplane service which is the supreme pride of the Texan statesman's heart. Without doubt, then, the postal service could not hope to meet, with its accustomed mule-

team or ox-wagon conveyance, the competition of messages carried by Mercury-footed messengers on real railroad trains, even though it carried letters for three cents while the latter charged half a dollar.

We cannot, however, help wondering what is to become of our widely-used messenger-boy service. When we want to send a letter as quickly as possible, for example, from the Capitol to the White House, or, when we are in New York, from Madison Avenue across to Fifth Avenue, instead of putting a pink stamp on it and dropping it down the mail chute, to be delivered next day or thereabouts, we "ring up a messenger," and at the cost of somewhere from two bits to a dollar, have it delivered in a few minutes. Now, if that isn't competition with the mail service, we should like to know what it is. And if the Western Union is to be mulcted a trifle of \$17,320,850 for sending messages by train, are not these profligate and infamous messenger boys, or their atrocious employers, to be treated with melted lead or boiling oil, or something equally lingering but humorous, for every time they have carried one of our letters across town?

"We have set up as an ideal for this work that freight is to be as free from tampering or interference as the United States mails." So Philip J. Doherty, Manager of the Property Protection Section in the Railway Administration, describes the plans to check thefts from freight cars which will be considered today in New York.—*The World*.

Clever; by Jove, that's clever!

"Reptile Press" Camouflage

AND camouflage to camouflage succeeds."

After Hertling, Burian; after Burian, the "reptile press."

Let us see what is meant by the peace proposals which the German Government has put forward through the medium of the quondam Social Democratic organ *Vorwaerts*.

First: Germany will demand no annexations nor indemnities in the west, provided that she has a free hand to retain and to enlarge her conquests in the east (it may be recalled that some time ago we called attention to the possibility that she might adopt precisely that attitude, and we pointed out the obvious fact that if she did so, her position would be an uncommonly strong one).

Second: While thus she does not claim the annexation of Belgium, Germany does not concede the necessity of restoring the independence of that country and of Serbia, but insists that their fate, together with the right of any people to self-determination, must be disposed of by a conference of the Powers, in which she and her allies shall have equal voice with all others.

Third: But all the colonies, in Africa, Asia and the islands of the sea, which Germany has lost in this war, must not be disposed of by such a conference, but must without demur be restored fully to Germany, as before the war.

Fourth: Great Britain must surrender Gibraltar and the Suez Canal; British and American coaling stations the world over must be open to Germany; and the "freedom of the seas"—whatever that means—must be granted to German commerce.

These four; and no more.

Now the only significance of this astounding effrontery is in its source. If these propositions had been put forward by William the Damned himself, or by any of his chancellors,

ambassadors, generals, or boot-lickers, we should regard them as quite natural and characteristic; and then drop them from further consideration. But they are put forward by a paper which purports to be the chief and authoritative organ of the plurality faction of the German people. They are therefore ostensibly the terms of peace which the Social Democrats of Germany regard as necessary and just.

Ostensibly, we say; because, in fact, they are nothing of the sort. The German Government has simply played the game which Bismarck invented when he organized the "reptile press" of his day and then gave to his own creation that appropriate name. It has bribed or coerced *Vorwaerts* into putting these propositions forward, so as to make it seem to the world, and to the German people, that they are the terms of peace advocated by the Social Democracy. Of course, nobody outside of Germany will be deceived by the trick for a moment, and we doubt if very many inside that empire will be, either; since we perceive that the leaders of the Social Democracy are taking *Vorwaerts* to task for its venal aberrations.

But the incident shows what blockheads German ministers are capable of being, and to what desperate straits they are put; and, also, what contemptibly insincere camouflage German peace-drives are.

"At the present time," writes a member of the 101st artillery under date of May 20, "we look like members of the Foreign Legion. We have English gas masks, helmets, blouses, and shoes. We have French gas masks, shoes, and all our artillery, guns, harness and equipment. We look like a potpourri." And Mr. George Rothwell Brown writes to the *Washington Post*:

The use of British and French equipment by American troops is typical of the complete harmony with which the Allies are working together in the common interest. Incidentally this equipment is in many respects superior to American goods. Soldiers wearing British uniforms are delighted. They are generally better in quality and fit than the American uniforms furnished to American troops by American contractors, have greater durability, and being heavier are warmer. The fact that they have British buttons on them in no way disconcerts the American boys lucky enough to draw them. British shoes also are superior to our own, but they hurt more. I know from personal experience, having worn a pair. I also wore a British officer's uniform, with American cut collar, which is regulation in the A. E. F., and most American officers purchasing new uniforms in France obtain British cloth.

All of which bears out to the letter what we said, and what the War Department indignantly denied, months ago. Meanwhile, only last week fourteen concerns in New York were arrested for defrauding the Government. "The arrests," said the *Times*, "were due to reports that came back from France in the form of protests from General John J. Pershing, the Commander in Chief of the Overseas Forces, who in blunt soldierly fashion informed the Government that the raincoats being shipped to France for the men of his command were in numberless instances made of "rotten" materials and were unfit for the purposes intended. He informed the Quartermaster's Corps in no uncertain terms that he wanted no more coats of the inferior kind, concerning which he protested, shipped across the Atlantic for the men who are fighting under his command."

And yet when, six months ago, we recounted the doings of "The Old Clo' Man," there was a great hullabaloo about Burleson Gaol being a suitable abode for "traducers" of our semi-sacrosanct War Department!

The Militia

A GOOD many months ago we assumed that our militia system had been removed forever as a subject of debate. We took for granted that every sensible man who had followed the prodigious developments in France had concluded—what all army men knew—that the militia system was a political system and not a military system at all. It has no more relation to modern warfare than so many East Side marching clubs.

So satisfied were we that the militia system had proved its own inefficiency, that we anticipated no more need for discussing the advisability of depending upon it as a first line of the national defense than we anticipated the advisability of relying upon the million hayseeds whom Bryan promised over night.

But we seem to have been mistaken. Already we find the *World* up to the old trick of capitalizing the bravery of individuals in support of the system, as a result of the fighting on the Marne:

Praise by General March, Chief of Staff, of the conduct of the Rainbow and New England Divisions of the National Guard in the battle now in progress in France is a deserved recognition at Washington of a branch of our military service which has too often been belittled and condemned.

Two years and a half ago Secretary of War Garrison resigned his office because he was overruled in his determination to abolish the National Guard as a part of the armed forces of the Nation. General Scott, then Chief of Staff, and General Wood agreed with him, saying that the Guard was a military failure.

Most of the arguments against the Guard were made by those who were advocating compulsory military service in time of peace. By appropriate legislation the volunteer organizations of the States were preserved and their use overseas legalized, and we now see that they are doing great work in coöperation with the armies of democracy.

Not many States ever went to the trouble and expense of maintaining respectable military establishments of their own, but the glorious achievements of these units, now officially acknowledged, should set at rest for all time the prejudice so long held against them.

So far as we are informed no responsible person has ever charged that the individuals comprising the militia units were not representative, generally speaking, of American manhood, or that they could not be expected to do well in the field when properly trained and organized. Mr. Garrison never criticised the rank and file. Neither did General Scott nor General Wood. Anyone who will take the trouble to read the hearings before the Congressional committee will find that they praised them very highly for patriotic determination to do their best under a poor system.

But just as Mr. Garrison, General Scott and General Bliss praised the spirit of the individuals in the ranks, they, and every other army officer or other person who had studied military affairs, damned the system as being expensive, worthless, and subject to the most contemptible political manipulation.

But putting aside altogether the opinion of Mr. Anybody or General Everybody, let us look at the cold facts as attested by official records and unquestioned evidence. Take the case of the Rainbow Division, cited by the *World* as an evidence of the value of the system.

Two and a half years ago the militia was mobilized on the border and, we thank God, did not have to cross it even to meet the ragged mobs that Mexico called an army. We doubt if, in the history of the world, any Government ever assembled such a motley crowd of individuals and

called them organized troops. Ninety percent of the organization were physically unfit to do the ordinary work required of troops in camp. They were untrained, short of equipment, and the average officer had no conception of the rudiments of military information required of a corporal in the Regular Army. How could it be otherwise? After many months of training and the expenditure of \$100,000,000 by the Federal Government, these troops were whipped into the same shape that drafted men, fresh from counter and farm, are being whipped into it now for over-seas service. They were no better and no worse than any other men would be after being put through the vigorous regular army routine.

Now if the militia had been of any value as an organization it would have been ready to embark for France when the call came last year. But of course it was not, and the Rainbow Division presents the best single evidence of this fact.

Immediately after the first division of regulars embarked, the War Department decided to follow it up with militia divisions. This was the natural policy to follow. But when the War Department started to follow out this policy it failed to find a single militia division fit to go.

As a result, the best regiments and companies were picked out of militia divisions from every section of the country, organized under regular army officers, and sent across. That is the history of the Rainbow Division, and it is the record of the militia during the first few months of the war.

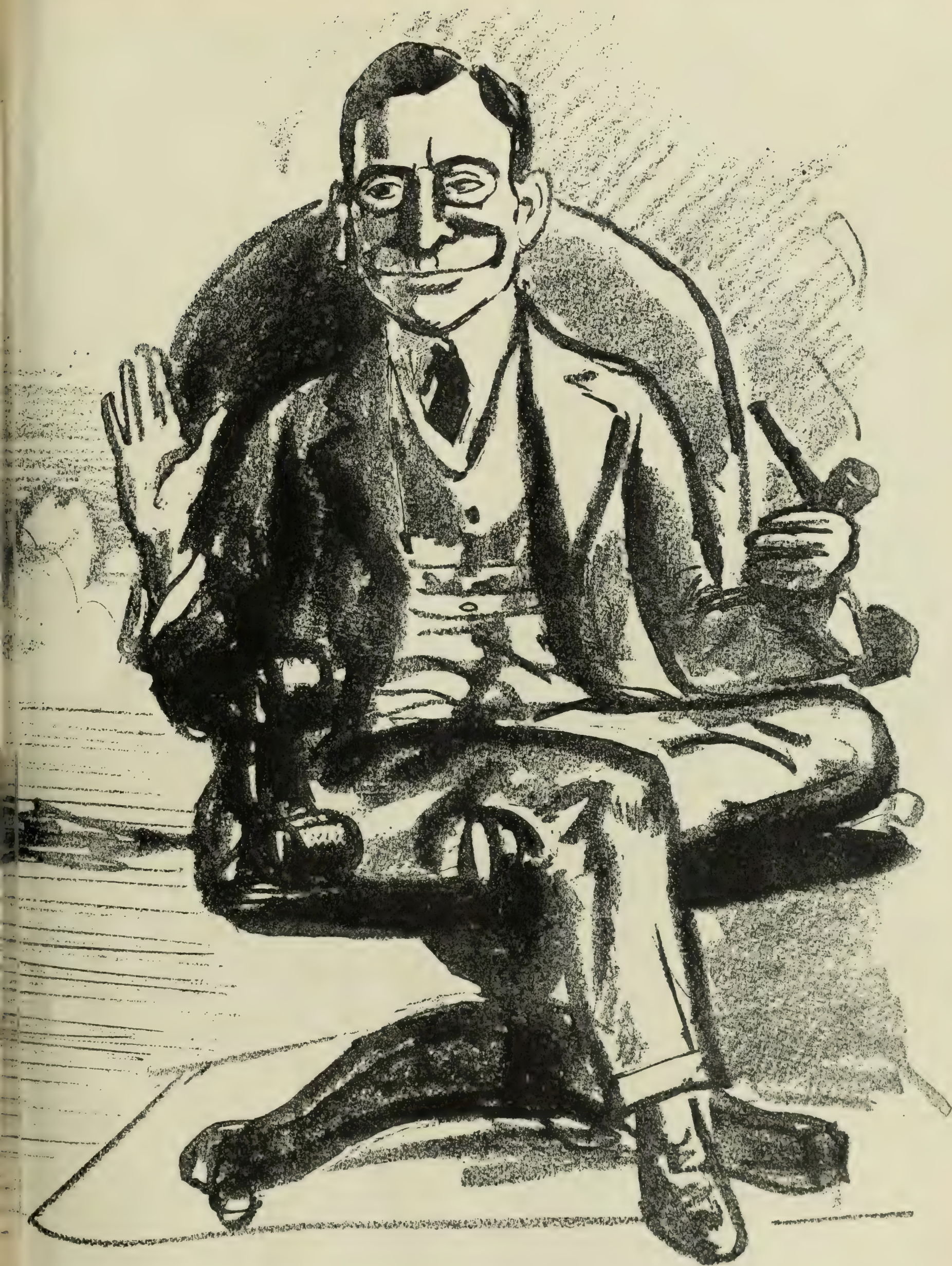
But as we all know, the Rainbow Division is but one evidence of the system. It represents the very best. The other evidences are so numerous that we have neither time nor space to dwell upon them. The National Armies were depleted by thousands upon thousands of men required to fill the ranks of the various militia divisions. After the War Department had dropped 75 percent of the officers above the rank of major and placed regular army officers in their places it was still necessary to put reserves and National Army officers, trained at the student camps, in positions where National Guard officers had failed. But further than this, as the *World* should know, many parents of drafted men complained because their sons in the National Army units were ordered abroad while militia units remained in training in this country.

The War Department could make but one answer—the National Army units, formed since the war began, were in much better condition than the National Guard, which was supposed to be ready. For the individuals of the Rainbow Division, many of whom already have made the supreme sacrifice, we have the greatest admiration. The same is true of the other National guardsmen as individuals. They have done their best under the handicap of a system that is as rotten politically as it is inefficient from a military standpoint.

According to a news item in the *New York Times* today, Republican and Democratic representatives in Congress who have loyally supported the war are to be unopposed for renomination and reelection in six Manhattan districts. This is the happy issue of an agreement to which the Democratic and Republican county leaders are signatory. It provides for the indorsement by the Democrats of Republican nominees in three up-town districts, and the indorsement by the Republicans of Democratic nominees in three down-town districts. It puts into effect the suggestion first offered by George Harvey and subsequently indorsed by Elihu Root and others who are well aware how much it will help to win the war, purge the rolls of Congress and keep them purged. What has been done in New York can and should be done throughout New England.—*Boston Transcript*.



Our gallant soldiers are fighting and dying by the thousands for our future reinforcements. "The situation



ousnd, but no provision whatever has been made for
ay Mr. Baker, "is entirely satisfactory."

The Week

WASHINGTON, August 1, 1918.

WE have fallen just short of a decision.

That must be the estimate of the splendid achievements between Soissons and Rheims. We have met the German drive with a highly successful counter-drive. This has inflicted considerable losses upon the enemy, has regained most of the ground which was lost to him a little while ago, and at the present writing seems likely to leave things in general very much as they were before. We have failed to surround and capture the Crown Prince's army, as at one time there were hopes of our doing, but have been compelled to permit its fairly orderly retreat from the "pocket" in which it was at one time almost enclosed. Of course, the achievements of the Allied forces have been worthy of all praise, and the moral effect of so large and so effective a participation by American troops must be inestimably great. Yet the unmistakable fact is that we have merely driven back a German drive, and have left a real decision of the war still in the lap of the gods.

The lesson of this is obviously that which we tried to enforce last week. That is, the need of speeding up our war work instead of putting on the Baker-brakes; the need of getting more men to the front, and more airplanes; the need of "force to the utmost, force without limit." If we had had at the front last week a million more men—the million that Mr. Bryan said the President could get between sunrise and sunset any day; the million more that we might easily have had if only we had practised preparation instead of pacifism; the million more that we might have had if at our entry into the war we had instantly gone in earnest instead of twittering about the war being three thousand miles away—in that case, we might have applied those million men half at Soissons and half at Rheims, and thus have bagged the whole half million Huns whom the Crown Prince had led into our trap. But we did not have them, and thus were compelled to be content with repulse instead of capture.

Nevertheless, for what we have achieved, let us be thankful. Especially grateful must we be because the few divisions of our own men who were in the fighting acquitted themselves so manfully, so greatly heartened their gallant allies, and so much dismayed their once scornful foes, and all at so little cost to themselves. There has in fact been a new and triple Discovery of America. Our Allies have discovered in us a succor that though late is still efficient and loyal and is to be depended upon. Our enemies have discovered in us an antagonist more formidable than they dreamed, whose participation in the war means their assured defeat. And we ourselves have discovered in ourselves a nation that is indeed a nation among nations, capable of playing its part as the peer of any other, and realizing that whatever concerns humanity concerns it.

Two men were caught in the very act of lighting a bomb in a powder factory in the outskirts of Newark, New Jersey. If the bomb had exploded, the vast works would have been destroyed and hundreds of lives in the densely populated district might have been lost. The men pleaded guilty to violation of the espionage and sabotage acts, and therefore made themselves liable to fine and imprisonment. It should be inconceivable that they be kept many days from

confronting a firing squad. If such disposition is not made of them, what becomes of the President's fine plea for the vindication of law and order?

We are quite sufficiently reconciled to the occasional practice of that secret diplomacy which it is the fashion of some now to abhor, to be willing to await publication of our Siberian policy until in the discretion of the President it is proper to disclose it. At the same time, it is to be suggested that the sooner it is proper to disclose it, the better it will be. Doubtless, with his boasted "passion for publicity," the President will announce his policy at the earliest moment compatible with the public welfare.

The Supreme War Council of the Allies has directed the Czecho-Slovaks to remain in Siberia and to continue their campaign there, instead of coming to France or elsewhere in Europe. This we believe to be the soundest possible policy. But we trust that nobody will overlook or neglect the inevitable corollary, to wit, that the Allies must give to those devoted soldiers the fullest measure of support and aid. They must get and keep in touch, in actual physical communication, with them, and must keep them supplied with arms, ammunition, food, and everything else that may be necessary, and also with reinforcements if they should be needed. It would be infamous to expect them to remain there without such aid, trusting to their own resources, and perhaps be sacrificed. This decision of the Supreme War Council, then, is tantamount to a decision for Allied intervention in Siberia; for which let us thank God and take courage.

The Provisional Government of Esthonia has congratulated the French Government upon the victory at the Marne, and has expressed the hope that in time not only France but Esthonia may be liberated from the yoke of the Hunnish invader. If we remember aright the Kaiser of the Huns flamboyantly proclaimed himself Esthonia's liberator when he sent his ravishing hordes into that country. Apparently the Esthonians do not appreciate liberation "made in Germany."

The work of the creel is to be broadened, we are told, so as to cover all the accessible parts of the world. It has long seemed to us highly desirable that the Allied and neutral peoples should be more perfectly informed of the purposes, policies, and acts of this country, and we have earnestly urged that such work should be promptly undertaken. It is impossible, however, to regard without grave apprehension the prospect of such work being undertaken by the creel in the manner in which much of its work has been done here. "Faked" news stories and pictures with intent to deceive are bad enough here, where their spurious character is readily detected and where they may be corrected; but such misinformation spread through other lands, where it may be accepted as true and where no antidote is available, may have gravely mischievous effects.

The President has received much commendation for his intervention against the reelection of a Texas Representative who had not given proper support to the Administration in its prosecution of the war, and for laying down the principle that a Congressman's entire war record shall determine his fitness and not merely his present stand. Doubtless it is on precisely that principle that the President has also intervened

in behalf of the election of Henry Ford as Senator in Michigan. That eminent jitney-maker's fitness is to be determined not by his present readiness to be the Administration's rubber stamp, but by the consistent and persistent support which, with his Peace Pilgrims and general pacifism, he has given to the stern policy of "force to the utmost." All of which demonstrates anew that "politics is adjourned."

Three separate items of news are appropriately to be grouped together in significance. One is that American troops from France have begun to arrive in Italy; the second, that Cuba will send at least one regiment to France; and the third, that more than five hundred Siamese aviators are ready to go to France for service. We do not know that the physical force of our men is needed in Italy. But we do know that the moral effect of their presence and service there will be inestimably valuable, both to Italy and ourselves. So the physical force of these Cuban and Siamese contingents may be insignificant in an army numbered by millions. But the moral effect of their participation will be priceless. We could wish that American troops might be present on every battle front against the Hun, in no matter what land or continent and with no matter what allies; and also that at least a few soldiers, sailors, or aviators might be actively engaged in the war from every nation that has declared belligerence against the Huns.

There is reported to be not enough food in Russia for both Russia and Germany. That means, of course, that Russia will have to go without. We shall presently hear distressing tales of widespread famine in the land of the Bolsheviks, and shall be asked to contribute to its relief.

It was characteristic of Myron T. Herrick to say nothing of having received three years ago from the British Government a piece of old English plate, with an appreciation from Sir Edward Grey of "the great assistance rendered by you when, as Ambassador to the French Republic, you remained in Paris after the departure of the French Government and the British Embassy and extended your protection to the many British who turned to you for aid and advice." And it is equally natural that good Americans should regret that he is not still there.

Hindenburg has been resurrected from the dead again. He is risen. Not only that, he is strong enough to sit up and take notice and even to talk. The Kaiser's Boswell, Rosner, found him. He was at the Hun General Headquarters and, apparently, cheerfully loquacious, considering how recently he was a corpse.

"The fighting is proceeding again," said the recent remains, "and it is to be hoped that those at home will have confidence. But they have not yet learned to wait."

Considering that they have been waiting four years for that triumphal entry into Paris which was all arranged for September, 1914, with the dinner there which the Kaiser had ordered, the Hun spiked helmet wherewith to crown the Eiffel Tower picked out, the Hun mayor and subordinates in the Government of the conquered French capital all designated—considering that the snows of four winters and the suns of four summers have projected themselves into the interval between the date fixed for that programme and the present moment, it does seem a little like overdrawing the thing to say that "those at home" have not yet learned to wait. Especially

as Hindenburg himself, in one of his casual emergences from the grave, last winter stilled the unreasonable impatience of "those at home" with the assurance that "we shall be in Paris by April 1st." And here it is four months past April 1st and "we" are approaching Paris by travelling in the opposite direction! Surely if "those at home" do not know how to wait it is not for lack of practice.

The Western Union Telegraph Company is under indictment for having served its customers to their full satisfaction, by sending night letters by messengers because of congestion of the wires and making prompt deliveries at the regular cost. Meanwhile the Postoffice Department was and is constantly shipping "aeroplane mail" by train, raking off the difference between 13 cents and 24 cents per letter, and making deliveries at irregular intervals. And yet we are told that this is a government of laws, not of men,

Charles M. Schwab is reported as saying that the shipyards of this country when working at full capacity will turn out 10,000,000 tons of steel ships and 4,200,000 tons of wooden ships a year. This differs from some former talk about ship production, in that it proceeds from Mr. Schwab and not from—somebody else.

It is recalled that Mr. Wilson, before he became President, said of President Cleveland and his famous Venezuela Message that "He showed himself a strong man, but no diplomatist. It was the perilous indiscretion of a frank nature incapable of disguises. . . . Only our kinsmen overseas would have yielded anything or sought peace by concession after such words had been spoken. England presently showed that she would not have taken such a defiance from William of Germany." Yet "a frank nature, incapable of disguises," sometimes has its uses. And if England "would not have taken such a defiance from William of Germany," it is our recollection that William of Germany took something considerably like it, both in Venezuela and in the Philippines, from the United States, at the hands of "a strong man," who may or may not have been a diplomatist.

Germany's policy, says Hertling, is unchanged. So is America's. And America's policy is "that this intolerable Thing, of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, this menace of combined intrigue and force which we now see so clearly as the German power, a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations." That is the American policy, to the execution of which we stand pledged to the exercise of "force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit." In that policy we shall be as fixed and as resolute as are the Huns in theirs. And it is of and for that policy and that purpose that we want every American citizen to think, and speak, and work, and pray.

We share the *Sun's* inability to perceive the particular occasion for the President's unexpected pronouncement against lynching, but it was a good enough thing to do and the *Sun* must concede that it was extremely well done; so there is nothing really to complain about.

Revolutionary Flubdub

ON the morning after Bastille Day, the New York *American* printed a flaming article by Arthur Brisbane, which the New York *Tribune* regarded as of sufficient importance to reprint on the editorial page in its great black-faced double column form, and to comment upon in a leading editorial, under the title of "The Hearst Revolution."

What the "typical reader of the New York *American*" will make of Mr. Brisbane's article, says the *Tribune*, is this:

That the country in time of war is in the hands of men who wantonly and without limit rob and despoil the people; that the Government allows this condition to exist; that unless something is done about it the people will have to rise and kill the persons to blame, and may be pardoned if in the heat of their anger they kick the bodies around the gutter.

That is the logic of the article. The average New York *American* reader is logical in the terrible, primitive way of all Bolsheviki since the struggle for civilization began. It is the logic that says: "What is bad must be destroyed. To destroy means to kill; therefore kill the bad Government."

No doubt that is just the way the "typical" reader of the *American* feels when he reads an article professing to be a "friendly warning" to our "financial autocracy" advising them to "get a short history of the French Revolution and find out what happened to the King and court that would not listen to such a man as Necker. . . soon to have their bodies kicked around in a gutter by a mob of Paris." Our only reason for not becoming excessively disturbed over the thing is that we do not believe that the "typical" Hearst reader counts for very much, in the long run, in the shaping of America's destiny.

But, on the other hand, there is a kind of appeal in such an article as this of Brisbane's that goes far beyond the limits of the Hearstian clientèle. Not only in these latter days of upheaval, but during now these many years of social and political ferment, there has been a considerable element, among the "intellectuals" and in the general public, that has found in the French Revolution a most convenient and alluring basis for formidable warnings. Just now it happens to be Brisbane, with his Hearstian megaphone, bellowing about imaginary crimes and demanding nobody knows what; but at other times it has been other persons, arguing upon premises more real and seeking ends more intelligible and more rational. In either case the analogy with the French Revolution has been brought into play in much the same fashion. "Can't they realize," says Brisbane—"they" being of course the robbers of the people—"can't they realize that a financial autocracy of arrogant, law-defying wealth is just as odious to a free people as were the court and hangers on of special privilege in France in the days of Louis XVI?" And that is just about the way that agitators have talked, any time these twenty years.

Now the mere fact that we have had no revolution, nor come anywhere near it, is no answer at all; not even those who have been most earnest in their warnings have meant to set any particular time for the catastrophe. If the analogy were sound, the warning would be justified; it would be the height of folly to ignore it simply because it has not yet been fulfilled. But there is a fatal flaw in the analogy. We do not refer to the world-wide contrast between the condition of the American people today and that of the French people in 1789; the difference in material comfort, in the numerical proportion between the poor and the well-to-do, in the per-

sonal relation of freeman to freeman as compared with that of serf to master, in the public care for life and health and education, in the possibilities of advancement open to all. These things make a mighty difference, to be sure; yet it is possible, if one is so minded, to deny that the difference is sufficient. But the flaw we have in mind goes to the very heart of the matter. These apostles of the people, these persons who deify the masses and treat the very name of democracy as an object of worship, make the amazing oversight of ignoring the fundamental fact of democratic power. To the people of France in 1789, revolution was the only weapon with which they could attack the wrongs under which they suffered. That the revolution might conceivably have been less violent, is true enough; that its worst excesses were unnecessary and even inexcusable, almost every one will admit. But if the people were to have power to change a régime that had become intolerable they must first of all upset that régime by revolution. Because the French people, ground into dust by the oppression of a small hereditary class, naked and starving, and yet taxed while their lords lived in insolent luxury untaxed, and wholly without a voice in the government of their country, at last destroyed the whole system in a bloody revolution, we are asked to believe that the American people, of whom every one has an equal right with the greatest in the land to make his will felt in the shaping of the law and the selection of its administrators, will plunge their country into anarchy instead of exercising their unchallenged right to bring about whatever changes they desire.

It is not beyond the bounds of bare possibility that such madness may take possession of the American people; but it is so far beyond the limits of probability that sensible men are not called upon to give it a moment's thought. There are things that may wisely be conceded to popular discontent, either because they are right in themselves or because the concession may be expedient as a choice of evils. But in the latter case the choice is not between order and revolution, but between moderate and extreme measures; the extreme as well as the moderate ones being lawful measures, unwise perhaps, but part of the peaceful working of our Constitutional machinery. Before you can hope to frighten hard-headed men by the bogey of a French Revolution, you must at least attempt to explain away the fundamental fact that the American people have the power to obtain by peaceful means what to the French people was possible only by a revolutionary overturn.

The National League of Teachers' Associations representing 20,000 teachers, which has been holding a convention here concurrently with the National Educational Association adopted strong resolutions last night in praise of President Wilson and Secretary Baker for their refusal to commit the country to universal military training and service until the close of the war shall have indicated what military policy should prevail.

So! Now mark! The league may have to guess again soon. Ears in Washington are held in close proximity to the ground these days.

Why is it that Colonel Harvey sees in the delay of extending draft limits a threat of stoppage in the good work we are doing at building an army? Perhaps Secretary Baker's statement has something to do with the premonition Colonel Harvey voices. In the statement Mr. Baker said that it was the purpose of the War Department to forward the up-building of the army as "best we can do"; and then he added that perhaps "the best we can do won't require it." There is a possibility that this is a broad hint at hope of peace before another great addition is made to our forces. If this pacifistic trend of thought is coloring the Secretary's acts, it is a pernicious thing.—*Rochester Post-Express*.

The Hun and the Millennium

WILLIAM THE DAMNED is reported to be having visions of the Millennium. Finding from perusal of the Apocalypse that the Thousand Years are to follow Armageddon, he looks for their coming as soon as "our good German sword," with the incidental aid of "our old German Gott," has effected a "German peace." Then nitrates will be drawn from the air, and other fertilizers from the drainage of munitions factories, to make the deserts blossom as the rose. "With daring flights of fancy," he sees the rays of the sun harnessed to the wheels of industry, and the depths of the sea made to give up, not the *Lusitania's* dead, but the gold and silver and gems which have been lost with countless sunken argosies, especially, we assume, the victims of his own U-boats.

Such, according to his most faithful, veracious and obsequious boot-licker, Karl Rosner, of the *Lokal Anzeiger* of Berlin, are the anticipations, the prophecies, the promises, of this All Highest superman, to be infallibly realized as soon as he, and incidentally his "old German Gott," shall secure the "strong peace" for which he is working.

It is all very pretty. Maybe it will come true. This war may be the actual Battle of Armageddon. And in our invincible orthodoxy we have never renounced belief in the Millennium. But we are afraid that William the Damned has overlooked an item in his apocalyptic chronology. It is quite true that we hear of Armageddon—though there is nothing about a battle there—in the sixteenth chapter, and of the Millennium in the twentieth chapter, making the Hohenzollern sequel correct. But some things happen between the two, which really must not be left out; to wit:

And the Beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the Beast, and them that worshipped his image. These were both cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

That interesting incident is, we understand, to follow the meeting at Armageddon, and is to precede the ushering in of the Millennium. Wherefore, much as it may disappoint the All Highest Beast of Berlin, we are compelled to expect that when the Thousand Years begin, William the Damned will not be there.

In addition to *The Mail*, another daily publication is suspected of aiding the enemy. While the Federal investigators will not divulge the name, it is said to have a national circulation, although published outside the metropolitan district.—*Headline*.

Can it be the Official Bulletin?

Coal Production vs. Reduction

IT is encouraging to hear at last something about the speeding up of coal production at the mines. Hitherto the question has been raised, and with good reason, whether the Fuel Administration is as active in its efforts to increase production as it is ingenious and persistent in its devices to reduce consumption. Doubtless both should be done, to some extent; but it is obvious that the former is the far more desirable. Consumption may and indeed should be reduced by the abatement of waste. If the process be carried further, so as to lessen the activities of non-essential industries, little harm will be done and there will be small ground for discontent. But beyond that limit it would be regrettable to go.

If it were necessary to do so, as it seemed to be last winter, we should not demur. But such a necessity should be avoided if in any way it be possible. On the other hand, increases in production would injure or inconvenience nobody, but would be in every respect commendable. That is why the question referred to has been asked, and that is why the present belated assurance of increasing production is peculiarly welcome.

Last winter we were told that the trouble was not with production but with transportation. There was coal enough at the mines, raised to the surface, but the railroads were congested and cluttered and were unable to carry the coal to the consumers. But now the trouble is on the other side. Director McAdoo has got ahead of Administrator Garfield. The railroads are ready and waiting to carry all the coal that is needed. But the mines have not put out the coal. Last winter huge piles of coal lay awaiting cars. At present, long lines of cars stand idle, awaiting coal.

Now, however, we are told that the miners are getting busy. The bituminous miners have recently made a new record of 13,243,000 net tons in six days, and there was also a marked increase in the output of anthracite. That was and is as it should be, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the process will continue. It does not appear that any new legislation or increase of administrative authority is needed to effect that result, though if it were, it would doubtless be granted as readily as it was last winter when Government control of railroads was adopted in order to get, among other things, more expeditious transportation of coal.

One of the chief reasons which have hitherto been put forward to explain slackness of production has been that of drunkenness. The miners, we are told, will get drunk, and thus reduce their efficiency one-third or more. Wherefore, if we are to have coal, men say, we must have nation-wide prohibition.

That seems to us to be a non-sequitur. Granted, as it must be, that drunkenness at the mines is a serious evil; there is no obvious necessity of imposing prohibition upon the whole nation to check it, or to wait until such prohibition can be effected before abating a local condition. We believe that smoking is effectively forbidden in munitions factories and in many other places, without being prohibited universally throughout the nation. It would seem to us much like a confession of incompetence to pretend that disastrous drunkenness at the coal mines could not be stopped without banishing wine from every hotel table in the land and making it a penal offence for the owner of an arbor to squeeze out some juice from the grapes, let it ferment, and then use it as a beverage.

Various requests are said to have been made of the President, more than a month ago, for the speeding up of coal production, among them being the decreeing of prohibition. What others there were we have not been informed, but of course the President knows and his Fuel Administrator also doubtless knows. It would be interesting to learn if the increase in production now reported is the result of the granting of them. If so, good. If not, it may be that the granting of them or of some of them would cause still further increase.

At any rate, the nation would like to be assured that every rational resort had been tried for the increase of coal production, before adopting so unnatural and extreme a measure as nation-wide prohibition to effect that local end.

Mr. Gay Co-ordinates

IT was early last Fall, if we remember aright, when the public partially recovered from the effects of Mr. George Creel's patriotic lullabys and discovered that the hack politicians and deserving Democrats who had been assigned to supervise various parts of the war machine were making a hopeless mess of things. Diagnosticians, self-appointed, hastened from the four corners of the land to put their fingers on the source of the trouble.

After a short period of investigation, they agreed almost unanimously that the fundamental trouble arose from a "lack of co-ordination." Innumerable examples were presented to prove that men who should be working hand in hand were actually cutting each other's throats. There was no team work. Every conceivable error was charged against lack of co-ordination. Then the press took up the cry and demanded co-ordination. Some of the bolder souls even suggested that the President himself did not know what was going on and had been misled into the belief that progress was being made. How could the President know the condition of affairs, some asked, when he seldom if ever saw the very lieutenants he had appointed to carry out the essential parts of the programme?

Apparently the constant criticism and harping on the need of co-ordination bored the President and he decided to put an end to it all by creating the Super War Council, composed of the heads of those branches of the Government which had to do with making war. He would see them regularly thereafter.

Then the press joyfully announced that all things were to be co-ordinated forthwith, because the President thereafter would meet his lieutenants once a week and receive from them first-hand information. Nothing would be easier than to smooth out difficulties that arose from day to day. The press agreed that the problem was solved and that we would have all the co-ordination we needed, and all things would move in perfect unison thereafter. And so we heard no more of co-ordination!

For a few weeks the President managed to sandwich the Super War Council meetings in between other engagements, but afterward he wearied of the whole business and would put an end to it. At just the right moment, Mr. Swager Sherley, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, discovered, or borrowed, a solution. In his position as guardian of the Treasury, Mr. Sherley found that co-ordination had not been accomplished because there was a constant conflict between various departments as shown by their requests for appropriations. Therefore he suggested that the White House appoint a committee, or board of review, which would be composed of experts in various lines whose duty it would be to make regular investigations of the actual progress or delay in every section of the war machine. The board would have full power from the President to search out the causes for delay or friction and to report to him from day to day upon the real condition of affairs.

The plan was ideal. It would obliterate the possibility of the President being misguided by any of the enthusiastic souls, like Mr. Hurley, whom he had appointed to an important position. It would place responsibility for failures or impending failures where it belonged, and would give the President ample time to take the necessary steps to remedy weaknesses before they reached the fatal stage. The

cardinal principle of the plan was to create an organization which would be absolutely independent of all branches of the Government, so that there could be no motive for hiding weaknesses in one branch at the expense of another.

The President seized upon the plan with avidity. Just at this point, the ubiquitous Mr. Baruch heard of the scheme and would have a hand in it. Of course, we do not know what happened when Mr. Baruch was received by the President, but we do know that thereafter an alteration was made in the excellent plan proposed by Mr. Sherley which practically vitiated it.

Instead of appointing an independent board or committee to make thorough-going investigations, the President appointed Mr. Gay, Chief of the Statistical Division of the Shipping Board, with instructions to work in conjunction with Mr. Baruch. Mr. Gay is one of the most capable men in Washington. Everyone who knows him respects him, but neither Mr. Gay nor anyone else can carry out the plan proposed by Mr. Sherley so long as he is hampered as Mr. Gay is by his present official limitations. He owes allegiance to Mr. Baruch and Mr. Hurley, to begin with. He has been placed in an impossible position, and the country cannot hope to get the benefits which it had a right to expect from the check-up system proposed by Mr. Sherley.

Of course, Mr. Gay, burdened as he is, does not even attempt to search out the weaknesses of the various branches so that the whole truth may be laid before the President. Each division head writes his own eulogy of his own activities, and Mr. Gay, like a careful courier, transmits the same to the White House with the approval and acknowledgments of Mr. Bernard M. Baruch. Meanwhile the Super War Council is no more, and the President is rarely disturbed by personal contact with his lieutenants.

Hornstadt, Scheller, von Kummard, Bechner, Sinheim, and last, but not least, Kaiser—these were among the hearty Celtic names so redolent of the old sod which were attached to that petition from the Friends of Irish Freedom which Jim Ham Lewis recently presented to the Senate. The petition urged on the part of Sinn Feiners such as these that the United States, "not in the peace conference at the end of the war, but now," demand and insist "that the freedom of Ireland," whatever that might mean, be granted by Great Britain immediately. In the name of all the amalgamated von Hoggenschwill bunds and vereins of America, Jim Ham spoke nobly in defiance of the sassenach and for the down-trodden sons of Erin-on-the-Rhine in these United States. He rose in splendid wrath when Senator King characterized the signers of the petition as Sinn Fein traitors and Hun propagandists.

"My City," meaning Chicago, "doesn't have any traitors," cried Jim Ham, "and these Irish People," meaning von Kummard, Bechner, Hornstadt, Scheller, Kaiser and others, "are as loyal to the United States as any people within its borders." Of course they are. Their names alone are as overwhelming evidence of the fact as that they are of true blue, old sod, Erin-go-bragh origin. If Jim Ham Lewis had in his composition even a remote chemical trace of a sense of humor, the loss to the country would be irreparable.

Let us continue to be impatient with inefficiency, but when we have to replace a defective brick, do not let it be used as an excuse for tearing down the whole structure of achievement.—George Creel.

Precisely put! Congratulations!

The Need of the Hour

PURSUANT to that policy of deception which is the major precept of Secretary Baker's administration of the War Department, the widest publicity has been given to the fact that a million American soldiers have landed in France, that 1,200,000 have sailed for France, that 300,000 set sail during the past month, etc.; but in all the extensive publicity given to these figures there has been no hint of the facts which have made possible this achievement. Boasting statements have been issued to the American people, and congratulatory messages have passed from the President to Secretary Baker, but never has the public been advised that to accept the figures of the last three months as a criterion by which to judge the future would be sadly misleading.

Two factors, one of them accidental and unexpected, the other wholly beyond the control of the Secretary of War, have made possible the record of which he boasts, for which he seeks credit under false pretenses. The first of these is the complete collapse of the Russian army. The second is the number of ships which our Allies have placed at our disposal for transportation purposes, even little Italy—little in regard to her marine—having contributed two first-class vessels.

There was no miscalculation by the General Staff as to what this country could do in the sending of an expeditionary force. It was known how much tonnage would be available, and it was equally well known how much of this tonnage must be devoted to equipment and supplies. The wholly unknown factor was the course of Russia. Soviet supremacy and the peace of Brest-Litovsk completely changed the situation with regard to supplies and equipment. Both England and France had manufactured quantities of equipment destined for Russia. Changed conditions in Russia made it possible to place this equipment at the disposal of the American forces. This, in turn, made it feasible to devote every foot of available cargo space to the transportation of troops. Obviously, unless the gentle little pacifist at the head of the War Department would claim credit for the peace of Brest-Litovsk, he can rightfully make no claim to credit for the cargo space so saved and the increased number of troops it was thus made possible to transport.

Of the extensive contribution of shipping by the Allies there can be no question. Nor can it be questioned that this contribution involved serious sacrifice on the part of nations already in dire need of almost every character of supplies, especially of foodstuffs. Whether our Allies were prompted by a considerable measure of generosity, or whether they were simply acting for their own self-protection in facilitating the reinforcement of their war-worn troops by Americans, is immaterial. The fact remains that their act was without the purview of the Secretary of War or the Administration at Washington.

But the important feature of all this is not so much that credit is being claimed by those who do not deserve it, as that there is manifest a purpose to lull the American people into false security. The immense stores which the Russian collapse made it possible to buy in Europe are practically exhausted. They included aeroplanes, ordnance, ammunition, blankets, and even clothing. It was wise to buy them and to utilize the opportunity to expedite the transportation of troops. But the condition which made possible the shipment of troops in such numbers is passed.

And calculations based on the figures of the last few months must prove wholly erroneous. From now on the same proportion of cargo space must be devoted to the carriage of supplies and equipment as was necessary before the banner months of May and June and July.

This situation is perfectly well known to those in high command in Washington. It is to them an occasion of the gravest anxiety. They also realize—and admit where it is safe for them to do so—that the heavy ordnance programme of the War Department has proved as great a disappointment as has the aeroplane programme, and as did the shipping programme. They contemplate with the utmost concern the lack of artillery. It is not denied that it has been possible to buy many French guns, and that there was a point where the artillery was adequate for the expeditionary force then ready for active service. When Secretary Baker announced that the artillery equipment was sufficient for the forces at the front he told the truth, although he concealed the facts—the facts being that while it was adequate at the moment he spoke, at the rate that troops were crossing the ocean its adequacy was a matter of days.

While the iteration of totals of men sent abroad, aeroplanes in the making, machine guns contracted for and supplies in the warehouses, makes it easy to deceive the public into a feeling of false security, it was never more obvious to those who, under Secretary Baker, share the responsibility for the success or failure of American arms, that the crying need of the hour is a strong man at the head of the War Department, a man of force and vigor, who will not only devote his whole strength to winning the war, but who will refrain from constantly checking and hampering those capable officers who, unrestrained, would accomplish in fact what Mr. Baker merely talks of having accomplished.

The Scots at Meteren didn't fight fair. They attacked when the Huns were not expecting them. Heretofore they had always struck at dawn. This time they smote the Hun hip and thigh in broad daylight. The Hun feels aggrieved. His delicate sense of military proprieties is shocked. He frankly says so.

The Galled Jade Winces

THE Huns are protesting against "man's inhumanity to man." The Allied air raids upon German cities have evoked a wail of woe. There are Hun pleas and protests against any aerial bombardments of places back of the line of battle; because, says a Parliamentary Deputy in Baden, they "serve no military purpose, and cause only innocent women and children to suffer." We might perhaps dismiss such representations with a paraphrase of the apt reply to the proposal to stop capital punishment: "Let the assassins begin!" But some further comment will be profitable.

We say, then, that such utterances are both cowardly and false. This Hunnish Deputy, or his fellow Huns, went into hysterics of joy and rapture over the destruction of the *Lusitania*, and over the bombardment of residence towns and schools and hospitals in England, and of churches on Corpus Christi in Paris. It seemed to them a great and glorious triumph of *Kultur* to make innocent women and children suffer. The protests and pleas of the Allied nations and of all the civilized world against those things were an object

of scornful laughter to the Huns. But now, when a taste of similar—not identical—treatment is applied to themselves, how the Huns whine and yelp with pain! When they murdered American women and children in operations which served no military purpose, their Old German Gott was with them, and he who did not from his inmost heart approve the deeds was "accounted no true German." But now when German railroads and munition factories and military camps are bombarded from the air, "Gott im Himmel! but war is Hell!" they squeal.

These representations are also false as well as cowardly. They are doubly false. They are false in the intimation that our bombardments, like theirs, have no military purpose but are directed against innocent non-combatants. We have yet to hear of so much as a single Allied air raid that had not a definite and obvious military purpose or that was directed against a non-military object. They are all as purely military operations against military antagonists as are the raids and drives against the German trenches in Picardy and Champagne. The Germans also lie when they intimate that such raids, in which only non-combatants suffered, could have no military purpose. Perhaps we are over-generous, but we cannot help crediting even the Huns with a military purpose in their bombardment of homes and schools and churches. We have not supposed that they did it just for the pleasure, dear as that is to the Hunnish heart, of simply killing women and children. We have assumed that their purpose was to shatter the morale of the people thus attacked, and to provoke a demand for surrender; just as a brigand demands ransom from the friends of his captive under threats of the latter's death, and perhaps emphasizes the urgency of the demand by sending one of his captive's ears with the message.

Of course, the Huns were arrant fools to imagine that by such performances they could impair the morale of the Allied nations or frighten them into subjection. But then, they were judging others by themselves; a common thing to do. How certainly they were thus judging others by themselves is demonstrated by the effect of the few bombardments which we have thus far made. The Germans are getting frightened and panicky. Their morale is being impaired. They are raising a cry to "stop the war!" They are doing exactly what they vainly and stupidly expected the Allies to do. Their raids failed of the intended effect, and indeed had precisely the contrary effect; while our raids are doing exactly what we mean them to do.

Wherefore, we say, the more the Beast howls and whines, the harder and the more remorseless should be our attacks. Every Hunnish protest or plea against aerial bombardments should mean the launching of a new fleet of aeroplanes, directed against every accessible center of German military activity. They started it; now let us give it to them, to their—no, to our—hearts' content. Our impression is that it will serve a very valuable military purpose.

An American corporal climbed the stairs leading up to the New York *Times* office in Paris to get some news from his native land. He pored over the files for an hour before he found anything from his home town, Glens Falls, N. Y. Then his eye lighted upon an item from there saying the paper mill workers were going to strike.

"This is a hell of a time to strike in America," he ejacu-

lated and started to go, when he was accosted by a correspondent, who reported as follows:

He showed me the cross of war on his coat, with a silver star added to the ribbon. The cross was for making his way from one shell hole to another under heavy fire with an important communication. The silver star had been added because the soldier had risked his own life to bring in a wounded French Lieutenant. He also wore a ribbon showing service in Mexico.

"I want to get all dolled up in these crosses and things like a regular Frenchman before I go back home," he admitted. "Some fellows say they don't care, but all are crazy for 'em. I was hoping I'd get something all the time, crawling among those holes."

"Of course, the star was different, because you don't think of medals when you've got a wounded man across your back."

"One thing that bothers me is that some French villages are just one street and two long rows of houses. Sometimes the name of the village is painted on the last house. We were fighting through one of the streets the other day when I saw the name, but before I had time to spell it out a shell blew off that corner of the house and I never knew where I was."

"I felt kind of sore, because I had got this cross of war just outside that village the day before for taking a message through shellfire. Now, somebody will ask me where I got it and if I don't know they'll say I'm a faker."

He turned from medals to equipment and thrust his rifle into my hands.

"That's the best rifle in the American Army," he said, "just heft it. Balance it. I've used sixteen all told in Mexico, the United States, and France, and that's the best of the lot. Being a corporal and an expert marksman, I can generally get a gun to suit me."

"That one you've got in your hands there is almost human. I believe it would load, aim, and shoot all by itself if I was too busy. It never gets heavy because it has such a good balance, just like a garden hoe after you get used to it."

"When you're climbing out of your own trench, that rifle sort of helps you up, and when the bayonet is on and you're jumping down into a boche trench that particular rifle of mine sort of hands you down like helping a lady off a trolley car. It's a great gun."

The "great gun" was the new American rifle adopted against vigorous protests by Secretary Baker, General Crozier and Colonel Thompson, each of whom, to our mind, ought to be gratified by this commendation from a really and truly American corporal who obviously knows his business.

The President to J. Ham. Lewis:

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have heard with concern that you thought of not accepting a renomination for the Senate and undertaking a campaign. I hope sincerely that if that has been your inclination you will reconsider your judgment in the matter and undertake the race. We are counting upon you to put your usual spirit and energy into a campaign, which I am sure will assist to make the issues clear in Illinois.

We doubt if the President need have felt grave concern; indeed, we question whether anybody could have kept the nimble Whip out of the race without an axe. Anyhow he "reconsidered" by request and pledged the sure devotion of Illinois—"a State whose history of men and sacrifices is proof that there are no disloyal citizens in her citizenship, and every Illinoisan a patriot," including, of course, the Hon. Medill McCormick.

General De Goutte's American army is still advancing.—*Major General Maurice in the Times.*

That is good; and General De Goutte no doubt is an excellent officer; but somehow we should have preferred to read "General Wood's American army."

If the limit was not reached when David J. Lewis was designated as the executive head of the great telephone system in place of Theodore N. Vail, then truly the sky is it.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

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NO. 33

Down With Disloyalists!

REPLYING to Mr. Myron McNeil of Hazelhurst, Mississippi, who wrote that supporters of James K. Vardaman's candidacy for re-election to the Senate were trying to convey the impression that the return of Vardaman would not be regarded unfavorably by the Administration, the President said:

Such statements are calculated to put a very false face upon Senator Vardaman's candidacy. Senator Vardaman has been conspicuous among the Democrats in the Senate for his opposition to the Administration. If the voters of Mississippi should again choose him to represent them I not only have no right to object, I would have no right in any way to criticise them.

But I should be obliged to accept their action as a condemnation of my Administration, and it is only right that they should know this before they act.

The *Evening Post* protests against the President's action on principle. "Never before," it remarks, "have we seen a President openly assume the right to say who should and who should not be elected to Congress. . . . It is not simply punishment for the past that the President appears to have in mind. He would erect a kind of moral terrorism for the future. If a member of the next Congress ventures to oppose the President's known wishes, he will live with a sword over his head. That is, he will be in danger of a Presidential notification that he ought not to be chosen for another term. This latest evidence of President Wilson's masterful ways may be thought of as an incident of his vast war-powers. But it will appear disquieting and dangerous to sober-minded Americans steeped in the spirit of our past."

The *World* objects upon the ground of policy. "This," it says, "is a daring venture, and it is attended with grave dangers—with unnecessary dangers, perhaps. That Vardaman ought not to be in the United States Senate at this time or any other time is a matter on which most intelligent Americans will agree, regardless of party. But whether it is worth while for the President to

risk his prestige as a world statesman in a contest with Vardaman in a State like Mississippi is quite another matter. If Vardaman is renominated in the primaries the President is beaten and his Administration condemned, not because Vardaman returns to the Senate but because the President himself made that the issue."

We fail to perceive that the President made the issue; it seems to have been forced upon him. Nevertheless, in ordinary times, we should concur in the view that such high-handed interference by the Executive is as unwarranted as it is unprecedented, and reprehensible to a degree. But these are not ordinary times. We are at war and Congress is no place for disloyalists. Vardaman is a disloyalist. He not only voted against making a declaration of war but has done everything in his power to cripple his country in waging war. He should be beaten and disgraced.

The President errs exasperatingly in demanding Vardaman's defeat because of his "opposition to my Administration"; that is the height of impertinence and arrogance toward both a co-ordinate branch of the Government and the people of a sovereign State. If, as leader of his party rather than as President, Mr. Wilson had urged the defeat of Vardaman because of his demonstrated infidelity and lack of patriotism, he would have stood upon solid ground; his position would have been unassailable.

Perhaps that is what he meant to do; let us hope so. In any case, for ourselves, we are not disposed to split straws over temporary obsessions or even wrongful distinctions in this hour of the Nation's peril. In effect and purpose, the President is right, and we are with him heart and soul.

Down with all traitors! Down with all disloyalists! Down with Vardaman!

Down with Ford!

"Like Father, Like Son!"

MICHIGAN'S ROLL OF HONOR

OFFICIALLY REPORTED AS KILLED OR WOUNDED DURING THE
WEEK ENDING AUGUST 1, 1918

MAJOR GOODWIN COMPTON, Detroit
FRANK J. SHARLEY, Detroit
FRANCIS L. LENHARD, Gagetown
MELVIN M. PECOR, St. Clair
BRUCE WHITE, Battle Creek
ADAM J. LUCABAGE, Stanwood
JOSEPH BANDRON, Detroit
JAMES L. HOWELL, New Haven
JEROME TROMBLEY, Auburn
LELAND G. FENTON, Port Huron
CLARE E. MOSHER, Grand Rapids
ANTONI PROIS, Detroit
JAMES W. SHERMAN, Ravenna
JOSEPH SCHUTZ, North Detroit
H. W. JUMMERFIELD, Detroit
E. E. RAYNOR, Battle Creek
ELLIS E. ANDREWS, Detroit
ALBRO E. BLAKE, Coloma
FRANK L. BAKER, Detroit
ROBERT H. KIMMEL, Battle Creek
TEDOR MILEWSKI, Detroit
SAMUEL E. SINCLAIR, Detroit
WILLIAM P. SMITH, Midland

Exempt: Mr. Edsel Ford

Mr. Edsel Ford, age 23, son of Mr. Henry Ford, was certified for service and his order number was reached by Local Board No. 21 in the latter part of August, 1917. He thereupon addressed a letter in his own hand to the Board, asking to be exempted because of his connection with the Ford Motor Car Company. The Board replied that the regulations provided a method for making such application, which he then filed in due form, requesting exemption upon the ground that he was a necessary associate manager of a necessary industrial enterprise. The application was supported by affidavits from various employees of the Ford company, who verbally importuned the Board to make the exemption. The application was denied for the following reasons, in part, as set forth in an opinion by the Chairman of the Board:

The character of this application for an occupational exemption makes it seem desirable to file in this case a formal opinion in order that it may be used as a guide to the public and ourselves for future action.

Edsel Ford is twenty-three years of age and only son of Henry Ford, the founder and present guiding spirit of the Ford Motor Car Company. While the claim is not supported by any showing from the Chief Executive of the company, there are supporting affidavits before us filed in support of this claim by subordinate officers.

It appears from these affidavits that the applicant is a director, vice-president, secretary and treasurer of the recently organized corporation known as Henry Ford & Son. For two years he has been director, vice-president and secretary of the Ford Motor Car Company. There is no serious claim made that any substantial part of his activities are at the present time devoted to Henry Ford & Son. The exact nature of his duties with the Ford Motor Car Company does not appear in detail, nor is there before us any definite statement of the character of the work he has been in the habit of performing. Running through the record, however (and this is substantiated by statements made to the Board), it appears that primarily and principally this young man is being used in the business to relieve his father of some responsibility and do some of his father's work when Mr. Henry Ford is otherwise engaged.

Is the given individual necessary to the industry? Our instructions from the President in connection with this phase of the case read as follows:

"The evidence must also establish, even if the particular industrial enterprise . . . is found necessary . . . that the continuance of such person therein is necessary to the maintenance thereof, and that he cannot be replaced by another person without direct substantial material loss and detriment to the adequate and effective operation of the particular industrial enterprise . . . in which he is engaged."

In the light of these instructions, the determination of this last question becomes quite simple. It is not an exaggeration to state that the fame and reputation of the Ford Motor Car Company organization is little short of marvelous, and its demonstrated efficiency is known the world over. The extraordinary achievements of this company would have been impossible but for the wonderful organization built up, in which the executives take and should take a very proper pride. It is a most significant fact that this industry, far and away the largest individual industry within our district, should have, at the time this claim for an occupational exemption was filed, but one man of draft age claimed to be necessary to its successful operation. The quota on the present call for our district is 12,539 men. More than this number have already been certified to our board by the various locals within our jurisdiction, and at the time this case was considered we had actually certified to the Adjutant General for service 11,080 men. This had involved an examination by the local boards of approximately 70,000 men. It is unthinkable that this young man, twenty-three years of age, should be the only one of his class in this entire examination.

There can be no doubt that it is at all times commendable for any son to gradually prepare himself to help his father, but for us to excuse this young man from military service we must find under our regulations that he is necessary to this industry. It is a matter of general knowledge that Mr. Henry Ford got along in business surprisingly well for a long period of time without any help from his son. We have no doubt but that during this critical period in our country's progress he will find a way without much inconvenience to continue to do so.

The primary object of the occupational exemption clause of the Selective Draft Act is to exempt from military service trained and skilled artisans whose work cannot be duplicated by men over the draft age. It is not contemplated that bookkeepers, cashiers, and men of that description should be in the exempt class, and only in certain cases can an executive officer be said to be of the exempt class. Such cases do arise and will arise in the future but they are rare and exceptional in their nature. To say that the loss of service to the Ford Motor Car Company, with their wonderful organization, of this young man would result in a direct, substantial, material loss to the Ford Motor Car Company is obviously absurd.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Mr. James H. Cousins, a business man of ripened and mature experience, who had grown up with this business from its infancy severed his connection abruptly but without any apparent direct, substantial and material loss. If the organization is so perfect as not to feel the loss of a man of his character and description, how can we possibly find that there would be the loss contemplated by the statute if the applicant herein severed his connection with the company?

No definition has yet been given by any District Board or the Adjutant General of the phrase in the law reading:

"The maintenance of national interest during the emergency," but, in our opinion, there is here presented a case when the national interest during the present emergency would be very seriously affected if a claim of this description were allowed. To allow this claim would not only fail to maintain the national interest but, in our judgment, would seriously adversely affect the national interest during the present emergency. We can think of no one thing that would more deservedly subject the Selective Draft to serious criticism and the imputation of special favoritism than to allow the claim for exemption herein urged.

Because of these reasons we reached the conclusion that the application for a discharge from military service would have to be denied.

*District Board, Division Number 1,
Eastern District of Michigan.*

Mr. Edsel Ford then exercised his right to appeal to the President and asked for a stay of his induction pending determination, which was granted. The papers were transmitted to the President early in October, but for some reason unknown the appeal was not passed upon by the President.

The revised regulations became effective as of December 15. Under those regulations, Mr. Ford's appeal having never been decided, he came automatically under the operation of the new regulations and the questionnaire which was a part thereof. These new regulations contained a deferred class

(previously known as an exemption) which did not exist under the old regulations. In other words, they provided that a married man with children should be put in class 2-a (a deferred class) where the wife and children were not mainly dependent upon his labor for support; or, to put it more plainly, a registrant of independent means having children (Edsel Ford's case, as a baby was born in the meantime) should be put in Class 2. Whereas, if there were no children they would have been in Class 1.

On his questionnaire Mr. Ford claimed the right to be put in Class 2-a and also claimed an industrial deferred classification—Class 3-1, necessary assistant or associate manager of necessary industrial enterprise. The regulations automatically put him in Class 2-a. When his claim was made in the fall the Ford Motor Car Company had no Government orders, and up to the time his claim was presented had made no claims for exemption on behalf of any other employee. They did afterwards make two other claims, but it was then their policy not to make these claims. When his claim came up on the questionnaire their policy had entirely changed. They then had a substantial amount of Government business and they had established a department for the purpose of universally claiming deferred classifications on the part of their employees. Because of this changed situation and perhaps partly because he was given a deferred classification automatically, the Board, by a divided vote, in addition to giving 2-a, which he was entitled to as a matter of right, classed him likewise in 3-1, which virtually assures him immunity from draft for military service.

Does Mr. Baker *really* believe it pays to underestimate the strength and morale of an enemy? If not, why do his press agents absurdly exaggerate isolated instances of the cowardice of individual Huns, while carefully ignoring their average steadfastness? As a result of the ridiculous policy of the Baker agents, the public is being led to believe that the Germans gladly surrender, although General March and every officer of intelligence in the army knows that the average *morale* of the Germans is one of the wonders of the ages.

The Hun Disaster

DISASTER it is. No weaker word describes it. Only the other day the Allied counterstroke on the Marne drove the picked troops of Prussia like chaff before the wind and set the Prussian Crown Prince—he of the Death's Head Hussars—to bawling frantically to his cousin of Bavaria, "Help, Rupprecht! or I perish!" Then last week, with the blood scarce dried upon the meadows of the Marne and Ourcq, another storm burst at the north, in front of Amiens; and in a twinkling the veteran shock troops of the redoubtable Von Hutier were racing eastward up the Somme, in a "Devil take the hindmost" flight before the bayonets of Haig's Tommies, eager to avenge their losses of last March. Thus more than a hundred miles of the German line has been smashed, and from Arras to Rheims the Huns are in full retreat back to the old "Hindenburg Line."

There has been nothing quite like it before in all the war. Let us review it in perspective. In March last the Germans under this same Von Hutier achieved a tremendous drive, which all but annihilated one British army and drove another with its back to the wall; so that the Allies had to

ask—we might say, demand—that if Americans were ever to be put into the war, they be put in then and there. It was a dark day for the Allies, with actual danger that the Huns would at last break through past Amiens to the Channel Ports. But happily the strained line held.

There followed a second, a third, and a fourth drive; decreasing in power, it is true, yet each making substantial gains of territory, partly toward the Channel Ports, partly toward Paris. A month ago the bravest among the Allies were anxiously wondering where next a German blow would fall. It fell toward the Marne, with tremendous potency, driving a deep salient into the Allied lines; with the intention that, the moment a secure lodgment was made beyond the Marne, at the north Von Hutier should repeat his tactics of last March and drive through Amiens to the sea. That was why the Kaiser told his men that the decisive blows would fall in September. The thought was that British troops would be hurried down past Soissons to defend the Marne, leaving the line at Amiens weakened and unable to withstand Von Hutier; and that the Germans, on the shorter inside line, would be able more quickly than the Allies to shift forces from the Marne to the Somme.

But two things smashed that plan to smithereens. So many Americans had come from three thousand miles away that it was not necessary to weaken the British lines. Also, Foch knew all about the German plans in advance. Before the drive at the Marne was fairly begun, he had perfected his plans for destroying it with a counter-drive. And then, not waiting for Von Hutier to begin his action at the north, Foch sent Haig in, not on a counter-drive but on an original offensive, so that Von Hutier, while hesitating whether to attempt a drive, was confronted with a British drive against himself; for which he was as unprepared as the British were for his in March.

Thus with two drives within a month the Allies have regained more than the Germans won in four months with five drives, and they have won it with a lighter aggregate of losses than the Germans suffered in a single one of their five drives. Never before has so vast a transformation been effected on so vast a scale. Practically on the whole active western front the initiative has been transferred from the Germans to the Allies, with every prospect that the Allies will be able to retain it throughout the remainder of the season. Meantime, the tide is against the Huns in every other quarter. The French and Italians are advancing against the Austrians in Italy, the Italians are steadily pressing northward in Albania, and Allied intervention in Russia is hastening the collapse of the Bolshevik régime and the reappearance of Russia as one of the Allies in the war.

The month of August has seen great battles in former years: Crecy, and Chevy Chase; Bosworth Field, Blenheim, Vimiera, Gravelotte, Plevna. But the August fighting this year may easily outrank them all. This drive on the Somme actually outranks in swiftness and decision the marvelous counter-drive of last month on the Marne. How far it will penetrate the German lines is as yet matter for speculation. But the Allies are showing extraordinary powers of endurance. They apparently can drive forward for miles, halt to take breath, and then resume the drive with as much momentum as before. In such circumstances they may go far.

Of course, we shall expect the Germans to offer all manner of resistance and even to attempt counter-drives. They must do so, if they are not to admit at once their utter defeat.

Were We Driven To It?

WE know now why the brakes came off. The explanation of our pacifist Secretary of War's sudden self-reversal is disclosed. It is very simple, and very convincing. He was driven to it; that is all. He was constrained by the remonstrances, appeals, demands or what not, of our Allies. Any pretence that it required long and profound study, from late in June until early in August, to convince one of the ablest public officials the President has ever known that two and two make four, would of course be puerile. The simple fact is that when our Allies learned that at the very height and crisis of the campaign he purposed to "lie down on his job," they read the riot act to him. It was only through compulsion that the thing which he vetoed in June he dictated and demanded in August.

This was not altogether unprecedented. A similar thing occurred last spring. Our pacifist Secretary of War was dawdling along with petty dribbles of preparation for a war which he was quite unable to visualize as less than three thousand miles away. Then a crisis occurred. Our heroic Allies, worn with years of fighting for our protection, and outnumbered, were standing with their backs to the wall. Then in their desperation they made it plain to us that if ever we were going to get into the war, then was the time for us to do it. We did it; and they generously did not correct the fine-sounding statements which were put forth about our having "offered" to send in all available troops at once and to let them be brigaded with the French and British. It was not so much an "offer," as compliance with what was much like a demand.

Nor was that the first of our compulsions. Our breaking off of relations with Germany, and our recognition of the state of war, were made practically under compulsion—the compulsion not of our Allies but of our foe. Germany kicked and cuffed and dragged and drove us into the war. We did not want to go in, and we sacrificed rights and ignored duties until Germany's outrages became so monstrous that we simply *had* to fight; then we went in.

It is proverbially better late than never. And though it is theoretically impossible ever to atone for delay, it may be possible practically to make up for it to so great an extent that the delay will be forgiven and forgotten. But how much better it would be to be prompt instead of dilatory; how much better to act spontaneously upon our own initiative than to wait until we are dragged or driven to it!

Gerard won't talk for pay. He cancels appointment at hint of collection.—*Evening Sun*.

Where, oh where was Dollar Bill Bryan?

Smash the Watch On the Rhine!

SO the "Wacht am Rhein" is to be made an actuality. We are told that the Kaiser is collecting picked troops, of the best quality, from various sections of the German army; not Alsatians nor Poles, but Simon-pure Huns. They are to be united in a special army, of half a million men, to receive special training and discipline. They are not to be used as an escort to the Kaiser when he goes to Paris for that much-postponed dinner, nor yet as pioneers to blaze the way to the Channel Ports. No, they are to be a "Watch on the Rhine," to defend that stream from hostile crossing, and to prevent the "decadent French," England's "contemptible

little army," and "the idiotic Americans" from invading the sacred soil of the Fatherland.

This is not incredible. It is not surprising. Indeed, we should think it about the most natural thing in the world. Recent occurrences must have impressed even the megalomaniac criminal of Potsdam with the prospective need of such a force. With all the vainglorious bluffing and camouflage with which, through his Hertling, he still tries to delude his hapless "cannon fodder," he must realize that the tide of war has at last turned hopelessly against him, and that all that is left him now is to make his final defeat as little disastrous and humiliating as possible. Naturally, his first aim is to have the war end outside of Germany. He has all along been boasting to his people that the war has been waged upon alien soil and that thus the Fatherland has escaped its ravages. If he could secure the restoration of peace with that boast still holding true, he would in great measure "save his face." He could say to his people that all the world arrayed against Germany was not able to cross the frontier and violate German soil.

To that end it is the most natural thing imaginable for him to prepare along the Rhine defences so formidable that the Allies either cannot break through them or will shrink from the fearful cost of such an operation, and will therefore be willing to make peace without invading Germany. Also, back of the line of the river we must suppose that he will prepare line after line of successive defences, by means of which to dispute desperately every step of the Allied progress.

In this there is a forcible reminder to us of two things. One is, the magnitude of the task which lies before us. The other is, the necessity of our fulfilling that task, at no matter what cost.

It is not proving an easy task to drive the Germans out of France and Flanders. In the last fortnight we have been exceptionally successful, and have driven them a number of miles, on an extensive front. But there are still many more miles to traverse before we drive them across the border, and every mile will be bitterly contested. And then there will be some hundreds of miles to drive them across their own country, before the Lair of the Beast is reached; all of which way will be marked with line after line of fortifications, all desperately defended.

It will be a tremendous task to break through this new "Watch on the Rhine," to invade Germany, and to march to Berlin. Yet it must be done. We repeat, it must be done. Germany must be invaded and conquered on her own soil, and peace must be dictated in Berlin, occupied by an Allied army. To insist upon that is not mere vindictiveness, not merely a desire to humiliate the Hun. It is a counsel of sense and justice. For without such an achievement the German people cannot be impressed with the real meaning of the war and with the full fact of their own defeat; and without such an impression they cannot be brought to a proper frame of mind for peace.

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A Difference in Drives

DRIVE and counter-drive are not, after all, mere swinging of the pendulum of war, with equal strokes and similar results. There is a radical and peculiarly vital difference, in the most important of all respects.

The geographical sweep of the pendulum may be much the same in each direction. The Huns rush forward from the Aisne to the Marne, and the Allies drive them back from the Marne to the Aisne. The British make a gain of many miles along the Somme; the Germans make a counter-drive and regain the same territory; and once more the British force back the Germans and occupy the land. In all this there seems to be nothing but the swinging of the pendulum over the self-same war-scarred area.

Within limits, however, the gain or loss of land is comparatively a negligible factor in the war. The war is not waged with acres but with armies, not with red earth but with living men. In the last analysis the victory will be won not by the Power which best protects its territory or which overruns the most territory of the foe, but by that which has the greatest man-power, and which has an efficient army remaining in the field when the last army of the enemy is destroyed. Land lost may be regained; men killed are killed forever. That is why the casualty lists are more significant than the maps, and why we pay far more attention to the news of divisions destroyed than to the news of miles gained.

It is in this respect that there is a great and radical difference between the drives of the Germans and those of the Allies. The British drive on the Somme last year was marked with British losses so light as to be almost insignificant; much lighter than those of the retreating Germans in the same campaign. In the succeeding counter-drive, on the other hand, the German losses were appalling, and immeasurably greater than those of the back-yielding British line. The Germans indeed retook the ground which they had lost, but they did so at a price in men which they could ill afford to pay; a price which would bankrupt them if they were to continue to pay it for all the land that lies between them and their wished-for goal. Now the Allies have again driven the Germans back from the same area, and in doing so have suffered far lighter losses than they have inflicted. We are told that the German prisoners taken considerably outnumber the total losses of the Allies in killed and wounded. If we should analyze the losses of the drive and counter-drive at the Marne, we should discover similar results. Great as were the sacrifices of Allied lives, still greater was the slaughter of the Huns.

For this difference there are several reasons. One, doubtless, is found in the methods of fighting, the Germans moving in dense mass-formations while the Allies have more open ranks. Probably the machine-like methods of the Germans, contrasted with the far greater individual initiative of the Allies, have something to do with it. But perhaps greatest of all is the difference in spirit. The Germans know that time is against them, and that if they are to win at all they must win quickly. Therefore they force the fighting with desperate recklessness, and stubbornly resist at whatever cost the advance of the foe. The Allies, on the other hand, know that time is making for them, that they can afford to wait; they can wait for an auspicious opportunity for striking, and when they are attacked they can afford to fall back

and yield ground, so long as they are exacting a sufficient toll in enemy lives.

We may hope that these conditions will continue throughout the war; certainly that they will never be reversed. The days of Ypres and Verdun are past. There will be no more need of such sacrifice; though if the need should be, we would meet it with unshaken fortitude. Henceforth we may look to see the crescent might of the Allies exact, and the waning forces of the Huns pay, the major part of the red toll of war.

With one possible exception the activities of the President in furthering the cause of loyalty in Congress have been to throw his influence toward cleaning up his own party, thereby providing an example for the Republicans to follow. This exception was, of course, in the case of motor car maker Henry Ford, who is a candidate for the Republican Senatorial nomination in Michigan. And even here the President limited his intervention in behalf of Mr. Ford to the confirmation of the very general impression that Mr. Ford would make an excellent Senator in war time.—*The World*.

It would be extremely interesting to know who ascertained the "very general impression."

General Horvath, head of the new All-Russian Government, declares that nothing less than 150,000 Allied troops will be required to prevent Germany from obtaining control of the food resources of Siberia and Mongolia.—*Vladivostok despatch to the Associated Press*.

We are sending 7,000 and urging Japan to send no more!

Bedlam Declares War

ANNOUNCEMENT of the Bolshevik declaration of war upon the Allies is not likely to make anybody's flesh creep. It is only the verbal formulation of a long existent fact. Just as the Huns declared war on civilization when their hordes swept into Belgium, so did the Bolshevik crew of crooks and madmen declare war on Russia's former allies when they sold out to the Huns and turned loose Hun armies of reinforcement on the western front.

If among them there were deluded ones who really relied upon Hun faith when they subscribed to that Brest-Litovsk document, humorously described as a "peace" treaty, and which virtually put Russia under the Hun's feet, the delusion could hardly have been shared by the leaders in that interesting dicker. With them, beyond much doubt, it was a simple case of barter and sale. They got their price and they delivered the goods.

Such of these leaders as survive the maelstrom and manage to escape with their plunder may yet find their way back to our own shores. This was their original base of operations. They sought shelter and prospered here, and, after the manner of their kind, turned on the hand that fed them. From the moment of their arrival they began an anarchist crusade against America and everything American. Then the opportunity opened in Russia. They abandoned their efforts to promote wreck and ruin here and flew to the more promising field. But that field has now been pretty well gleaned. The days of Bolshevism in Russia are clearly numbered. Not, of course, that the end will come without the usual accessories of slaughter and arson. There will be plenty of that, no doubt. But the spree could not go on indefinitely.

The No-Coal Menace

THE President's appeal "To All Engaged in Coal Mining" is, like most of his public utterances, admirable in sentiment and in phrase. It is, if possible, even more earnest and forceful than usual, there being not a single "May I not?" in it from address to signature. Yet somehow it reminds us of the little boy's sermon to his audience of chairs and toys: "All men, be good!"

For, after all, it is nothing but an amiable appeal, when, unless all reports belie the situation, something more than words is needed. The best coal-producing season of the year is waning toward its close, and production is far behind prospective and almost certain needs. We are told, not by alarmists but by the President himself, not to mention innumerable other authorities, that the existing scarcity of coal is creating the most serious danger that confronts us. The prosecution of the war is imperilled, and the American people in their homes are threatened with suffering and woe. Certainly such a condition calls not only for words but for acts.

The miners, to whom the President makes his appeal, declare most positively that the scarcity of coal is not their fault. There may be a scarcity in the markets, but there is none at the mines. The country would be flooded with coal, beyond its fullest needs, if only the cars were provided for getting it out of the mines and to the markets.

On the other hand the transportation people, who are already under Government control, declare that there is an abundance of cars, and that cars are lying around empty, everywhere, waiting for the miners to fill them with coal.

Now here, we submit, is a discrepancy which calls for correction. Nothing could be more pertinent, or more interesting for the coal-consuming public to know, than which if either of these statements is correct, and what is being done—not said, but *done*—to remedy the fault. If the coal situation is as the President describes it, and we fear it is, it seems to us that the time has arrived for something more than words: for some such strenuous action as has hitherto been applied in emergencies not nearly so grave as this.

British planes down 122 German machines in two days.—*Headline in the "Times."*

We wonder when the *first* American plane will appear on the front?

Trying to Joke Josephus

WHO is the maladroit humorist who is trying to "put one over" on our own Josephus? Somebody, to whom the Espionage and Sedition Acts ought surely to apply, has been issuing in his name, or ostensibly under his authority, an S O S call to American inventive genius to come to the help of the Naval Consulting Board with aeroplane devices. Every crank in Christendom is insidiously reminded that perhaps he is the one Heaven-sent genius who is to invent the ideal aircraft which will win the war; and is told that there is an appropriation of a billion dollars available for production.

Think of it! To send out such an invitation to the innumerable progeny of Darius Green, with the tempting bait of that billion dollars! And this at a time when warehouses

all over Washington are already packed to the roof with plans and models. Does not this way madness lie?

But think, too, of the bitter irony of it all. We have been in the war more than a year and a third. During that time practically unlimited means have been available for aircraft production. A year ago there was promise of the speedy production of planes by tens of thousands. Long ago George Creel gave the movie-seeing and bulletin-reading public to understand that American aeroplanes were already swarming all over France like mosquitoes over a Jersey meadow. Yet now, under date of August 11, 1918, the defectiveness of all American machines is openly avowed, and an omnibus appeal is issued to whom it may concern, to devise some improvement which will make the things work properly.

Meantime our Allies, who, of course, compared with us, are effete and behind the times, appear to have aircraft which do pretty well. We hear of British aviators disposing satisfactorily of a hundred and twenty-two German planes in two days, and of carrying indescribable havoc and ruin far behind the German lines. Are we really to wait until some budding genius invents something that will fly, and the Board passes upon the invention, and a factory builds the machines, before we can have our promised air-navy?

General Graves Goes to Russia

THE *Times* laments because, while Japan has appointed to command her Siberian forces General Kihuzo Otain, "one of her most distinguished soldiers," Secretary Baker has chosen Major General William S. Graves to command the American expedition, despite the fact that he is virtually unknown and has had no field experience.

"It was not until 1911 that General Graves attained the rank of major about the time he was on duty with the General Staff at Washington. Except for an interval of two years he was attached to the staff corps from 1909 to 1918. Thus for seven years he was not in touch with troops."

Exactly. General Graves has not commanded troops in the field. He is not that kind of a soldier. But he has been closely, in fact intimately, associated with Mr. Baker since that gentleman put aside temporarily the habiliments of a pacifist and protestingly donned those of a warrior. During the last two years he has been right at Mr. Baker's elbow, and Mr. Baker has developed a great admiration, if not an actual affection, for the general.

General Graves is a most unusual military man. He indulges in none of the harsh and rigid methods that soldiers develop in the field. He is gentle in manner, bearing, and thoughts. All of his ways and views betoken the man who has lived in the quiet, peaceful atmosphere of a well regulated office rather than those of the rough-and-tumble field soldier. He is the philosophical type of man who realizes that all things work themselves out properly if given ample time, and he cares little for the modern methods of forcing conclusions. He is a man after Mr. Baker's own soul, and in sending him to far off Siberia Mr. Baker realizes that his policy will be one of safety first—there will be no drastic or unusual activities initiated by him.

"It would be interesting to know what General Graves' views about the Siberian situation are. He will have to exercise responsibility and should have opinions."

The deficiency of information indicated by the *Times*

is readily supplied in so far as General Graves' views are concerned. He was avowedly opposed to any military expedition into Siberia whatsoever. As a member of the General Staff he fought the proposal tooth and nail. Largely upon his advice Secretary Baker urged the President not to listen to the pleadings of our Allies for a Siberian expedition. When he was assigned to command the Eighth Division, despite the fact that he had never commanded a regiment, much less a brigade or division, he left Washington for San Francisco protesting that he feared he would be sent to Russia if the Administration eventually decided to despatch a Siberian expedition. He did not want to go—he did not believe that any good would ever come of a military expedition to Russia.

"The Siberian command should have been given to an accomplished soldier with both executive and diplomatic ability."

Nonsense! Is it possible that the *Times* means to insinuate that Secretary Baker should have remitted Leonard Wood's sentence to Kansas and entrusted him with this highly responsible post? At the moment we can think of no other available "accomplished soldier with both executive and diplomatic ability," and yet we could hardly expect Mr. Baker to sanction the selection of a man of Leonard Wood's type when General Graves was available.

In branding as "disloyal to my Administration" Representative James Slayden, who has served the San Antonio District efficiently for twenty-two years, the President assured the nomination and election of Mr. Carlos Bee, who, it now develops, has the distinguished honor of being brother-in-law to Politicalmaster General Albert Sidney Burleson. Strange indeed are the accidents of politics!

Two Points in the Railroad Contract

TWO points in the revised version of the railroad contract can scarcely receive too much attention or be made too explicit and emphatic. Above most of the others they are of direct and vital concern to both parties to the contract and to the whole American people.

One is the passage in Section Seven which declares it to be the policy of the Director-General so to use certain of his powers "as not to interrupt unnecessarily the regular payment of dividends as made by the company during the test period." We hope that that will be satisfactorily interpreted, applied and enforced. It ought to be a matter of course, established and maintained in the strongest possible manner, that nothing save the most absolute, imperative and inevitable need should be permitted in any way to interrupt, delay or interfere with the prompt and full payment of dividends. By this we mean that on the one hand the Government should not in any degree impair the ability of the companies to pay their dividends, and that on the other hand the companies should not factitiously make any act of the Government a pretext for withholding or delaying dividends.

It may be that some of our Bolsheviki regard dividends as "tainted money," the payment of them as a felony, and the recipients of them as bourgeois reprobates who deserve to be hanged, drawn and quartered. For the benefit of such it may be explained that the recipients of dividends form a

large proportion of the "common people" of the nation, including innumerable widows, orphans and others who are dependent upon them for support, either directly or through trust funds and savings banks; to whom interference with their regular payment would mean distressing hardships. So far as such dividends are received by persons of more considerable means, they form an important basis of income taxation, and a source of subscriptions to Liberty Loans. For the Government to take any action which would suspend or delay their payment, therefore, would be detrimental to itself, after the manner of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs.

This declaration of policy not to interfere with dividends cannot be made too emphatic, explicit and binding.

The other point referred to is in Section Three, and is to the effect that the Federal Control Act, under which this contract is made, is emergency legislation, growing out of the war, and that therefore nothing in the contract "shall be construed as expressing or prejudicing the future policy of the Federal Government concerning the ownership, control or regulation" of the railroads, or shall be used as evidence or otherwise by either party in any pending or future proceeding which involves the acquisition or valuation of any railroad property.

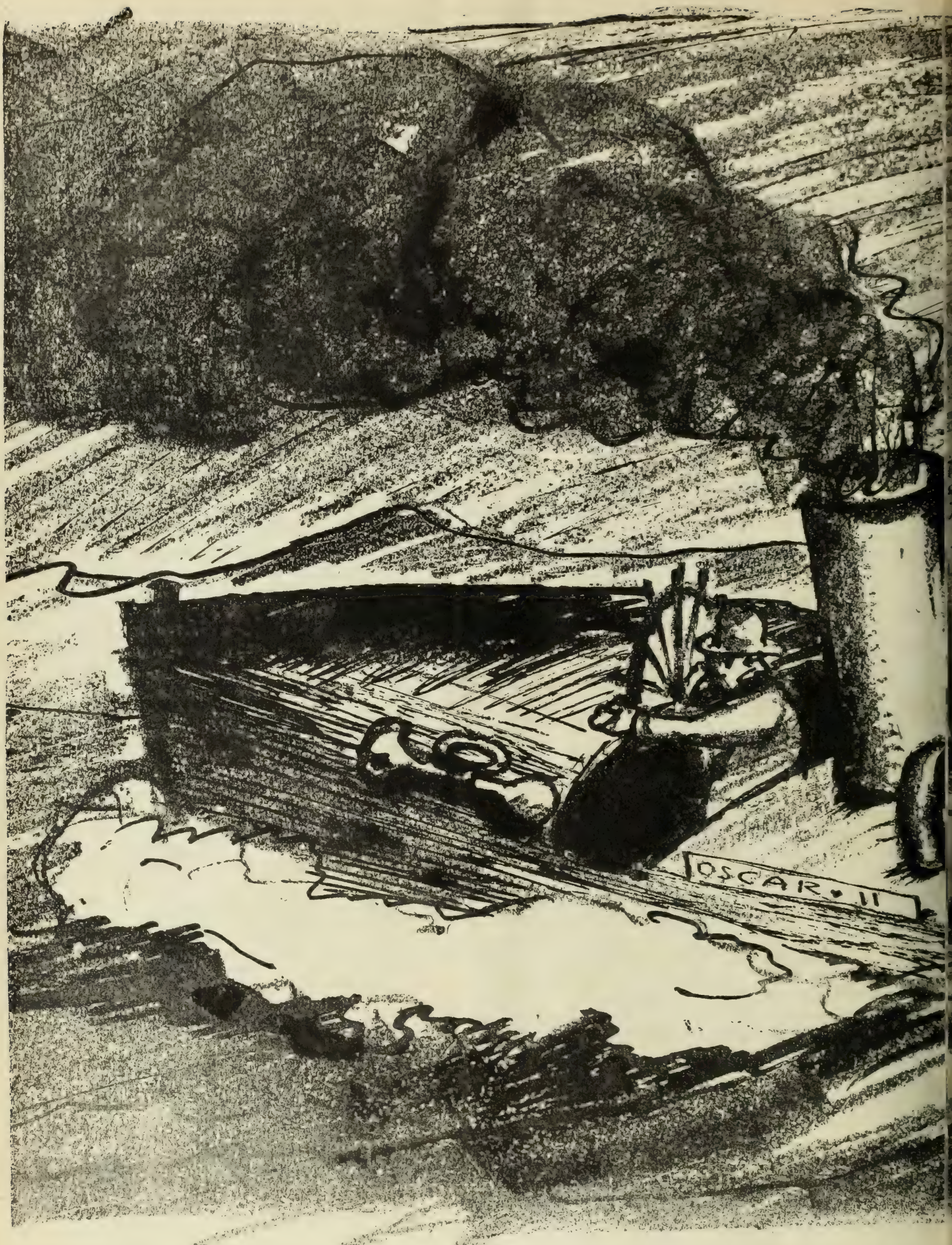
That, too, should be a matter of course, axiomatic and absolute. The whole business of Government control of railroads, and of other things, is a war measure, pure and simple. It may be necessary to have it prevail during the war. It certainly should automatically end with the ending of the war. The railroads should then be returned to their owners as nearly as possible in all respects as they were before the war; and in respect of the question of Government control or ownership their status should be precisely what it was before the war. The Federal Control Act, and the contract based upon it, should not be permitted to strengthen the case either for or against Government ownership. If they should, that would be a gross perversion of intent and of opportunity.

It may be pertinent, though it should be superfluous, to add that insistence upon these two points, and the fullest possible assurance to the public that the principles which we have described will be maintained, will be of inestimable value in reconciling the nation to this feature of the Government's war policy. The nation will, of course, in any event loyally acquiesce in any measure needed for winning the war. But it will do so the more readily and the more cordially if it has no reason to suspect any ulterior purposes or any unnecessary imposition of hardships.

J. Ham Lewis has taken his whiskers and toupee to France. With an air of great mystery his office announced, several days after his departure, that he had been sent on "a special mission for the White House." Of course the White House knew nothing about the "mission." J. Ham is so original.

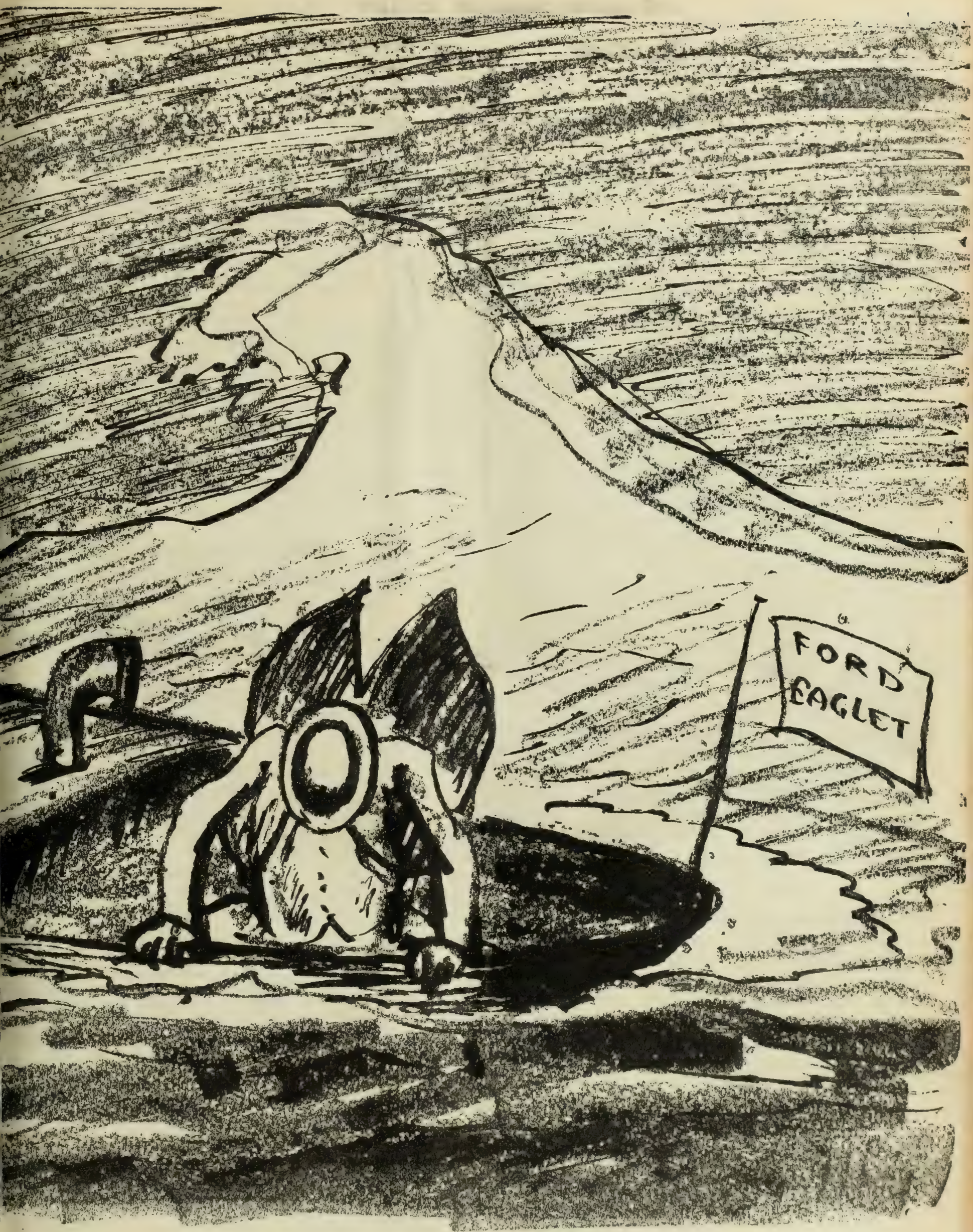
What a lot of time and White House stationery might have been saved, to be sure, by simply sending a list by States of Senatorial and Representative candidates for Executive approval or correction!

Lenine and Trotsky are said to be planning to go home to their master in Berlin. Perhaps one of them may yet fill Hertling's place. Who knows?



The lo

EDSEL: "'Smatter, Pop?" H



at Sea

"I wish I was out of this."

The Week

WASHINGTON, *August 15, 1918.*

THE news abroad is better than the news at home. That might be true if the news at home were very good. For affairs "over there" could scarcely be expected to go better than they are now going. On the western front the fifth German drive of the year has been swiftly followed by two Allied drives of overwhelming force and carrying power, inflicting upon the Huns perhaps the greatest disaster they have suffered in the war. In Italy and Albania, steady though not sensational progress is being made against the Austrians. And there is reason for hoping that such processes will continue for the remainder of the summer.

One of the best features of the situation, moreover, is the lack of over-confidence on the part of the Allies. Unspeakably gratifying as the news is, and profound as is the official and public rejoicing, there is perceptible none of the "all over but the shouting" spirit. Mr. Lloyd George, who must be especially exultant, strikes the true keynote, with which all the Allies are in harmony, when he says, "Steady! Don't gloat yet!" For not even the tremendous Allied drives on the Marne and Somme have destroyed the Blond Beast. It is still a long, long way from the western front to the Rhine, and a much longer way to Berlin. Nor is it well to put too much confidence in talk about the shattered morale of the Germans. The way in which they stood up to the last man against our troops between the Marne and the Aisne did not indicate any failure of resolution or of stamina. Things are undoubtedly now going our way, and we may hope that they will continue to do so; but, as the minstrels used to sing in Crimean days, "Sebastopol ain't taken yet!"

News from Russia is also good. Allied intervention has at last been effected and, as we long ago confidently assumed it would be, is being well received by the substantial part of the Russian people. Of course its success will depend upon the manner in which it is prosecuted. The Allied troops must proceed with tact and caution, as we have no doubt that they will do; and they must be properly backed up, with re-enforcements if necessary, and with copious supplies of food, engineering materials, and what not. It must be remembered that we are there not for conquest, but for aid to the Russians; and remembered, too, that with all their idealism and spiritual visionariness the Russians have stomachs to be fed and bodies to be clothed and housed. They are quite likely to incline toward that party which most assures them not luxuries nor even comforts, but the actual necessities of life. Fortunately for us, the Germans have been plundering them and have thus largely alienated them; which will make our task the easier.

We do not look for any considerable rehabilitation of the Russian army, or for Russia's re-entry into the war on any important scale. But if Russia can be so restored and strengthened as to prevent the Huns from battenning upon her, and to make it prudent for Germany to send a few hundred thousand more men to the eastern front again, an immense advantage will have been gained for the Allies.

The Allied Expeditionary Force in Siberia will not be great in numbers. There will be about seven thousand Americans from the Philippines—the Philippines, by the

way, are a convenient and useful possession at this time—as many Japanese, and smaller contingents of French from Cochin China and British from Hong Kong. Perhaps there will be some Chinese, and possibly a corporal's guard of Portuguese from Goa or Macao. The grand total may not exceed twenty thousand men. But they will probably be sufficient. All that is needed is protection for the base at Vladivostok and the maintenance of communication with the Czecho-Slovaks and the Anti-Bolshevik Russians. It is not for us to conquer Russia, but for the loyal Russians to reconquer their own country from alien and renegade despoilers.

The U-boat war now rages chiefly in our own coast waters, where we hear of steamers and fishing boats in considerable numbers being destroyed. No very great losses have thus far been inflicted upon us. In fact, the torpedoes used probably cost the Germans more than the value of the shipping destroyed. Yet the persistence of their operations must cause much anxiety for the welfare of our crowded transports. Moreover, there is an increasing suspicion that there must be some hidden base for the U-boats on this side of the ocean.

The organization of the first American Field Army in France is a welcome reminder of the rapidly increasing number of our troops at the seat of war. Perhaps it will be a reminder to the enemy, too, that the Atlantic Ocean is no serious barrier to our operations in Europe, so long as the British fleet is on guard.

The President continues to emphasize the fact that "politics is adjourned" by assuming various attitudes toward various candidates for Congress. Senator Hardwick of Georgia he pillories as a constant and active opponent of his Administration, and Representative Huddleston of Alabama falls under the same condemnation. At the same time others whose record on war measures is just as bad are permitted to escape unscathed; while we have yet seen no Presidential repudiation of the Ford candidacy on an anti-Flag and anti-patriotism platform. Of course the President's motives, for both action in some cases and inaction in others, must be of the highest kind. It is not conceivable that they fall beneath the austere reproach which he himself uttered against Presidential attempts to influence the action of Congress. "He may," said Mr. Wilson, "use his local patronage to assist members to get or to retain their seats. He may interpose his powerful influence in contests for places in the Senate. . . . Such things are not only deeply immoral; they are destructive of constitutional government. They are sure, moreover, to destroy both the fame and the power of the man who dares to practise them." We repeat that it is inconceivable that the President is himself incurring such a reproach. But for the sake of the effect on the public mind, it is to be hoped that all reports of his various interventions in political campaigns will make clear the pure and unselfish patriotism of his motives, and will confirm the dictum that "politics is adjourned."

The Nationalists of Ireland having made or attempted to make various appeals to the President, Sir Edward Carson

and his Ulster followers now get their innings. No request for his intervention is made, which is gratifying; but we must doubt the propriety of the assumption that he is in crying need of information which Sir Edward Carson alone can give him; and we are not sure but that it is something of an imposition, not to say an impertinence, to ask the already over-burdened President to give his attention to a matter which is, save in an academic way, really none of his business.

The pacifist and therefore more or less traitorous Socialists are reported to be everywhere uniting their forces in attempts to elect Representatives in Congress who will conduct a guerrilla campaign against the Administration's war policy. The President's letter urging Democrats and Republicans to unite against them has not yet been made public.

The conviction and punishment of Louis J. Malvy, formerly French Minister of the Interior, mark something like an epoch in French jurisprudence and establish a most interesting and important precedent, which other countries may find worthy of consideration. Malvy was not charged with treason, but with neglect of patriotic duty. He committed no overt act against his country, but he omitted to take action against those whose conduct was inimical to its interests. He "ignored, violated and betrayed his duty." Therefore, on being convicted before a judicial tribunal, he is sentenced to five years' exile. This procedure corresponds in some respects with our impeachment system, but in others differs materially from it, and is obviously much the more formidable and efficient. It establishes the principle that a public officer, even the highest Minister of State, is accountable not merely to a Senate or other legislative body, in which political influences might prevail, but to the usual and established courts of justice; and that he is accountable not alone for what he does but equally for what he refuses or fails to do. We wonder, by the way, if there are any administrative officers in this country who could be convicted of having failed to suppress poisonous propaganda and of having been lax in the performance of their duty to the Republic?

So far as international law is concerned,—though to be sure it is superfluous to refer to it in connection with the Huns,—the German U-boat had a right to destroy the *Hatteras* lightship. But it was not an exploit of which anybody could be particularly proud. Has Tirpitz ever read Southey's ballad of "The Inchcape Rock"?

Sincere though mournful satisfaction is felt in the discovery of gallant young Quentin Roosevelt's grave, forming a little spot in the woods of Cambrai which is now hallowed American ground. In their burial of his body and their marking of the grave the Germans justified the good opinion of them which we expressed a fortnight ago in connection with their notification of his death. Among the German "cavalry of the clouds," at least, the chivalry of war is not extinct.

"The Allied landing on the Murman coast," we are told, "irritates the German press." We do not suppose that it was intended to soothe or to please it. As we remember it,

the German invasion of Belgium did not have a notably conciliatory effect upon the Allied press.

Mr. Law, the British Chancellor of Exchequer, says that any steps which are taken by Great Britain, and presumably by any of the Allies, in respect to the Paris Resolution on trade with Germany, will be taken *as far as possible* in conjunction with the United States. It rests with our Government to determine how far such cooperation will be possible. Of course, we are free to stand with our Allies or to sever ourselves from them. But in justice to both ourselves and them we ought to make and declare our decision in the matter without unnecessary delay.

The announcement that a new Home Rule bill for Ireland is now being prepared, which is expected to pass the House of Commons, is to be regarded here chiefly with academic though of course benevolent interest. It cannot too clearly be kept in mind that the so-called "Irish problem," which is no doubt a very perplexing and very important one, is entirely domestic to the United Kingdom. Neither party to it has any right to solicit American intervention, and if either did so it would compromise itself in so doing. We had a still bigger domestic problem on hand in 1861, but we wanted no alien meddling; and in the later and immeasurably smaller problem of the disposition of the Philippines we not only have not asked but would resent as offensive and hostile, any foreign intervention or mediation. So, hands off in Ireland!

The British are reported to have taken, in the drive upon the Somme, so many prisoners that they had difficulty in handling them; a sort of embarrassment of captives, as it were. The incident indicates one difference between the Allies and the Huns. We have not heard of the latter being at a loss to know what to do with the Allied prisoners they have taken. But despite the great provocation they have had to such reprisals, the Allies do not make a practice of murdering prisoners.

Mr. Lloyd George in his speech in the House of Commons last week called attention to two characteristic and fatal errors of the German war lords. One was at the beginning of the war, in thinking that it would be impossible for England to send across the Channel a force sufficient to give France any material aid. The other was in the last year, in thinking that it would be impossible for America to send any considerable army across the ocean. The fact is that in their conceit and arrogance the Germans have all along underestimated their opponents; always a dangerous thing to do. They considered themselves the only really efficient people in the world; as they never have had any hesitance in saying. France was decadent, England had only a contemptible little army, and the Yankee idiots were three thousand miles away. Really, the fool's paradise of their Kultur was as bad as that of our unpreparedness. We, at least, have never made the mistake of underrating them. On the contrary, we have been more inclined to overrate their efficiency, which is now seen to be inferior to that of the Allies. For the Allies in four years have created a military system superior to that on which Germany has been engaged for half a century.

Mr. Baker's Responsibility

IS it possible that Newton D. Baker realizes that his refusal to train a sufficient number of officers of mature years will result in the needless death of thousands of the boys whom the mothers and fathers of America are so generously, so nobly, sending to France?

Is it possible that while this pacifist skips so nimbly from platform to platform mouthing platitudes that would shame a sophomore, he has any realization of the responsibility, which is his and his alone, of guaranteeing to our soldiers every safeguard against the Hun?

Assuming that he realizes this responsibility, how is it possible to account for his attitude except upon the theory that he is completely oblivious to all military experience?

From time to time the WEEKLY has called attention to the crying demand for more officers, older officers and better officers. Every man who has served in France knows that we are woefully short of properly trained officers of mature years and that the shortage increases with each additional draft increment.

Before our first division landed on French soil, the British and French missions warned us that some of the greatest losses they sustained in this war would have been impossible if the men who were sacrificed had been properly led. The saddest of the unpublished chapters of the war tell the stories of valiant troops who were led to their graves because their officers did not know the rudiments of their profession.

High commands, clothed with infallibility, have seen fit to hide the miserable truth. They have found a thousand reasons to give the public explanations of losses that were as pathetic as they were useless. Habitually the press has hidden the stupidity of those responsible while glorifying the courage of those who were sacrificed.

How many companies, regiments, brigades and even divisions have been sacrificed, will never be known, though their standards will be honored by many generations to come.

But we have neither desire nor intention of dwelling upon this unhappy phase of the Allied warring. In truth, it is none of our affair. Those who made the sacrifice we honor, and those who erred may be absolved because they knew no better.

But shall we learn nothing from their experience? Ignorance will not excuse us. If Mr. Baker has not heard the whole sad story it is available to him. It is as well known at Washington as at London.

Mr. Baker cannot plead a lack of time or a shortage of men. There are hundreds of thousands of men in America, ready, willing, and anxious to put aside their own affairs and enter camps if he will but open the gates. For more than a year they have pleaded for the opportunity, and they have been refused. Upon what theory Mr. Baker has acted, God only knows. Of course anyone with common sense knows that if training camps had been conducted steadily during the last twelve months there would now be thousands upon thousands of mature men physically, mentally and professionally equipped to lead their younger brothers.

But Mr. Baker would not have it so. He limited camps to drafted and enlisted boys, thereby depriving the service of the very type of men needed, upon the theory, we are told, that the Army should be "thoroughly democratic."

Realizing of late that the policy was erroneous, Mr. Baker amended it to the extent of allowing mature men to enlist in the Army and take their chances of getting a second lieutenancy in the schools for drafted men. If our information is correct, this change was forced upon him when it developed that it was absolutely impossible to get the proper type of men from the drafted ranks even to pass the simple examination required for entrance to the schools.

But having partially opened the gate to men of mature years, even at a late date, Mr. Baker has now shut it again, without cause or reason. When at the eleventh hour he asked Congress to expand the draft ages to 18-45, he immediately ordered all enlistment stopped. His order automatically barred men beyond the draft age from enlisting in the hope of being assigned to the Central Officers Camps. No candidate can be accepted until Mr. Baker reverses the order.

Last month a call was sent out for *2,400 candidates for commissions in the artillery school alone*, and *less than 800 men* were found with the necessary qualifications to even try for commissions. Think of it! *Twenty-four thousand men* might have and surely would have been in training during the past year if Mr. Baker had only said the word.

Mr. Baker is responsible. He can plead in extenuation neither time nor ignorance. What will his answer be to the fathers and mothers of America if their boys are led to unnecessary slaughter?

To the Editor of the *Washington Evening Star*:

I should like to have something to say about the treatment of our boys "over there." We are asked to write and cheer them up, and we have been given to understand that if they send us a request from one in authority we can send them what is asked for. I received a letter with a request indorsed for chocolate and tobacco, which I did up and took to the registered window, which cost me \$2.08 in stamps and the contents of the box amounted to 72 cents. It never left the District of Columbia, but in two weeks it was returned to my house four times, and we refused to accept it. On last Monday the letter carrier left it in the neighborhood with a twelve-year-old child, and told her to tell me the boy had gone to France. I took it back to the post office the following morning to see what was to be done about it, and this morning I went back and was told I could not send the box, but that Mr. Burleson would return me \$1.98 of my stamp money after they made an investigation as to why it never left Washington, and it would take from two to three weeks. Now what I would like to know is why we have got to stand for such treatment of our beloved boys who are fighting for us on the say-so of Mr. Burleson.

MRS. JOS. E. CULLEN.

We respectfully call the attention of Mrs. Cullen to the fact that a national election is pending and that Mr. Burleson, our Politicalmaster General, is a very, very, busy man. It's hardly fair to heckle him with such trifles. The boys in France don't vote, anyhow.

Underfed and unequipped, what could the civilian population, made up as it was of the aged, the infirm and the immature youth of the land, accomplish against the veterans of the German Army? A successful revolt against the organized military forces would be out of the question.—*Dr. Arthur Davis, former dentist to William the Damned, in the "World."*

Too bad! we had been so confident that the old men and old women of Germany were about to demolish the greatest military machine in the world's history by a well organized revolution after having armed themselves with cobble stones and broomsticks.

Mr. McAdoo Is Optimistic

SECRETARY McADOO, in a *Chicago Tribune* interview, gives his reasons for being optimistic regarding the railroad situation, and the reasons are sound. Incidentally he answers some of the Congressional criticisms of railroad conditions, and the answers are pertinent.

That there have been inconveniences to the traveling public the Secretary does not attempt to deny. Yet the inconveniences for the most part are minor ones, and the public is patriotically accepting them with commendable good nature, as all in the day's work of the biggest war job the country ever had on its hands. There is a scarcity of linen, for instance, on the Pullmans, but when the American citizen exercises his constitutional privilege of making a row about it and is told that the cause is shortage of laundry labor because of war demands for man and woman power, the row ends, then and there.

"When causes for these minor grumblings are explained to the people," says the Secretary, "they take it splendidly, for, as far as I have observed, and I have observed very carefully, the people are going into this war with all their spirit and in the most devoted fashion."

Right you are, Mr. Secretary. You have got the measure to the microscopic fraction of an inch of the American people in their will to win this war and make an end for once and all of the human jackal in the spiked helmet now loose and ravaging a world on which he rests as a blighting curse. The American people *are* going into this war with all their spirit, and furthermore that spirit is growing in volume and intensity with every passing day and hour. That is why they are getting beyond the mood to tolerate for a moment any shufflings, and holdings back, and putting on the brakes to check the progress of such vital war-winning measures, for instance, as the one for army increase by expansion of the draft age limits. And if Congress will get a firm grasp on this fact and rush through the legislation which the pacifist brakeman managed to hold up for three months, it will be in harmony with the war-winning spirit of the American people. And for Congress to be out of harmony with that spirit will be bad for Congress and bad for Congressmen when they face their constituents at the polls.

Seven months ago, says the Secretary, soon after the Government took over the railroads, there were 167,000 cars stalled on the Atlantic Seaboard alone. Now there are none. To this fact the Secretary points with pride. To be sure, seven months ago we were in the midst of the worst ice, snow, blizzard-bedecked zero winter weather within the memory of the oldest, and it is barely possible that midsummer weather conditions may share in a humble way the Administration's glory in the improvement. But let that pass. We are glad of the betterment and glad of Mr. McAdoo's further assurance that if there is a coal shortage this winter it will not be for lack of railroad transportation.

As to the Secretary's answers to the Congressional criticisms of railroad management, we are sorry he charged these criticisms to partisan politics, because politics, partisan and otherwise, are adjourned. Besides, it might seem to implicate in some way the Politicalmaster General. But there is reason in Mr. McAdoo's plea that responsibility for whatever defects there may be rests to a certain extent on the railroad managers of all shades of political opinion whom the Govern-

ment has kept at their old tasks; though nobody doubts that those skilled gentlemen have put their very best efforts into the solution of the new and intricate problems thrust upon them.

We should suppose that the German-born Vice Governor of the Federal Board, enmeshed in family ties which hold him close in affection, if not in association, with one brother in the Imperial German Bank and another in the German secret service, would find his present position most embarrassing. Mr. Warburg clearly owes it to himself, to his immediate chief, to the President who appointed him and to the incomparably patient American people, to resign.—THE WAR WEEKLY of March 16.

An Overdose of Lies

THE home-biding Huns are showing decided symptoms of over-feeding in the matter of lies. The Bureau of Mendacity at Berlin has been constrained of late to deliver so large a volume and so varied an assortment of lies to keep pace with the swiftly recurring Hun defeats on the western front that it has been heavily overworked. The Bureau's admirably organized system for the manufacture and distribution of circumstantial and interlocking falsehoods has clearly been dislocated and all but swamped in its efforts to meet the demand. The lies themselves have deteriorated in quality. They not only have lacked of late even that low standard of versimilitude which is sufficient to meet the Hun's enormous swallowing capacity, but they have been so frequently self-contradictory that the lack of editing has been glaring enough to be apparent even to the contracted Hun understanding. Besides, there have been instances where the truth itself has been permitted to get through the Mendacity Bureau's wire entanglements. And when it did get through there was always a sharp collision with the corresponding official lie. For instance, Ludendorff admitted that the Hun's strategic plans have failed, and, notwithstanding the fact that the admission was as glaring a truth as was ever caught abroad and lynched on the spot by the alert Hun Corps of Liars at Large, the Ludendorff veracity got out and ran loose among the Hun populace. Here it came into collision with the official lie just started on its travels by Prince Henry. This lie made the flat statement that the recent Marne thrashing was a brilliant Hun victory. This is far from being up to the Hun standard of efficiency. It points plainly to a deteriorated morale.

And the worst of it is that the Hun home populace is developing an appetite for this unwholesome diet of truth and a surfeited repugnance to the official fodder of lies. These are disturbing symptoms. Lies may do very well for a certain length of time as a sedative, but as with all opiates, there is ever a reaction.

The announcement of the organization of the first American field army marks a milestone in the military effort of the United States. There will soon be other milestones passed.

The announcement means that America *now has in the field her first large military unit*. While the exact size may not be given, it may be said to number more than 300,000 men. Heretofore the largest American unit in operation has been an army corps.—Copyright Cable to the "Times."

This is highly gratifying. It is such a relief from the Baker chatter which has confused, in the American mind, all sorts and kinds of non-combatants, troops on the seas, and troops in training camps, with the actual number of fighting men facing or prepared to face German divisions.

A Great Achievement

THERE is no more brilliant achievement in the history of America's participation in the world war than that of the American naval officers who have organized and developed the Naval Overseas Transportation Service. Starting with a few navy supply ships and army transports, a limited number of officers and men of the regular navy and a small body of naval reserves, the personnel of this service has been built up to 2,000 officers and 22,000 enlisted men, operating over three hundred ships, which have transported in a single month, across submarine- and mine-infested seas, more than 300,000 soldiers, with equipment and supplies for themselves and their Allies aggregating slightly over 600,000 tons.

Only practical shipping men, or those who have examined the work at first hand, can form any conception of the mass of detail involved in the conduct of this service; the vast amount of data it is necessary to procure as each vessel is turned over to the Service, as, for instance, the speed of the vessel in a calm sea, in a moderate sea and in a rough sea; the dimensions and carrying capacity of the ship; the dimensions and power of her engines and boilers; the capacity of her bunkers and cargo space; the draft, both light and loaded; her refrigerator space; armament, wireless equipment; size and locations of hatches; location and power of winches and booms, etc. Spare parts must be accumulated and their exact location known at all times. The location of the vessel must be constantly ascertained and recorded; the amount of her fuel must be known and the availability of additional coal or oil; the availability of labor for loading and unloading at foreign and domestic ports; and a thousand other things which would seem to tax to its utmost a clerical force far larger than that of the entire Service. And all this work is being done in three small rooms in the Navy Department, by ten commissioned officers and twenty enlisted men.

The valor of the men who officer and man the ships of the Naval Overseas Transportation Service has never received the recognition it deserves. Week after week and month after month they brave, not only the normal perils of the sea, but the constant menace of submarine attack. Though less spectacular than service on the battlefields of France, theirs is a service which calls for no less courage and valor. On their vigilance and fidelity depends not only their own safety but the lives of the thousands of officers and men entrusted to their care. To the fact that they have proved both valorous and faithful can be attributed the failure of the German hopes of slaughtering on the high seas by the tens of thousands the army with which this country has so effectively reinforced its Allies.

Instances of the high state of efficiency which has been developed by the N. O. T. S. could be cited without number, but a few must suffice. Only recently the officer in command, Commander Charles Belknap, U. S. N., was called upon on Saturday afternoon to officer and man a vessel which would be ready for sailing on Monday morning. The task was accomplished and the ship left port without a minute's delay. Repairs of a complicated character have been called for by a ship returning to its home port and have been made with an efficiency and celerity which permitted her departure again without a moment's delay. Wireless advices of the presence of submarines have necessitated changes of routes on an instant's notice. These have been made, the safety of the ships

and their valuable cargoes of lives and treasure effected, and the return trips made on schedule time, while what is known as the "turn around," the discharge of passengers and cargo in foreign ports, has been steadily accelerated until now it takes less than half the time required when the Service came into existence. Almost without notice 150 ships were recently turned over to the N. O. T. S., were officered and manned, allotted schedules, coaled and loaded and dispatched on their important voyages in a period so short that experienced shipping men could scarce believe their eyes.

During the forthcoming year, assuming that the plans of the Shipping Board do not go awry, the fleet of the Naval Overseas Transportation Service will be increased to 2,400 vessels. The estimated value of the 300 it now operates is placed at \$1,000,000,000. What it will reach when the ships now building are completed can only be surmised. To officer and man this vast fleet will require the services of 22,000 officers and 200,000 men, practically all of whom must be trained, for the requirements of the regular navy demand all the time of its regular officers and men. This vast task of training reserves for the N. O. T. S. is being conducted with extraordinary efficiency by the Bureau of Navigation, under the capable administration of Rear Admiral Leigh C. Palmer, and, if Admiral Palmer's work in the future may be judged by his achievements in the past, no anxiety need be felt regarding the availability of a sufficient number of trained men to officer and man the new fleet as rapidly as it is ready to be placed in commission.

An Excellent Appointment

OF late we have frequently congratulated the country upon the excellent type of officers selected by the War Department for important assignments. Barring the disgraceful treatment of General Wood, and other less conspicuous cases which shall be passed over for the present, it appears that Secretary Baker is making an honest attempt to keep politics out of the army. Of course, simply keeping politics out of the service would not result in the best selections, but it at least clears the way for General March to pick competent men, and that is precisely what is happening.

There is no purpose of indicating that the War Department has made a complete house-cleaning. It has not. There are a great many amiable gentlemen holding important positions for which they are notoriously unfitted. They are the remnants of the group of inefficients with whom Mr. Baker surrounded himself when he came to Washington. But by degrees General March is getting rid of them and their places are being filled with competent men.

The case of Colonel John T. Thompson, recently appointed Director of Arsenals, is an evidence of the improvement in the method of selecting officers for really responsible posts. To Colonel Thompson, more than to any other, the country is indebted for the magnificent record we have made in the production of small arms. Without his foresight, energy, ability and unremitting attention to duty it would have been absolutely impossible to put a rifle in the hands of each of the boys now in France. He did the impossible and turned out more than two million rifles while the detractors of the ordnance department were bemoaning the fact

that there would be a fatal shortage of small arms.

In the current number of *Arms and the Man*, the most authoritative as well as the most conservative magazine devoted to hand weapons and their use, Mr. Kendrick Scofield, its editor, presents this well deserved tribute to Colonel Thompson:

Not so long ago the calamity howlers sought to undermine the public's confidence in our war program by wild tales of an insufficient rifle supply. These misinformed individuals were answered by cold figures backed by cold facts. The sum and substance of figures and facts was that the United States had broken the world's record for military firearm production. This was made possible by the collective achievements of many men—those officers attached to the Small Arms Division of the Ordnance Department, the commanders of the different arsenals, the superintendents and the working forces of several great private corporations under Government contract; but directing the activities of these agencies was one man, Colonel John T. Thompson, of the Ordnance Department. He has just been designated Director of Arsenals.

In selecting an officer for this important post, no better choice could have been made. Colonel Thompson, who at the time the Small Arms Division was disbanded, was made Advisory Engineer to the Chief of Ordnance—a post which incidentally he retains—will bring to his new work a wealth of experience in handling quantity production, and a keen knowledge of modern small-arms problems. In addition to these duties, he will continue to direct the activities of the Ordnance Corps of Rifle Demonstrators—a body of small-arms experts whose services will undoubtedly be valuable to him in his work as Director of Arsenals, in which he will be the sponsor of the Chief of Ordnance in directing the ten manufacturing arsenals in the United States. This will mean supervision over practically 400 commissioned officers, 8,500 enlisted men and 30,000 employees.

Now that he has been placed in the position for which he is pre-eminently qualified, there is little doubt that Colonel Thompson will soon be appointed brigadier-general—a rank commensurate with his duties and abilities.

Brain Workers Not in "Work or Fight" Class.—*Newspaper headline.*

This lets Redfield out.

Columbia and Colombia

THE gratifying and yet somewhat reproachful announcement is made that in connection with the inauguration of Mr. Marco Suarez as President of Colombia, a marked increase of sentiment favorable to the Allies is perceptible in that country. There has hitherto been a much stronger pro-German sentiment there than in any other part of South America, due partly to the persistent, insidious and immensely clever German propaganda which has been conducted in Colombia for the last score of years, and partly, we regret to say, to the unsatisfactory relations which have existed between Colombia and the United States since the beginning of our active interest in the Isthmian Canal. That the country, one of the most important on that continent and strategically the most important of all, is now inclining toward the Allies, is cause for sincere gratification, for its own sake as well as for ours.

The element of reproach in the case arises from the fact that our own relations with Colombia still remain unsettled and unsatisfactory. That is the South American country with which first of all we established intimate relations, and it is the one with which, on the whole, our relations were most intimate at least down to fifteen years ago. We shall not admit that it was chiefly if at all our fault that those relations changed for the worse. We know that the chief cause of that change was German propaganda, which we did not at the time adequately recognize. But we cannot alto-

gether absolve ourselves, or the present Administration, from some measure of responsibility for the undue and quite unnecessary prolongation of the semi-estrangement.

For some years sporadic attempts were made to re-establish cordial and confident relations. But the latest of them suffered the discredit and the blight which seemed to fall upon most of our Latin-American diplomacy under Mr. Bryan's mismanagement of the State Department, and in that unfortunate status our affairs with Colombia have remained. Certainly the present should be an opportune and indeed an exigent time for taking up negotiations again in an earnest and rational manner, and re-establishing an order of things which will be creditable and profitable both to us and to our nearest South American neighbor.

Here are the fundamental facts and considerations:

Colombia was led, by German propagandists, into acting foolishly and badly over the Panama Canal negotiations of 1902-1903.

As a result, she suffered very great loss.

The United States consented to and encouraged the infliction of that loss upon her, and prevented her from even attempting to recoup it.

As a result, this country enjoyed great gain.

Now we do not think that Colombia should be made to suffer forever and needlessly the penalty of her acts of many years ago. Neither do we think for one moment that the United States should confess the commission of crimes of which it was never guilty, or pay a penalty for them.

But we do think that for the sake of international amity, for the sake of the welfare and the friendship of an important neighbor, and because of the inestimable benefits it has received through that neighbor's loss, this country might well afford to make a reasonable solatium to Colombia, and that Colombia might well accept it in full settlement of all demands; and that both countries might then let all other bygones be bygones.

It will not be to the credit of our diplomacy if we fail to effect some such settlement of affairs, and that at an early date.

What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the Pacifists, but their stupidity.—*President Wilson.*

A Pacifist I shall always be.—*Henry Ford.*

The Too-Genial "Sun"

THE New York *Sun* editorially urges that whatever castigations are due Secretary Baker be relegated to "the impartial pages of history." The *Sun* is referring in this connection to Mr. Baker's wasting of some three months of incalculably precious time by his senseless blocking of the expanded draft age law, which, under the accumulated pressure of severe criticism, he is now rather nervously pressing to immediate passage.

What "the impartial pages of history" will do to the reputation of Secretary Baker may be left to the impartial historians. That is of the future. The vacillations, the ineptitudes, the assurances that all was well when all was ill, the false statements of achievement which lulled the country into a fool's paradise of security when it should have been roused to a realization of actual impending peril—all

these were and are matters of the immediate, the pressing, the critical present, of the very hour in which we live. The *Sun* seems to deprecate the criticisms which at last tore off the smirking mask under which these dangerous, imperiling delinquencies were so long concealed. It seems to deprecate the exposures which finally forced action, which pricked the bladder of fiction and revealed the facts—the hard, cold, all but disheartening facts, as they were; which compelled at last the translation of promises as insincere as they were inane into an effort at least of performance.

We entirely dissent from the *Sun's* view that revelation of incapacities and weaknesses such as these, in times such as these, should be left "to the future historians of the Wilson Administration." If the house be on fire a timely warning of the fact is infinitely more to the purpose than would be pages of historical description of the delays and blunders which resulted in the house being reduced to ashes. If an incompetent steersman is at the helm of one of the most vitally important units in the Administration fleet, even non-constructive criticism which merely exposes the fact is vastly more serviceable than a post-mortem historical analysis of the way the incompetent steersman wrecked the ship. And we submit that condoning the incompetence and failing to expose it and keep it in the full glare of pitiless publicity is a poor way of standing by the Admiral of the fleet and the head of the Administration.

And if the *Sun's* Washington correspondent in his very recent dispatches has maintained his long established high standard of accuracy, the Senate Committee on Military Affairs promises to neglect that paper's editorial plea for the transference of Mr. Baker's case to the Bar of History. Says the *Sun's* correspondent:

An angry group of Senators quit the Committee on Military Affairs at the conclusion of a forty-five minute session of the aircraft sub-committee, with Secretary of War Baker as the witness.

The Secretary's evasiveness, described by the Senators who had tried to question him as the most extraordinary manifestation of indirect diction that they had ever dealt with, was the occasion for the anger. Half an hour later various bitter contributions to the coming report of the aircraft sub-committee were under way. . . .

. . . It is admitted the report will cause a profound sensation throughout the United States. It will be in no sense a whitewash. It is certain to take violent issue with public announcements regarding aircraft production which have come from Administration sources and will deal roughly with some claims put forth by the Committee on Public Information at the instance of the Secretary of War.

And the *Sun's* correspondent further informs us that Mr. Baker "stepped smiling from the committee room," and that he "went back to the War Department seemingly well satisfied with his evidence"—evidence which the angry Senators who had heard it pronounced "the most unsatisfactory and valueless in the production of concrete facts" they had ever listened to.

All very well for the historians of the Wilson Administration to note, but the history of the Wilson Administration happens to be the history of the country in the most critical ordeal of its existence, and on Mr. Baker's shoulders rest responsibilities even more awful than those which rested on the shoulders of Edwin M. Stanton in the Administration of President Lincoln.

Pershing still cries for men, men, men. Hurry, Congress!

From Our Readers

NEW MEXICO ALL RIGHT

SIR,—The August issue of your REVIEW, pages 312-14 inclusive, has a letter signed by one Henry Wray, Kansas City, which in so far as concerns the State of New Mexico is a heterogeneous, fantastic mixture of ignorant, malicious, and false statements and slanders. I have read the REVIEW for thirty-five years and am now a subscriber. Also, knowing you, I cannot believe that you ever read this letter or would have permitted the publication of so vile a slander upon my State and its people. You owe an apology to your readers and to the people of this State. New Mexico's population of Spanish decent are as loyal, patriotic Americans as yourself or your forefathers. The New Mexicans swore allegiance to the United States, represented by General Kearny, in 1846, their Governor and his army not being supported by the people, leaving the State without firing a shot. Only fifteen years afterward, they furnished more men in proportion to the population for the defense of the Union than did the people of any other State or Territory. They furnished more than their quota to fight people of their blood in 1898. Ask Colonel Roosevelt about George Armijo, Abel Duran, Captain Max Luna, and others. Kit Carson is dead, but the records of the War Department will show the names of soldiers of his regiment, as well as those of Colonel J. Frank Chavez; and the battlefields of Valverde, Glorietta and others are records of our loyalty. After the massacre of Santa Isabel and the raid on Columbus, native citizens offered President Wilson ten thousand New Mexicans of Spanish American blood for the protection of American citizens in Mexico. Between twelve and sixteen thousand New Mexicans are in the army, marine corps, and navy, now offering their lives for their country and the protection, among others, of Colonel Harvey and Mr. Wray. The statements as to districts without English-speaking persons are false. As to public school teachers not speaking English, that is worse than false. As to the Legislature and courts being conducted in Spanish, that is untrue. Examine the Journals and Acts of Legislatures, State and Territorial, and Court Records at the offices of the Attorney General and Supreme Court, and in the archives of the Congressional Library there are ten weekly papers, out of more than one hundred, published in Spanish. The story as to the Penitentes is a wild dream. There is no truth in the statements as to a law attempting to protect New Mexico. The statutes are founded on those of Missouri. The original code was written by Willard Hall of Missouri. Until 1897, the common law, even in pleadings, followed in all purity the code adopted from New York, Missouri, and California. Your weekly publication should anticipate the monthly REVIEW in correction, and apologize.

ALBERT B. FALL.

THREE RIVERS, NEW MEXICO.

[We agree with Senator Fall that the letter ought not to have been published and we hasten to tender unqualified apology to New Mexico and everybody in it.—EDITOR.]

THE VOICE OF ULSTER

SIR,—We much appreciate THE WAR WEEKLY and are interested in the articles.

But we regret exceedingly your consistent abuse of Sir Edward Carson. Have you ever heard him speak, or studied his life and the Ulster question from his point of view?

To us he stands as one of the finest-principled men of the British Empire. The regrettable raising of the Irish Home Rule question by the Liberal party, desirous of the Irish vote, was shelved for some years by the wise Wyndham laws, and Ireland was happy and contented until Asquith, in order to be Prime Minister, again raised the troubled question. May I refer you to *Blackwood's Magazine* and *The Oppressed English* by Ian Hay?

Ulster does not mind the rest of Ireland having Home Rule as long as she herself is allowed to remain in the Union. She has no wish to be ruled by men disloyal to our King.

GWENDOLEN W. GRIFFITHS.

BOSTON.

FROM THE WEST

Sir:—

Your letter advising me that my subscription to the WAR WEEKLY had expired, reached me today. I called the attention of a number of News people to this WEEKLY, and they now carry it in Denver, and I find it at other towns; so I can get it quicker by buying it when it appears on the newsstands.

I think every American should read this WEEKLY if they want to think straight on the many questions of the day that we are confronted with; and I have recommended it to all I meet.

DENVER, COLO.

HENRY S. WINANS.

FEELING AND EXPRESSING

SIR,—Am glad that there are those who can give expression to that which the many only dumbly know and feel.

M. SIMMONS.

BROCTON, N. Y.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

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NO. 34

Clear The Tracks For Conscription!

MAN-POWER is the order of the day. Congress has reassembled, with a multitude of things to do; of which all must give precedence to one.

"Which yacht is first?" inquired the Queen, at the climax of the first contest for the America's Cup.

"The *America*, Your Majesty."

"And which is second?"

"Your Majesty, there is no second!"

So we say that the Man-Power bill, the Conscription bill, must have first place, and until it is enacted there is no second. There are other important measures under consideration, but every one of them can wait. This cannot wait. The Hun will not stay his hand while Congressmen speak for Buncombe. Drive and counter-drive will not for a moment pause. The imperative needs of the war, for the Republic and for humanity, cannot be slackened or postponed. And if we are to meet those needs without a disastrous lapse, that measure must be enacted at once. Delay beyond next week would be treason to America.

Here is the situation: Secretary Baker, after weeks of mulling and mewling, has seen the light and is now as urgent for speed as he formerly was for delay. The Senate Military Committee, under the patriotic lead of Mr. Chamberlain, has acted with promptness and discretion, has improved the measure and has put it into shape for immediate passage. The House Military Committee, after an astounding manifestation of unfriendliness by its chairman, seems also to have experienced a change of heart, and to be desirous of expedition. On the face of the case, then, speedy enactment should be assured.

The obstacles or dangers of delay were, at first, threefold. One, let us say the least, was the agreement in the Senate that no work should be done before next Monday save by unanimous consent. We were unwilling to imagine for one moment the possibility that any Senator of the United States would or could so stultify and pillory himself as to offer objection to the immediate consideration of and action upon this bill; and it was not surprising therefore, though none the less gratifying, to see unanimous consent given.

The second was the Water-Power bill, which had the right of precedence in the House. But an agreement with Speaker Clark and with Representative Sims, in charge of the pend-

ing bill, to give the man-power measure right of way, was secured by Chairman Dent.

The third and most formidable of all—though it should not be—is national prohibition, which has the right of way in the Senate on and after Monday next; if the Man-Power bill is not passed before that time. We have no doubt that some of its advocates regard it as exceedingly important, but it should be inconceivable that any of them would insist upon giving it precedence over conscription. It is, in the first place, a highly controversial subject, toward which some of the sanest people take radically different attitudes. There is no such general agreement upon its urgency as there is concerning man-power. Postponement of it for a few weeks even would cause no hardship and no peril to the Republic. Indeed, such postponement would have no appreciable effect whatever, since it is agreed that if the measure were passed it would not be applied until some future date. But the man-power measure is for immediate application, and every day's delay in passing it would mean so much delay in applying it, and that would mean so much delay in giving the sorely needed support to our soldiers and our Allies who are fighting for us in the trenches of France and Flanders. Hope is felt that the Man-Power bill will pass the Senate this week. Heaven grant it! But if not, prohibition must not stand in its way next week.

It would be, we trust it is, inconceivable that any man would be so fanatical, and so traitorous to his country, as to insist upon giving a highly controversial matter precedence over one which is not controversial at all, and upon disposing of something of no especial urgency before something of the very greatest urgency.

It is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect both Houses of Congress to hold everything else in abeyance, and to give to the man-power bill a clear legislative track and first consideration until it is enacted into law. That should be the order of the day, imperative and paramount. Everything else can wait the little while that may be needful—water-power, prohibition, even the revenue bill. A few days more or less will not matter. And there is much to be said on both sides of them. But conscription cannot wait, because the war will not wait.

There is practically nothing more to be said about it by way of argument. We assume that the two Houses are sub-

stantially agreed upon the necessity of it. The only time required for proper disposition of it is that needed for formal report, motion, and roll-call. It should be inconceivable that anyone would deliberately try to delay its passage. No technicalities, no right of way of any minor matter, should therefore be permitted to stand in the way.

The war is on. The crisis of the struggle is impending, in which every ounce of man-power will be required to give us the victory. The President wants the bill. The Secretary of War wants it. The fighting chiefs of the army want it. The nation wants it. Our Allies want it. How long ought it to take a representative Government to answer such demands?

Give us the man-power bill, and give it to us at once!

We will need every single man in Class One between 18 and 45. We must not delude ourselves with the idea that those in the 18 and 19 class are going to be deferred any length of time. They will have to be called early next Spring in order to get their training in time to get to France.—*General March to the House Committee.*

Sober commonsense. Will Congress take heed?

The Rehabilitation of Russia

WE may begin to think and to speak with hope and perhaps with confidence of Russia. The plight of that country is still deplorable, almost beyond expression, and the time of its complete restoration to civic sanity and integrity and to economic competence is still far distant. But the essential fact is that it has turned its face in the right direction, and that every day sees some progress made therein. With such progress will come, of course, increasing strength, and with increasing strength will come, reciprocally, more rapid progress.

Two great facts stand out, significant and unmistakable. One is the failure and the collapse of Bolshevism; in which let all the world rejoice. Never was an extensive and for a time powerful movement more utterly discredited. Never did one deserve less sympathy or more contempt and detestation. In every other there has been at least some gleam of grace; but in this there was none. We might have forgiven its wretched inefficiency if it had been honest and humane. We might have seen at least some palliation of its brutal savageries in efficiency. The Terror of the French Revolution was a terror to foreign foes as well as to the proscribed at home. But Bolshevism was not efficient. It was impotent. It was not honest. While it inveighed against secret diplomacy and repudiated treaties which had been thus made, it itself made a secret treaty for disposing of Poland without the knowledge or consent of the Polish people. It was not humane, but engaged in atrocities comparable with those of the Germans themselves. Evil in purpose, incompetent in action, it was void of a single redeeming feature, and deserves no thought of pity in its fall.

The other great and auspicious fact is that the Russian people everywhere are welcoming Allied aid and are rising to improve the opportunity which it affords them. At Vladivostok, at Archangel, at Murmansk, at Baku, wherever the Allied standard is planted, the people rally to it with grateful enthusiasm, and make it the center of hopeful efforts at self-rehabilitation. Very foolish and very far away now seem those warnings and forebodings that Allied intervention would drive Russia into the arms of Germany. Perhaps they were, in some cases, sincere, though mistaken; but we must regard

their original suggestion as of German origin. There was nothing that Germany feared more than that the Allies would do precisely what they are now doing, to thwart German spoliation and exploitation of Russia and to bring that country back to its proper place among the nations.

Because of the insidious influence of German propaganda, the intervention was long delayed, but happily not too long. We have been late, but not too late in going in to the aid of our Ally. If Russia cannot be made the force which she should be and might have been in this war, she will at least be saved from Hunnish conquest and utter ruin.

Truly a "Far-Flung Battle-Line"

KIPLING'S overworked phrase must do duty again, and never more fittingly. It is called into service by the announcement of British troops at Baku, and by the other achievements which that item suggests.

One of the several capital blunders which the Huns made at the beginning of the war was in under-estimating Great Britain. Her "contemptible little army" was negligible. Her boasted fleet would be destroyed by the U-boats, and her people would be starved into submission to the German army, which could then easily be landed upon her coast. As for her world-wide empire, that of course would immediately be dissolved. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

Her army was at first "little," no doubt. How "contemptible" it was, let Mons and Ypres and Vimy Ridge give answer. Since then it has grown to numbers which not even a Potsdam War Lord would consider contemptible.

As for her navy, for four years and more it has held the sea, inexorably and invincibly, protecting Allied commerce and making the German flag unknown save on an occasional furtive raider. Not even in Nelson's day has the world ever seen so stupendous and so triumphant an exhibition of sea-power in war.

And the Empire? Every member of it, however remote, has leaped to the support of the Motherland with a loyalty and an energy of which no imperial statesman had ventured to dream; so that to-day men are flocking under the British flag from all parts of the world, to attack the enemy at every point where it is possible to strike. On the west front, in Flanders and Picardy and Champagne; in Italy; in Macedonia; in Palestine; in Mesopotamia; at Vladivostok; at Archangel; at Murmansk; at Bokhara; at half a dozen points in Africa; and now, latest of all, and one of the most significant and important of all, at Baku, on the Caspian—

There have her wild war eagles flown,
And flapped wide wings in fiery flight.

It was an unexpected and a most extraordinary thing for Great Britain to send an expedition across the corner of Persia, across the Aras, to the shore of the Caspian and the foot of the Caucasian Mountains. As a romantic adventure it has scarcely been surpassed. In strategic importance it is scarcely to be over-estimated. It will save northern Armenia and Transcaucasia from abandonment to the Turk. It will save the greatest oil fields in the Eastern Hemisphere from seizure by the Huns. It will make another and inestimably important rallying point for Russian patriots intent upon the rehabilitation of their Fatherland.

Thus the British battle-line encompasses three continents and penetrates well to the heart of Eurasia. "Far-flung," indeed!

Still the Western Front

WE are fully committed to the western front as the field on which the final act of the world's greatest war tragedy is to be staged. "The War Department," said General March, "has now adopted this as a policy, and it is the policy of the United States. The President has finally announced that the American military policy from this time on is centered on the western front, and we have declined to be diverted from that one thing."

And the western front is to include the Italian front. Thus we have our purpose and immediate objectives clearly defined, and that is a satisfaction and a relief to the extent that all dispelling of uncertainty is a relief. And if it is the decision of our Government that along the western front, from the Adriatic to the English Channel, are to be rained the final smashing blows that will destroy the Hun, beyond doubt that decision represents the best judgment of all the Allied military experts, as well as of our own.

It means also that after the violent swayings to and fro that are incident to present and impending explosions of military force shall have become gradually stabilized, the lines presumably will once more settle down to the old familiar status of a winter deadlock. It was the Hun alone who entertained the hope of storming a way to peace before the snow flies this autumn. Surely the Allies never indulged in such a dream. The utmost they anticipated has been achieved and more than achieved. They have demonstrated to the Hun with savage emphasis that he, at least, never can win the war on the western front. And now, it seems, we have served notice on him and the world that it is precisely on that front that we propose to win it, and to win it in campaigns of the summer of 1919.

For that is what the statement of General March before the Senate Military Affairs Committee comes to.

"It is my belief," said the General, "that with an American army of 4,000,000 men in France, under one commander-in-chief, we can go through the German lines wherever we please."

And if the present programme is carried out—as beyond peradventure it will be carried out—those 4,000,000 American men will be in France by the 30th of June next. So, then, according to General March, there will be nothing to do save "go through the German lines wherever we please." And yet the Hun armies, with all the advantage of numbers, of initiative, and of months of massing of men and material and minute preparation for launching an attack of desperate ferocity on points to us unguessed until the blows fell, were not able to go through our lines wherever *they* chose! On the contrary, they were hurled back after two of the worst defeats they have suffered since the war began. And they have between now and next summer to prepare to meet our attack on the same front with every device known to the highest military science, and with masses of men and munitions of which there are now, at least, no apparent signs of serious diminution, notwithstanding formidable recent losses. A great many things may happen between now and next summer, but clearly if we elect to hack our way through the German lines on fields where the campaigns of this summer were fought, we must make up our minds, however strong our forces may be, to pay a cost in lives and wounds compared with which our prior sacrifices may seem trivial.

But will our attack of next summer necessarily be over

these blood-soaked fields? As defined by General March, the western front now includes the Italian front, and from the Italian front, prior to the Italian collapse from want of sorely needed support, moral and material, there was delivered a blow straight at the Hun's most vulnerable point, a blow of more far-reaching promise than any the Allies have as yet succeeded in putting in. Maybe from that quarter, simultaneously with an assault on the present active western front, the finishing smash may come.

But, no matter. It is all very hopeful whichever way one looks at it. And our job is clean-cut and right before us. We have got to get those 4,000,000 men there; we have got to get their munitions and their supplies there. That is what we have got to do and what we are going to do. Foch will do the rest.

British down 339 German planes in one week. Air fighting last week reached most furious stage in Western Front."—*The Times*.

When, we wonder, will an American plane down a single German plane?

The Fading of "The Day"

THE war is not over by a deal. Many weary months of misery and carnage must come and many thousands of human beings must be killed and maimed before the last shot is fired and the curtain is finally rung down on the hideous nightmare spectacle. But that Germany can emerge from the awful chaos she has wrought otherwise than in the bitterness of defeat can be now no longer in doubt. Her one hope was in the last desperate plunge of the summer that is now on the wane, and that hope is gone and gone forever. She won nothing in that last frenzied gamble. She lost men by the hundred thousand, mountains of munitions and supplies, a vast army's equipment in cannon and small arms, and, above all, prestige and, from now on, all hope of anything ahead save dogged, sullen, steadily weakening defense against the deadly, irresistible advance of the inevitable fate.

Whether General Foch presses his present advantage to still further localized achievement, whether he strikes a new and maybe a harder blow in still another quarter, or whether he holds the foe in constantly harassed and tortured deadlock for months to come until our own overwhelming force gets there, the result for Germany can but be the same. She tried her last chance and she failed. She shot her heaviest bolt and it recoiled on her own head. She has lost the war—lost that great "Day" for which during half a century she had been preparing and which was to have put a prostrate world under her feet.

How slowly or how swiftly the mighty Hun fabric will crumble to ruin is now the only uncertainty in the awful tragedy's climax. For Germany herself the quicker the agony is over the better; the less of wreckage she will have to crawl out from under; the more of material, fluid and static, she will have wherewith to take up the heartbreaking task of beginning all over again, and trying to recover from the wretched plight in which her madmen in control will have landed her.

A pretty high price to pay for shining swords, rattling sabres, cocked moustaches, swashbuckler swaggering and years of drill sergeant knoutings—a pretty high price for boons such as these, precious as they are. But Germany will

pay it, pay it to the last stiver, receiving the united loathing and execration of the civilized world she has outraged by way of final, but wholly inadequate, acquittance.

The somewhat temerarious announcement is made by the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse* that the advisability of one supreme command of all the Central Powers' armies is being considered. We should hate to say in print what William the Damned would reply to the intimation that there has ever in this war been anything but such command, exercised, of course, by the *alter ego* of "Gott." Still, the making of this suggestion is of interest, following closely, as it does, upon the splendid results of the single Allied command. Imitation is still the sincerest form of flattery.

Good Work

IT took that Chicago jury just sixty-five minutes to change "I Won't Work" into "You *Will* Work." Bill Haywood and his ninety-and-nine will not be merely decorative Industrial Workers of the World any more. The chances are exceedingly good that very soon they will be better described as Industrious Workers in various penitentiaries. The punishment that may be meted out to these long-endured pests is formidable. They may each get a quarter of a century in prison.

It was a stupendous task which that Chicago court has so well performed. Never before in the history of our jurisprudence have so many persons been put concurrently on trial for a criminal offence. It took four months and seventeen days to get the evidence pro and con before the jury. There were over 30,000 typewritten pages, aggregating a total of something like 7,500,000 words, in the record. The cost undoubtedly was staggering.

But whatever the cost the result was well worth it. There will be splutterings here and there. Possibly some big talk. Bombs for judge, jury, and counsel for the prosecution would be quite within the I. W. W. precedents of protest. But the big talk, we venture to predict, will be prudently shaded, and the bombs will be "duds." They won't work. The back of as vile and dangerous an organization as has ever afflicted the country and added to the cares and burdens of decent labor has been broken. The apostles of murder and havoc in the real industrial work of the world have been taught that there is a God in Israel. They and their disciples have come to know that the preachings and teachings of their Hun creed will hereafter mean something more than sporadic lynchings and cheap martyrdoms in isolated localities. If they have not been taught to know this, if the admirable action of that Chicago jury has not brought home to them a realizing consciousness that the limit of this country's toleration of them and all they stand for is reached, it will be the worse for them, that's all.

We are not vindictive. We are not bloodthirsty. But we hate treason, and we are not sufficiently expert in moral hair-splitting always to discriminate between the treason and the traitor. It seems to us that it is time, high time, for the wrath of outraged justice to fall upon these domestic allies of the Hun. The jury has done its duty. Now let the inexorable sequence come, in the heaviest possible sentence,

"and let all the people say, Amen!" The example set at Chicago, after months of patient and painstaking investigation, trial and deliberation, should be energetically followed all over the land, in every place where the Bolsheviki raise their venomous heads, whether they call themselves I. W. W., or Pacifists, or Socialists, or anything else. A traitor is as bad under one name as another.

Supremely essential is it that the American people shall be awakened to the magnitude of the evil that is among them, to its unspeakable turpitude, and to the righteousness of the verdict which finds these creatures "guilty as charged." These men are every whit as deliberate, malignant enemies of the American republic and the American people as were those who destroyed the *Lusitania* or as are those who are now destroying non-combatant shipping along our coasts and bombarding our Red Cross hospitals. Let them be so regarded. While we are nobly intervening to help Russia rid herself of her Bolsheviki, let us make thorough and complete the housecleaning of our own Bolsheviki which has been so well begun.

The exhortation of Ludendorff to his lieutenants, to be as sparing as possible of men, is probably authentic and sincere. It furnishes a striking contrast to the profligate use of "cannon fodder" which marked the earlier phases of the war; but it is logical and probably necessary. Before America's entry into the war, Germany outnumbered her antagonists; at the very beginning of the war she did so in an enormous ratio; and she could therefore afford to use up many lives, so long as she took in exchange anything like a similar number. But now the majority is against her, and the hostile margin is steadily and rapidly increasing, and is bound to continue increasing. She can no longer afford to exchange man for man. Such a process would mean her ruin. These are circumstances mathematically demonstrable, and they abundantly explain Ludendorff's new-found solicitude for economy in the use of "cannon-fodder." Of course, the moral of it for Americans and their Allies is plain: "Kill Huns!"

Some amateur strategists are opposed to the proposed Balkan campaign because of the difficult terrain over which it would operate. Yet that country can be crossed much more easily than the system of trenches which the Huns have established behind the French front and for many miles across the Rhine.

"Wilhelm and Karl in full accord."—*A Berlin report.*

Where was Gott?

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The Czecho-Slovak Nation

THE recognition of the Czecho-Slovak nation is a most commendable thing, whether as a measure of justice to a gallant and deserving people, or as a measure calculated to aid the cause of the Allies in the war. But we must regret that it was not given first by the United States.

There is, there has been, no convincing reason for delay. It will not do to hark back for a precedent to President Grant's refusal to recognize the Cuban Republic in the Ten Years' War, because the two cases are radically different. The Cubans were revolting against Spain, and with the latter nation we were at peace. The Czecho-Slovaks are fighting to regain their independence from Austria-Hungary, and with the latter Power we are at war. What would have been improper between friendly nations is entirely permissible between belligerents.

It means, it is true, the partition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But when has it been forbidden for a belligerent Power to aim at such dissolution of its foe? We can recall no pledge, in our declaration of war against the Hapsburg realm, that we would not countenance its partition. On the contrary, we have practically committed ourselves to precisely such a division of it as is now proposed. True, the President once said, before we were at war with Austria-Hungary, that we did not wish to impair or to rearrange that empire. Neither do we, now. But, the President added, "we desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands." Well, the Czecho-Slavs have taken their affairs into their own hands. Why not recognize and confirm that fact?

At a later date, after we had declared war against Austria-Hungary, the President spoke again upon the subject, and said that one of the items in the only possible programme of peace was that "the peoples of Austria-Hungary should be afforded the freest opportunity of autonomous development." Well, here are the Czecho-Slovaks, one of the most important of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, seeking and fighting for a free opportunity of self-development. Surely it is incumbent upon us to give them all possible aid in thus fulfilling our own programme.

We have gone beyond that. We have recognized the Czecho-Slovaks as belligerents. We have sanctioned their military enlistment here, not in our army nor in that of any other nation, but in their own. But if they are not a people worthy of recognition as a nation, they can have no lawful army, and we have simply sanctioned the formation of a company of brigands! Nay, more. We have, after much deliberation, intervened and invaded Russian territory for the express purpose of giving material military aid and support to these very Czecho-Slovaks. In so doing are we abetting brigands, or a nation?

Hopelessly Unfit

FRANK P. WALSH, of the War Labor Board, is quoted in a United Press despatch as having said in a speech before a large Chicago audience that United States troops should be sent to California to insure the pardon of one Mooney, convicted and under sentence of death for the murder and maiming of several persons by causing the explosion of a bomb in a crowded street during the San Francisco Preparedness Day parade.

Mr. Walsh is a Government official. He is responsible

to the Administration, and the Administration is responsible for him, to the extent at least of his tenure of office. He has made no denial of the public charge that he made this astounding statement at the public meeting in question. So, here we have an official of our Government deliberately proposing that United States armed forces be set in motion to coerce the Chief Executive of a sovereign State into granting a pardon to a convicted murderer!

Mooney was tried and convicted in the courts of California duly constituted under the laws of that State. His case was appealed to the State Supreme Court. There the conviction and sentence of the courts below were sustained in every particular. The evidence against the man was held to be ample and conclusive. There was no recourse then save in Executive clemency. Pressure of the strongest nature, even including the enormous influence of the President of the United States, was brought to bear on Governor Stephens to induce him to grant a pardon. But the Governor did not yield. He could not see his way, consistently with his sworn duty, to grant a pardon to a person whom all the courts of the State had pronounced guilty of a singularly atrocious murder, even though a plea for that pardon had come from President Wilson himself. The most he felt he could do was to consent to a postponement of execution for several months, and to this postponement he did consent.

And now comes an official of the Government of the United States with the proposition that the Governor of California be forced, at the point of Federal bayonets, to annul the action of the courts of his State and pardon a convicted murderer whom he was conscientiously convinced that he could not pardon without violation of the solemn oath he had taken to the people of his State to enforce their laws without fear or favor.

The Portland, Oregon, *Spectator* very pertinently asks what would have happened to Debs or Bill Haywood had they indulged in a ranting appeal to lawlessness of this kind in a public meeting. The answer, of course, is that they would have been promptly arrested and, most likely, appropriately punished under some form of the many laws now extant to meet such cases. But when an official of the Government of the United States thus proposes to invade a sovereign State, intimidate its Governor, and annul the decisions of its courts at the muzzle of Federal army rifles, the official is not even reprimanded by the Administration that is responsible to the people of the country for his actions!

Mooney may or may not deserve to be hanged. Apparently in some quarters there linger doubts as to his complete guilt, notwithstanding the judgment of all the courts of California to the contrary. But as to the fitness to hold office under the Federal Government of a man capable of making such an appeal to anarchistic lawlessness as Walsh does not deny he made in that Chicago speech of Sunday, July 29th, there is not the remotest shadow of doubt. He should be dismissed instant. If he is not too incendiary a person to be at large in times like these, he is at least too hopeless an ass to represent the Government of the United States in any capacity whatever.

Henry Ford's proposal to utilize water power all over the country for industrial purposes, and thus save coal, is a good one. If he should establish the plants, could he bring himself to permit the American flag to fly above them?

Edsel and Father

THE services of young Mr. Edsel Ford, aged 23, were affirmed to be so vitally essential to the home war work of the United States Government that special pressure was brought to bear upon High Quarters in Washington to exempt him from the draft, notwithstanding the fact that the Draft Board, after exceptionally exhaustive investigation, unqualifiedly refused to grant the young man's prayer to be excused from going to the front where other young men of Michigan, whose fathers do not happen to enjoy an income of fifteen million dollars a year, were laying down their lives for their country.

The urgent demand that the Draft Board's decision be overruled and young Mr. Ford be permitted to remain in the bomb-proof trenches of his father's automobile shop was successful. Edsel was excused from serving his country. So he is now at home and an admired figure at tea parties, dinners, receptions and other social functions in Detroit, while other young men, conspicuous in that city's social life until their country called them to its defense, are in the trenches of France.

And now we learn from the special correspondent of the *New York Sun* that many of those plain, patriotic people of the State, who are reading in every day's casualty lists of the deaths and maimings of their sons, are showing a strange tendency to resent Edsel's exemption from these perils. Not that the reaction appears to be damaging Edsel personally. His status in people's estimation would seem to be fixed and fixed for all time. The reaction is manifesting itself in the matter of Edsel's father's candidacy for the United States Senate. And this notwithstanding the fact that the elder Ford was "commanded" to enter the lists.

With the assistance of Democratic votes, which, under the peculiar laws of Michigan, may be cast at primaries for Republican candidates, and with the peremptory "command" of the Democratic Administration back of him, it was thought for a time that nothing could prevent Mr. Ford from being selected as the Senatorial candidate of both the Republican and Democratic parties. That Mr. Ford was a staunch Republican he had himself established beyond cavil when he told how he had once voted for James A. Garfield for President in a campaign some years subsequent to Mr. Garfield's death, and when James G. Blaine was the actual Republican candidate of record.

But the Republicans of Michigan, soon after the Democratic Administration had thus obligingly relieved them of the responsibility of selecting their own candidate for the Senate, began to show signs of restiveness. Now they appear to have taken the bit in their teeth and to be fairly off in an open bolt. Moreover, there are two Democratic candidates in the field. This confuses plans for a concentration of Democratic votes for a Republican candidate.

And last, but not least, there is Edsel. Edsel is distinctly not helping father in politics, however much the youth may be a tower of strength to him in the shop. Edsel's conspicuous absence from the front, and his conspicuous presence at dances and afternoon teas, are the subject of rapidly increasing comment in the rural regions of Michigan, and the comment is not flattering. It does not in the least tend to promote father's "commanded" candidacy.

In short, there are increasingly hopeful indications that the splendid State of Michigan and the country at large are to escape the misfortune of a man of Mr. Ford's absurd unfitness in the Senate of the United States at a time when, as never since the days of the Civil War, exceptional sagacity will be demanded.

"Demands Railroad men be courteous. Mr. McAdoo tells employees there should be no grounds for complaints."—*Headline in Washington Star*.

Is it possible that he means to include Pullman employees in such an order? Is no one to be free from Government dictation?

Why America Is In The War

THE controversy between the German Liberals and the Pan-Germans over the responsibility for America's entry into the war is at once amusing and significant, and a valuable and instructive reminder to Americans of a fundamental and essential fact which many of them are still too much inclined to ignore or to misinterpret.

It is amusing, as it always is, to see a couple of crooks caught in a trap into which they both eagerly rushed, abusing each other for having got them into the predicament. We have ancient authority for it that if the blind lead the blind they will both fall into the ditch. But it is more ludicrous than logical for them to berate and pummel each other for the joint mishap.

The incident is significant because it shows how seriously concerned the Germans now are at our participation in the war. First there was What's His Name's sneer to Mr. Gerard, that we wouldn't dare to resent anything that Germany might do, no matter how offensive, because of the great number of German Reservists—potential traitors, as he vainly hoped—in America; a contingency which sword-rattling Junkers long continued to chuckle over, despite our Ambassador's apt reminder of the still greater number of lamp-posts. Next, it was said that it would be impossible for us to send enough men across to have any perceptible effect upon the war, because the distance was so great and the U-boats were so effective; a boast which was promptly disposed of by the British Navy. Finally, there was the highly entertaining proposition that Americans could not fight, anyway; of which little has been heard since Château Thierry and some other places in that region. So now the Germans realize that we are in the war, that we can send and maintain men by the million over there, and that our men can fight every bit as well as the best goose-steppers of Potsdam; and they see what a scrape they have got themselves into.

This is also a timely reminder of a point which we should never forget. The German Liberals, be it observed, are blaming the Pan-Germans for adopting unrestricted U-boat "frightfulness" which they say was the cause of our entering the war. The Pan-Germans deny the impeachment, and insist that we would have got into the war anyway. In that, without in the least minimizing the inexcusable iniquity of the U-boat campaign, and while still holding that it alone, apart from anything and everything else, was ample and imperative

cause for our declaration of war, we must hold that the Pan-Germans are right, and that even without a single U-boat atrocity it was from the first inevitable that we should enter the war.

That, we say, is something which needs to be remembered by American citizens. We had abundant cause for declaring war against Germany without any U-boat outrages. We had such cause before the *Lusitania* was sunk, long before the proclamation of unbridled frightfulness. The moment that Germany, on lying pretexts, began war upon France and violated the neutrality of Belgium, we had ample cause for declaring war against her. Indeed, it was morally incumbent upon us to do so; and it would have been for our good and for the good of the world if we had been prepared for war and had instantly made the declaration which to our everlasting reproach we delayed for more than two and a half years.

For confirmation of this view, consider the objects for which we are now fighting. There must always be a close relation between the causes of a war and the objects for which it is fought, and also the insistent terms of peace. Look, then, at the President's admirable statement of the things for which we are fighting, and of "the only possible programme of peace." He does not say that we are fighting to avenge the *Lusitania* infamy. He does not so much as mention that crime, nor any of the U-boat frightfulness, save by most general indirection. He does dwell upon the reparation of the wrongs of Belgium, France and Serbia, and upon the vindication of the sanctity of treaties and the inviolability of international law; upon things which existed in full force long before the *Lusitania* was sunk or the policy of U-boat frightfulness was adopted.

We must therefore recognize the fact that Germany began this war with the express purpose of annulling international law and of destroying democracy and the rights of states and of men wherever she could throughout the world. To say that the United States of America could permanently ignore such a challenge and menace, and could permanently keep out of such a war, would be to stultify ourselves and to say that we were not interested in the welfare of democracy. The moment Germany began the war, she morally declared war against America; and from that moment America's participation was made inevitable.

Red Cross to start drive for 50,000 nurses.—*Headline.*

Whatever will Edsel do when all the girls go to the front?

Let the Soldiers Vote

AN announcement is made which should be incredible and impossible. It is that something like a million and a half citizens of the United States are to be disfranchised this year. This is not because of any fault of theirs, but rather because of a great virtue. It is not because they are unworthy to exercise the franchise, but because they are, if possible, more worthy of it than their fellows.

No provision, we are told, has been made or will be made for the casting and canvassing of votes by our soldiers in France and elsewhere on the battle-front. Even in the camps and cantonments here, the soldiers who have not yet

gone abroad will be largely though not entirely disfranchised. But "over there" disfranchisement will be all but universal. The soldier who voluntarily or in ready response to his country's demand goes abroad to risk and perhaps to give his life for the Republic, is denied the right to participate in the government of the country for which he is fighting.

That, if realized, would, we submit, be a monstrous wrong. It would be not only a gross injustice to the very men to whom we most imperatively owe not merely justice but all possible generosity and consideration, but it would be a potential and very serious detriment to the nation itself and to the cause of the great war. It must be remembered that 1,500,000 are a considerable part of our total electorate. They are many more than the average majority polled by either party in a national campaign.

Now we are quite indifferent to the effect which such wholesale disfranchisement might have upon the fortunes of either the Democratic or the Republican party. As a matter of fact it would have little or no relative effect, since each party would lose proportionately the same. But we do care a great deal about the effect which it would almost certainly have upon the loyal vote as distinguished from the disloyal. Bear in mind that while some of its honest and patriotic leaders have got out of it and repudiated it, the Socialist party under the direction of its pro-German leaders is venomously disloyal, and is making extraordinary efforts to elect as many Representatives as possible on its infamous and treasonable St. Louis platform.

The refusal of the Democratic National Chairman to respond to the overtures of the Republican National Chairman for a fusion of loyal against disloyal forces, and the strange delay of the President to recommend such a course, will produce, in almost every Congressional District, a contest between Democratic and Republican candidates. Assuming both to be loyal, the loyal vote will thus be divided, while the disloyal vote will be united upon a third candidate. There is only too much reason to fear that in such circumstances, and with the loyal vote diminished by the absence and disfranchisement of the soldiers, a number of the disloyal candidates will win.

Of course, they will not come anywhere near constituting a majority of the House, nor even near holding a balance of power. But it would be vastly unfortunate and discreditable to have them increase their present number in Congress by so much as a single seat. Indeed, it would be cause for regret to have even one of them elected. It would certainly have a very bad effect upon the morale of our soldiers to know that while they were disfranchised because of their service in the army, the traitors at home had been permitted to increase their power in Congress.

"We will build tractors in close co-operation with the Mexican Government," said Mr. Ford today in announcing his intention of building a plant in Mexico. "We will sell virtually at cost and, if profits accumulate we will put them right back into the business. Not a cent is to be taken out of Mexico."—*The Herald.*

What a familiar ring! When the United States entered the war we heard that Ford intended to turn his plants over to the Government and refuse all profits. But he didn't. Up to date he has made more out of the Government than any other individual.



AS SEEN IN

“How the general situation on the western front strikes London ‘Telegraaf’ showing the American Eagle, with Persia eagle, with Emperor William’s face, the latter bird being



LAND

may be indicated by a cartoon in Saturday's *Amster-*
Wilson's face, in a deadly combat with the Prussian
sadly dishevelled state."—*Associated Press Dispatch.*

The Week

WASHINGTON, August 22, 1918.

WE have no desire to be inhuman or to gloat over the destruction of our fellow men. We sincerely wish that it were never necessary for anyone to die save according to the benignant order of Nature at a patriarchal age. But, circumstances being as they are, we must confess a cheerful degree of philosophic fortitude and resignation at the estimate made by M. Marcel Hutin, the eminent French military expert that 1,520,000 Germans have been killed in this war. It is not that we want Germans to die, but that we want Democracy and freedom and humanity to live. And the tragic truth is that if these are to live, many Germans must be slain. The war must be won, and it is to be won only by killing Huns. It is a terrible thought that more than a million and a half men, on that side, have already been killed, and that probably as many more will be killed before the war ends. But it is a consoling and an inspiring thought that because of this wholesale slaughter of Huns the world will hereafter be purer and sweeter and safer and better worth living in.

The Allied offensive continues. It may no longer be called a drive. But it is a pretty continuous advance, day by day, now here and now there, with all the movements, however widely separated, co-ordinated as parts of one definite plan. And such processes, well sustained, are more profitable than a single brief and spectacular drive. For a drive is the swinging of a pendulum, which may swing back again in counter-drive, while this steady though slower progress retains the aggressive initiative and gives no opportunity for counter-stroke. What is now quite evident is that the Allies have beaten and are continuing to beat the enemy both in fighting and in strategy; and that they will continue to do so may reasonably be expected. True, they have seemed to do so before, as at the first Miracle of the Marne, only to lose the initiative after a while. But we expect them this time to retain their advantage because now for the first time their man-power is increasing at a rate and to an extent far beyond the ability of the enemy to meet. How much further the present advance will continue without a check it might be rash to forecast; yet it would not seem extravagant to hope that before winter sets in it may reach well toward the German frontier.

There are symptoms, too, and confident expectations, of another German counter-drive, in the form of a peace offensive. We shall hear of peace suggestions, of requests for the Allies to state their terms of peace more explicitly, and of appeals to humanity to end the war now by negotiation. These are the familiar devices of a combatant who realizes that he is doomed to defeat, and who seeks to mitigate the just penalty of his crimes; or who perhaps has a last mad hope that by gaining a brief respite he can get opportunity to strike a treacherous blow which will recoup his losses and give him victory. To all peace overtures, whether arising in Germany or among the German propagandists in America, only one answer is to be given: "No peace without victory." And for the attainment of that victory, "Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit."

The President and Mrs. Wilson went to Manchester,

Mass., to spend the week-end at the summer home of Colonel E. M. House. It was said at the White House that the President had many important problems pending which might be discussed with Colonel House, "who almost invariably is called into consultation when Mr. Wilson has weighty decisions to make."

On the same day Emperor Charles of Austria arrived at German Main Headquarters, where Emperor William the Damned and his advisers were holding an important conference; and, according to Karl Rosner in the Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger*, "with the arrival of Emperor Charles and his political and military advisers the deliberations reached their highest point."

Admiral von Hintze, the Foreign Minister of Germany, complains that no reasonable peace proposal has ever been made by the Allies. He is grossly in error. The Allies long ago made and have ever since kept standing a peace offer that is eminently reasonable and practical. It consists of two words: Unconditional surrender.

Secretary Baker's report of 2,400,000 men in the army must, of course, be taken with the grain of salt which will enable us to discriminate, as he does not, between fighting and non-fighting men. Even so, it sounds much better than the report of nine Browning guns upon which he once so proudly preened and vaunted himself.

The acid test of war is success, and it is being applied to various men now with disastrous results to them. Admiral von Capelle has been dismissed from the German Admiralty. He had failed to fulfil his promise so to use the U-boats as to starve England and to prevent an American army from reaching France. He is penalized for failing to do the impossible. Admiral Von Holtzendorff has been dropped from the head of the German Admiralty Staff. He had said that U-boats could not prudently attack well-convoyed transports. He is penalized for telling an unwelcome truth. Lenine and Trotzky are fugitives and the Soviet Government which they founded is going to smash. They have failed to fulfil the essential functions of civilized government. Some day the German people may apply the same acid test to the Hohenzollerns.

That was, upon the face of it, a highly gratifying announcement that a squadron of eighteen De Haviland airplanes, with Liberty motors, had made a successful flight over and behind the German lines. True, it seemed a little queer that "whether the squadron was attacked was not stated," as a report on that point would have been the most natural thing in the world to send. It also seemed queer to be told that it was "undoubtedly" a scouting excursion; that it "probably" brought back many photographs of the enemy's works; and that "it is assumed" that this squadron is now regularly operating. Such phrases savor of the glib but cautious press agent more than of straightforward military reports. So while it was painful and humiliating, it was not surprising to have Senators the next day elicit through investigation the facts that this epochal performance was nothing but a trial flight of about fifteen minutes over a quiet sector of the lines where there is no fighting, and where

of course there was scarcely a possibility of the squadron's being attacked. In other words, the thrilling announcement was another example of "creeling," comparable with the picturing of a lot of French "penguins" as American battle planes; and that still more marvellous naval battle story which the gifted Government press agent put forward last year. It should not be necessary to point out that such falsification of news is mischievous in the extreme. It is sure to be found out, and the reaction thus caused does harm far greater than any good which could be done by belief in the stories. One of the chief reproaches directed against Germany is the prevalence of precisely such fakes in its popular news and in its official reports. It is an abominable thing to have our own officials committing the same offense as that for which we partly ridicule and partly condemn the Germans. Our Government cannot afford to engage in such "creelings." To do so would be to forfeit popular confidence in official reports.

The German Chancellor recently declared that while Belgium was entitled to have her independence restored, Germany would hold her for use as a pawn in the game of peace negotiations. Now the Emperor of Austria holds that Poland is entitled to autonomy, but insists, as the price of his continued subserviency to Germany, that he shall have the privilege of putting one of his relatives upon the Polish throne. Of course what Belgium thinks about being used as a pawn, and what Poland wishes concerning her government, are matters of not the slightest consequence to the All-Highest. Such is Teutonic regard for the right of peoples to self-determination.

It is all very well for the Stuttgart *Neues Tagblatt* to tell about the decline of morale in the German army and among the people, and about popular dissatisfaction with the Government's policy. It may be true. We hope it is. But it may be camouflage. We fear it is. The Hun is greatly given to that kind of lying. At any rate, there should be no depending upon it for encouragement and aid in the war. If it is true, apply more force and expedite the process. If it is not true, apply more force and make it true.

Captured German officers are reported to be admitting that it is now impossible for Germany to win the war with the sword. We ought certainly to make it impossible for her to win it with anything else.

While some raincoat, airplane, and other scandals are being disclosed in this country, it is interesting to observe that enormous frauds in the manufacture of munitions are being bared in Germany, committed by concerns with which the All Highest himself is connected. Interesting, but not surprising. The itching palm has ever been a characteristic of the Hohenzollerns, ever since the robber barons of Upper Zollern used to go out and plunder unarmed wayfarers, and a shrewd money-lender of the clan foreclosed a mortgage upon bankrupt Brandenburg. If the Crown Prince steals silverware from private homes, why should not the Kaiser go in for graft and profiteering?

The *Vossische Zeitung*, which is generally inspired from the precincts of the All Highest, recognizes the fact that

Russia, even in her demoralized condition, "has yet found the energy and unanimity to tear up the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty"; and adds: "This much is clear: The peace made at Brest-Litovsk no longer exists." That is quite true. And in the annulling of the whole Brest-Litovsk business Russia has automatically gone back to the conditions which prevailed before. Her territory is no longer partitioned, and the validity of her former treaties is reaffirmed. German possession of the Baltic Provinces is thus to be repudiated, and a reunited Russia is to take her place among the Allied Powers. All this is inevitably implied in the *Vossische Zeitung's* admission.

There seems to us to be much horse sense in the proposal of the Senate Military Committee to make deferred classification because of useful employment dependent upon continuance in that employment. It would put such a man in the deferred class and keep him there so long as he remains in that employment; but the moment he leaves such employment, it would automatically revoke that classification, and subject him to immediate call. That is quite just and logical. It would be a scandal to have a lot of idlers and slackers, or men employed at non-essential jobs, go into necessary war industries just long enough to get themselves put in the deferred class, and then become slackers again, exempt from conscription. Exempt them so long as they remain worthy of exemption, but no longer; that is the rule, and the enforcement of it will have a salutary influence in discouraging strikes in war industries.

The White House appears to have stopped, temporarily at least, the flow of letters in support of those candidates for re-election to Congress who have been "loyal to my Administration." Can it be, as reported, that they have acted as boomerangs and are materially assisting the candidates they were expected to defeat?

When General March told the Senate Committee that the United States was definitely pledged to fight the war out on the "western" front, many editors jumped at the conclusion that he referred exclusively to the French front. They erred. The "western front" referred to by General March covers the lines from Salonica to the Channel. Unless all signs fail, a great American army will join the British sector in Greece to the Italian lines, and the backbone of the Central Powers will be broken—at its weakest point.

We wonder what has become of the investigation President Wilson ordered the Department of Justice to make into the charges of mismanagement and graft which were centered on Hog Island last winter. Mr. G. Carrol Todd, a former protégé of Samuel Untermyer, was assigned to the task after the President had assured the country that the investigation was to be most searching. And that is the last we have heard of it.

One of the bitterest reflections of the retreating Huns doubtless is that they were able to hit the glorious cathedral of Amiens with only four shells, which inflicted but trifling damage. If only they could have battered it down as they did the fane of Rheims, they would now have some consolation in their retirement.

Reprisals

WE favor reprisals. We do not favor reprisals in kind. When our armies enter Germany, we shall not favor treating the Cologne Cathedral as that of Rheims has been wantonly treated, nor destroying the universities of Goettingen and Heidelberg as that of Louvain was destroyed. We shall not advocate the ravishing of all the women and girls and the emasculation of the boys. We should not approve the massacre of civilians, the defilement of church altars, the torturing and burning alive of aged men and women, the crucifying of wounded soldiers, the bayonetting of babes in cradles and the carrying of their still writhing bodies as trophies at the heads of regiments. We would not have a single German nurse murdered as Edith Cavell was; nor have bombs dropped upon German hospitals. We would not inoculate German captives with loathsome and deadly diseases, nor distribute poisoned candy to their children. We would not steal the private property of German civilians, nor wantonly destroy fruit orchards. We would not, in brief, practice *Kultur*.

But we would not forget, and we would not let any American in this generation forget, that the Germans have been doing these things all through the war. They have been doing them under official orders from the High Command, and they have been doing them voluntarily because it is their nature to do so. That is the fact which we would impress upon the mind of every American soldier, to guide him and inspire him in his dealings with those who have done these things. That is the fact which we would have every American official here at home bear constantly in mind, to sharpen his vigilance and to harden his heart in dealing with the treacherous vipers which still crawl among us to do us harm. That is the fact which we would have every American citizen engrave upon the tablets of his heart, to determine his attitude toward Germany and everything German, to the end of his life.

We favor reprisals. We would exact from Germany the fullest possible indemnity for the material damage which she has done to Belgium, France and Serbia, though it bled her white and kept her so for a hundred years. We would sweep every German sympathizer and propagandist in America into a prison pen, not where he would be coddled and fed on the fat of the land, but where he would be made to feel some little measure of the rigors which his kind have imposed upon innumerable innocent people. We would send German spies, incendiaries, and what not to the lethal zone between a blank wall and a firing squad. We would impress it upon the minds of our soldiers at the front that their first duty is to kill Huns. If it is necessary or unavoidable that prisoners shall be taken, take them; but always remember that the first choice is to kill.

This is not savagery. It is not bloodthirstiness. It is humanity. It is justice. It would indeed be monstrous injustice to forego the exaction of the greatest possible indemnity that can be forced by military pressure from the loot-filled treasuries of Germany. It would be inhumanity to leave at large innumerable criminal conspirators. It would be bloodthirstiness to refrain from the killing of a few whose deaths would mean the saving of the lives of many. It would be betrayal of humanity and civilization to treat on

terms of equality and confidence those who have shown themselves intrinsically criminal and depraved.

We would not have our soldiers degraded to the level of those with whom they are fighting, and we have no fear that they will be. Men who slaughter mad dogs and rattlesnakes and exterminate vermin do not thereby become degraded. On the contrary the consciousness of having done good deeds and of having freed the world from peril tends toward a higher spiritual standard. Our soldiers who are killing Huns for humanity's sake will experience an exaltation of soul such as the Crusaders knew and such as the pioneers of progress and of righteousness always feel at the overcoming of difficulties and evils.

Reprisals, but not "in kind." No imposition of evil, but inexorable and relentless exaction of atonement for evil. No ravishing, slavery, murder, sacrilege; but "force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit," and above all, at the present time, the force that kills Huns!

We reached the conclusion that the enlarged programme [of draft age extension] was necessary, on the 30th of July.—*General March before the Senate Military Affairs Committee.*

And the Senate of the United States, by and with the consent and hearty approval of the people of the United States, reached the same conclusion six or eight weeks before the 30th of July, and was ready and eager to legislate accordingly. Mr. Baker put on the brakes. Result—over two months more of incalculably precious time lost.

"Finding Fault with Secretary Baker"

THE New York Times had a leader the other day patriotically urging all possible expedition in repairing, so far as possible, the mischief which the Pacifist Secretary of War did last June in putting the brakes on conscription. Said the Times:

There are some Senators who find fault with Secretary Baker because he was not prepared in June, when the Senate was ready for action, to have the draft ages changed. But Mr. Baker has now seen the light and no one wants dispatch more than he does. We trust that when the Senate debates the bill no ancient history will be rehearsed. Let bygones be bygones. All speeches should be to the point.

This bill can be sufficiently discussed and put on passage in a week. It should not take three days to decide on the minimum age.

In the main, we agree. It should not have taken Mr. Baker three days, not even three of the rarest days of last June, to decide on the minimum age. In fact, it took him six weeks. We would not countenance the wasting of a single hour by Congress. But we submit that Mr. Baker, at any rate, is by his own record debarred from demanding that the hundreds of members of Congress shall come to a united decision in less than a tenth of the time which was required for the making up of his one individual mind.

It is also very well that we should

Let the dead past bury its dead.
Act, act in the living present.

But we should like to have some assurance that Mr. Baker will do the same; that he will "let bygones be bygones" to the

extent of never again reviving his pernicious policy of delay. If ancient history is not to be rehearsed, it should certainly not be re-enacted.

Those in the Senate and elsewhere who "find fault with Secretary Baker" do so not merely for that one monstrous mistake of last June—concerning which, as the *Times* truly says, he has now seen the light—but for his persistent and consistent habit of which that incident was only a single manifestation.

Away back at the beginning, as he himself has confessed, he dawdled and dallied and delayed preparations for war, because "the war was three thousand miles away." Last winter, as a result of his being forced to that confession, and of a vigorous demand in Congress for investigation and reform of the war administration, and during Mr. Baker's absence on a visit to France, there was some admirable speeding-up. But in the midst thereof the pacifist War Secretary came home from the war which had been three thousand miles away, with a collection of smug platitudes and the cheerful assurance that everything was for the best in the best of possible worlds; and at once, as we observed at the time, there was a slowing down of war work. Then came a big German drive and a crisis in the three-thousand-miles-away war which compelled another speeding-up in spite of Mr. Baker. But as soon as everything got to running nicely again, on went the brakes again, with disastrous results.

Now the brakes are thrown off and we are implored to open wide the throttle and make up lost time. We agree. That is precisely what we should like to see done. But we should also like some assurance that Mr. Baker will not, as soon as we get to running at full speed, put on the brakes once more.

Let him renounce that passion of his, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and much will be forgiven him.

Mexico's Rights and Some Others

THE natural right of a country to determine its own affairs is, generally speaking, indisputable. It may make its own laws and direct its own system of jurisprudence. Against its so doing, the aliens who may be domiciled within its borders have no ground for complaint, so long as their treaty-guaranteed rights are respected and so long as there is no discrimination against them.

That, we say, is the general rule. But like other rules, it must, to stand, be based upon a fundamental principle, and the necessary principle in this case is that of justice. A specific right must be based upon abstract right.

Let us suppose an extreme example. If the Congress of a country should enact, and the executive should decree, that one person in every ten should be arbitrarily put to death, without trial and without cause, is it conceivable that other nations, some of whose citizens would be victims of this decimation, would acquiesce in the right of the country to do such a thing? Or if some member of the community of civilized nations should provide for the re-establishment of slavery and the slave trade, would the other nations assent to it, and permit their citizens to be enslaved, because they were being treated just the same as some citizens of the country in question?

We think not.

Similarly, we should say, any act oppressive to personal liberty, or confiscatory of property, or otherwise manifestly unjust, is not to be accepted as a prerogative of sovereignty, not even though under it nationals and aliens are to be treated alike. There might be few or no nationals subject to its provisions. Or, if nationals supinely submit to gross injustice, that is no reason why aliens must do the same.

The Mexican oil decrees, therefore, are not to be maintained solely on the ground of the right of Mexican sovereignty to do whatever it pleases. They must have a foundation upon justice or they cannot command the acquiescence of the other nations concerned.

Senator Lewis of Illinois is visiting the western battlefield. "And be your oriflamme to-day the whiskers of Jim Ham."

General McCain Takes The Field

MAJOR GENERAL HENRY P. MCCAIN has been relieved as Adjutant General of the Army and has been assigned to command the Twelfth Division. The announcement will mean little or nothing to the man in the street, because most people have never heard of McCain and have little or no knowledge of the duties of the Adjutant General. But in the army every one knows General McCain; if not by personal acquaintance, through correspondence, and the loss will be keenly felt.

Since the United States entered the war, no officer has rendered more vital service than the retiring Adjutant General. His was not a showy post. Yet seven days and seven nights each week he was at his desk reorganizing the old and pathetically small office with a great and forceful division.

The Adjutant General is responsible for the personnel of the army. He acts for the Secretary of War in all matters affecting enlistments, commissions, and movements directed from Washington. He keeps files and records of all sorts and kinds, and upon his competence or lack of competence depends whether the army shall be efficient or chaotic in its organization.

Time was when the Adjutant General insisted that he and not the chief of the fighting forces should be ranking officer at Washington. The famous Corbin cabal in the nineties and the Ainsworth-Wood row of a few years ago resulted from such friction. In those days the Adjutant General was the political power at the War Department, because he was in a position to make all kinds of trades with the gentlemen on Capitol Hill. Since McCain succeeded Ainsworth, efficiency and not politics has governed the office.

Immediately after we entered the war General McCain asked for field duty, but was informed that he could not be spared from the War Department. When, a few weeks ago, he assured General March that his office had been re-organized to a point of efficiency where one of his assistants might take charge, his plea for a field command was granted.

There is not the slightest doubt that he will be in France within a few months at the head of a division that is as devoted to him as were those who served with him and under him at Washington.

Labor and The Draft

THE sterling patriotism of Mr. Samuel Gompers has been the subject of general admiration. His public statements have evoked universal approbation. Many of them are worthy of preservation. They are peculiarly meritorious and admirable because of the fact that Mr. Gompers has been greatly hampered by certain elements in the organization which he represents, and because at times he has dared to oppose many powerful individuals, upon whom he is more or less dependent for office, position and power.

So far as we are informed, Mr. Gompers has steadfastly opposed, in the American Federation of Labor, the Bolshevik element, which was determined to capitalize this war for the benefit of the union rather than for all the people. The element referred to opposed the original draft and has secretly if not openly sought to influence Congress and the Government generally against every "invasion of the rights of labor." It is this element which has fomented strikes, urged their followers to demand wages that were higher than laboring men ever dreamed of getting heretofore, and has opposed every proposal to give non-union men work for which they were eminently fitted, because of their determination to control the situation in the interest of the American Federation of Labor. A Congressional investigation of the activities of this group would, if thoroughly carried out, uncover one of the most disgraceful chapters in our history.

Their motto has been to make America safe and fat for the American Federation of Labor; making the world safe for democracy has been with them a side issue. There is no intention here to indict the rank and file of the unions. Their patriotism is beyond question.

In view of the magnificent record made by Mr. Gompers, it is extremely difficult to understand his attitude on Senator Thomas' proposal to amend the new draft law by a work or fight order.

"The newspapers have repeatedly published a statement attributed to you that it is your purpose to amend existing laws or introduce a new bill to penalize workmen who absent themselves from their employment in war plants," Mr. Gompers wrote. "I sincerely trust that no such action will be taken by you or any other member of Congress.

"In my judgment no measure could be enacted with more injurious consequences to continuous production. The workmen in the United States are doing their full share of duty and service. They are whole-heartedly supporting the war programme: they are giving themselves, their sons, their brothers and other blood relations on the firing line."

In this communication, Mr. Gompers appears to proclaim for the man employed in war plants a privilege which is enjoyed by no other class in the country. He leaves it for them to decide how they shall fulfill their duty to the country and who shall be their judge. Labor, according to Mr. Gompers, has a right to a preferred classification, per se, irrespective of the returns which it makes to the common cause.

Mr. Gompers not only places labor above all other civilian classes, but above the men who are giving their lives in France. This is Bolshevism pure and simple. The statement, so frequently uttered, that men who are fattening in the mills and factories of America are rendering the same sort of service as the men who are suffering and dying in the

trenches for a miserable pittance, is too contemptible to warrant discussion.

As the casualty list grows, the people of America will show less and less patience toward those responsible for this cowardly attitude, and it would be well for the American Federation of Labor to teach hereafter the doctrine of patriotism rather than profits.

This is not Russia. A handful of labor leaders cannot dictate to 100,000,000 Americans. Time was when the country received with relative indifference the demands of labor; but that was in the days of peace and plenty—not when the patriotic sons of America were offering their lives on a battle-field 3,000 miles away.

666

A FRENCH writer in the *Mercure de France* has got William the Damned's number. It is 666, and it means that Hun defeat and the Damned One's death are both due in this coming month of September. It is from the Book of Revelation that the inspiration of a good many prophecies comes, and this one is no exception. The French writer calls attention to Revelation xiii., 18, which reads:

Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred three-score and six.

So there we have the starting point. That William the Damned is William the Beast is axiomatic. Likewise beyond dispute he is the man designated by St. John as the Antichrist, as the one who in future years was to carry on a particularly frightful war against the Church of Christ—that is, against Christian civilization. And 666 are the figures which in the year 79 A. D. the Well Beloved Disciple St. John, while an exile on the island of Patmos, picked out as constituting the Antichrist's, that is William the Damned's, number—his Fate number.

Subjecting this number to the arithmetical operations "generally employed to obtain, by the product of the figures, solutions bearing on the notable events in the life of a personage," we find that this number, being made up of three figures, gives us three elements—a number of years, a number of months, and a number of weeks. It also gives us three solutions relative to, first, the birth year of the personage; second, the year of his "manifestation," and, third, the year and the date of the end of that "manifestation," or, in other words, of the personage's death.

Adding $6 + 6 + 6$ we get 18, and 18 stands for centuries—1800 to wit. Reading 666 in months, we have 666 months or 55 years and 5 months. Multiplying, for weeks, we get $6 \times 6 \times 6$ equals 216 weeks, or 4 years and 2 months.

This gives us 1859 as the total number of years, and 1859 therefore ought to be an important year in the biography of the personage in question. And it happens that it was precisely in the year 1859 that William the Damned was born.

Now take the year 1859 and add to it 55 years and we get 1914, and this should be another important year in the Damned's life. Which, as a matter of fact, it was, for it was in that year that he began his war of world-wide brigandage, the wholesale slaughter involved being still in full swing after four such years of horror as the civilized world in all its history has never known before.

But his Fate number is swiftly working out to the third and final event in his biography. We now turn to the sum total of the number of weeks we get by $6 \times 6 \times 6$, and that sum total is 216 weeks, or 4 years and 2 months. Add these years and months to 1914 and we get 1918. This present year of 1918, therefore, is to see the third in the triad of momentous events in William the Damned's life. And what is that third and last event to be? Obviously, the end of his "manifestation" concurrently with the end of the war and with his own death. But how do we know that it is in the month of September of this year, 1918, that the world is to be plunged into the gloom of an irreparable loss by William the Damned's demise?

The answer to this involves another plunge into the mathematics of mysticism. How old was the Damned on the year of his "manifestation"—1914? Now he was born on the 29th day of January, 1859. Hence on the 29th of January, 1914, he was 55 years old. Just a little over five months following this, his 55th birthday, on the 5th day of July, 1914, at that secret Potsdam conference, he reached the decision to launch this frightful war. The war was his "manifestation." The Damned, then, was 55 years and 5 months old at the time of his "manifestation." How long will this "manifestation" last? The answer is given by taking $6 \times 6 \times 6$ in terms of weeks. That is 216 weeks, or 4 years and 2 months. Dating, then, from the Potsdam conference of July 5, 1914, the war will end at the close of 4 years and 2 months. In other words, in September, 1918.

And with the close of the war will come the close of the Damned's "manifestation" and the close of his life. Q. E. D.

Upon his return on August 8 from Kansas City, Mo., where he went to convey oral instructions to Major Gen. William S. Graves, who is to command the American troops in the coming Allied expedition to Siberia, Secretary of War Baker said he had visited Fort Leavenworth while in the West. In speaking of the Disciplinary Barracks there, he said: "I have always been very much interested in the problem there, and I am especially interested in it now because with this large increase in the Army, of course, the number of young men who are likely to go there for breaches of military regulations will be increased. I have long regarded Leavenworth as one of the most progressive and hopeful institutions for dealing with delinquents that there is in the world. I know no place where I think the discipline is more helpful than at Leavenworth, and the return of men to the Army through the disciplinary barracks is really just as fine a thing as I know of anywhere. I saw the disciplinary battalions training, about 500 men who were sent to Leavenworth for various infractions of military law, and they are a body of the most splendid, supple-bodied, bright-eyed young men you can find anywhere. I did not see any conscientious objectors at Leavenworth. I think most of them have gone to Fort Riley."

We quite agree with Mr. Baker. Leavenworth is a model reformatory. A few years ago conditions there were extremely bad. In fact, the institution was a national disgrace until Leonard Wood was appointed Chief of Staff and immediately caused the dead feudal system to be supplemented by the scientific and humane system which Mr. Baker commended so highly.

Now that Bayard Swope has thrown the *World* back on the hands of First Lieutenant Ralph Pulitzer, whom can we trust to interpret properly the President's views? Mr. Cobb cannot move to Washington.

The Kaiser heartily approves the expulsion of Prince Lichnowsky from the Prussian House of Lords; and he is quite right. A man who tells the truth has no business in that gallery.

We Are Not "Honorable Warriors"!

THE Huns are now lifting up their voices in the lament that American soldiers are not honorable fighters, that they are not chivalrous, that they ignore the rules of manly warfare. The use of sawed-off shotguns is one of the counts in the Hun indictment against us. Then we don't surrender when we are isolated in overrun territory. We fight right on. Our boys do even worse than that. They shoot down Huns right on the ground the Huns have captured. And over and above all that, these dishonorable Yankee warriors gather in herds of Huns right in Hun-overridden territory and make them do a sawed-off shotgun quick-step into the Allied lines. The *Cologne Gazette* denounces this "American barbarism" and says we will be using tomahawks and scalping knives next.

So we are not "honorable warriors," say the Huns—those same Huns whose brutal bestialities during the past four years have made the very name of their nationality a loathing and an execration for generations unborn, a curse and a hissing throughout all the civilized world. Those same Huns who drove before them prisoners of war, old men, mothers with babes at their breasts and little children clinging to their skirts, as shields for the hulking brutes behind them as they advanced to battle. Those same Huns who poisoned wells; who scattered from the sky poisoned candy that little children might find it and die in agony from it; who dropped bombs on open cities at night; who murdered women nurses in cold blood; who deliberately bombed plainly marked hospitals on land and hospital ships at sea; who, skulking under water, torpedoed ships and drowned and maimed or slaughtered with shot and shell hundreds of women and children struggling in the water; who butchered and tortured priests; who ravished and murdered nuns and nurses and wives and daughters and even little girls barely out of the nursery; who drove off to brutal slavery whole villages of heretofore well-to-do, peaceful, happy folk; who violated every treaty, every pledge, every guarantee, to which they had put their perjured signature.

These are not all, they are only a part of the achievements of these unspeakable beasts who now accuse our American soldiers of not being "honorable warriors." And the marvel of it all is that they are utterly unconscious of the ghastly, grotesque humor of such a charge coming from such a source. Utterly unconscious of their own hideous plight in the eyes of all civilized humanity! Evidently they think that on the whole they stand as rather engaging, alluring personalities before an admiring world. Not a shadow of doubt seems to exist in their astounding minds that they are the standards, the arbiters of all the amenities and proprieties and the super-refinements of human society both in peace and in war.

And there are those who talk of compromising with this homicidal maniac monstrosity and of letting him again run loose, armed and equipped, to get his second wind for another onslaught upon the world!

Don't you think it was mean of those De Haviland machines to fly over the German lines just after Colonel George Harvey announced that they couldn't?—*The World*.

A trifle confused as usual. We said they *couldn't* fight.

From Our Readers

THE INTELLIGENT CENSOR

SIR,—We enclose a letter received from our Cuban Office "deleted by Censor," which, no doubt, will be of interest to you. Fortunately, the vessel referred to was able to put back into an American Port, where repairs are now being made, but had a tug been sent and we obliged to depend upon the contents of the letter deleted by the Censor, we should have had a dreadful time finding her. It does seem as though the Censor in this case was more anxious to mutilate the letter than he was to use intelligence in the censorship of the letter.

Davison Chemical Company,
W. D. HUNTINGTON,
Vice-President.

BALTIMORE, MD.

[Inclosure]

Davison Sulphur & Phosphate Co.,
Baltimore, Maryland. Attention Mr. P. J. Peters, Auditor—
Gentlemen:

Replying to your favor of the 18th instant regarding insurance on cargo of the schooner *Nissequogue*, when she arrives we will at once furnish you with the required information.

This vessel was reported off.....
urgently in need of a tug and we presume that if her owners have sent a tug from New York, as we infer they did from their cable of the.....she would be here in the course of the.....

Yours very truly,
Davison Sulphur & Phosphate Company,
CIENFUEGOS, CUBA. By CHAS. C. PEARL.

HORACE, ETC.

SIR,—

In looking over the papers in this club I have just noticed in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY for July 27 your temptation to adapt a line of Horace so as to apostrophize a gallant young soldier: "O patre forte filius fortior." There seems to be no doubt that you are looking for the vocative case of "filius," and so I urge that you resist the temptation. How many boys have suffered for yielding we shall never know, but nobody so far as I know has yet printed your vocative. Don't think the line hackneyed. In your hands it melts and takes new shape. There is an air of originality about it, and, as befits war times, a showing of undoubted courage.

E. PARMALÉE PRENTICE.

METROPOLITAN CLUB, WASHINGTON.

[Etiam vero, Mi Fili; sed literae U. S. nunquam superfluae sunt.—EDITOR.]

"EFFICIENT AND VIGOROUS"

SIR,—

Evidently it takes from five to six days for the Post Office Department to deliver your WAR WEEKLY to my home on Long Island, from New York. Attached please find mailing cover—probably sent last Saturday, at the latest—and left at my house late this afternoon, Thursday. I am exactly twelve miles from Broadway and Forty-second Street.

May I seize upon this opportunity of assuring you of my gratitude to Postmaster General Burleson for his efficient and vigorous administration of the Post Office Department?

Hoping this communication will reach you by Thanksgiving (which it undoubtedly will, unless it is suppressed by a Democratic censor in the interim), I am,

WILLIAM MOORE PATCH.

MALBA ON THE SOUND, LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK.

WHERE CREDIT IS DUE

SIR,—Your appreciation contained in the WAR WEEKLY of the resolutions of the American Medical Association at its recent meeting in Chicago, favoring universal military training, leads me to write that the credit for the first action in this regard made by any medical organization in the United States, so far as I am aware, should go to the American Medico-Psychological Association, which at its annual session in New Orleans in 1916, passed resolutions of which the following is a copy:

Whereas, In the prevention of mental and nervous disease, the development in early life of a high degree of mental and physical resistance is most important, and

Whereas, Military training promotes in the individual strength of muscular and bony tissues, improves organic functions, quickens perception, furnishes discipline in self-control, inculcates obedience and creates respect for authority; therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Medico-Psychological Association strongly recommends universal military training and urges legislation to this end.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published and that copies thereof be furnished the National Security League and mailed by the Secretary to members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States,

FLINT, MICHIGAN.

C. B. BURR,
(Medical Director Oak Grove Hospital.)

BY EDGAR A. GUEST

SIR,—In the WAR WEEKLY of July 13th there is published a poem, *In Father's Place*, which I have read with interest. I can well understand how this appeals to you, and knowing that you will be interested in having the information, I wish to say that this poem was not written by a Cambridge boy at the front, but by my very dear friend, Edgar A. Guest, of Detroit, Mich. The poem was written the early part of this year under the title *A Father's Thoughts*, and is now in his latest book of verse, *Over Here*, published by the Reilly & Britton Co., Chicago.

I am sure that *Over Here* will appeal to one who has two sons Over There. If you have not noticed any of Mr. Guest's verses I want to say that he is writing verses of this class every day. He has a column in the *Detroit Free Press*. Mr. Guest was born in Manchester, England, about 38 years ago, and was office boy in the *Detroit Free Press* when the Spanish-American war began.

TOLEDO, OHIO.

A. M. DONOVAN.

[We quoted the poem from Massachusetts' foremost newspaper, upon whose authority we rested in attributing the verses to "a Cambridge boy at the front." We congratulate Mr. Guest upon the production of an effective poem.—EDITOR.]

AN X-RAY

SIR,—

YOUR WAR WEEKLY is certainly a splendid addition to the REVIEW. It is a living thing, and every week gives one a kind of X-ray view of pending issues. I like its vigor. If it is not a buzzsaw it is full of points and edges, and *compels* your interest. Thank you. The WEEKLY, as the REVIEW, has no uncertain sound. We know just where you are, and don't miss the other fellow very far, either.

NORMAL, ILL.

F. C. BLOUNT.

To England

BY ELLEN BURNS SHERMAN

O mother isle afar,
Ere thou wert compassed round with woe
A tranquil sea our love for thee,
That on its bosom bore a star
Nor dreamed its depth below.

But now, when Death alone
Is wanton harvester of all
Thy richest fields, and madly wields
His sickle keen like trumpet tone,
We hear our kinship call.

Flood-high and warm within our veins
The racial tides now run,
Till they efface both time and space—
While all our common hopes and pains
Proclaim our destiny one.

A loving cup we lift—
Though death may drug its ruddy wine—
We drink to thee across the sea,
Across the darkest clouds that drift
Above our land and thine.

For thee our prayers ascend
By morning beam and twilight star;
Our mother thou by blood and vow,
Our mother thou to shield and fend
With all we have and are.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING AUG. 31, 1918

NO. 35

Up to the President

OUT of the welter of incompetence, waste of hundreds of millions of dollars and months of precious time, wanton sacrifice of priceless lives, intrigues without number, graft without limit, and crimes without the pale of exculpation, emerges one luminous and overwhelming fact:

It is up to the President to retrieve the shortcomings and wrongdoings of his subordinates, to resolve order out of chaos and to get for America equality at least and supremacy if possible as a fighter in the air. Nobody else can do it. He can and he must, or his Administration will be discredited irreparably, the country will be disgraced and a million of lives may be lost through prolongation of the war.

Bowed though our heads be in shame and disgust, except for the lesson's sake, not a day, not an hour, not a moment should be spared in bemoaning the past. The money is gone, the gallant lads who have perished to no purpose cannot be brought back to life; those chiefly responsible are already writhing in the scorn of outraged public opinion; punishment—swift and relentless, let us hope and pray—awaits the evildoers.

But we cannot stop for that. We must go on. All eyes should turn to the future. Every ounce of energy should be applied in the present. We cannot wait for the Hughes report; we cannot wait for anything. Within a year the great crisis will come and America must furnish preponderance of force in the air no less than on the land if complete victory is to be won.

The prospect is disheartening, God knows; but it is not too late; it is never too late to triumph over the powers of darkness. But the President must point the way, the President must lead, the President must act, must act at once with the potent concentration and inflexible resolution which none knows better than he how to exercise.

There are two essential things to be done, one at home, the other abroad. Day in and day out we have urged the President to find a man, *the* man who can get results, as Schwab is getting results, and who, like Schwab, shall have absolute authority and be responsible to nobody but the President himself. There is every reason to believe that he has found the man needed in Mr. Ryan. Good! Now full speed ahead!

Abroad the need of drastic change is even more vital. Unheeding the bitter and disastrous consequences of segregated commands, those in supreme Allied control have made no attempt to formulate a common policy respecting aircraft production. Great Britain is manufacturing all varieties of machines for the use of her own armies, France is doing the same, Italy also on a smaller scale, and the United States is attempting everything and accomplishing nothing. Each is going its own gait in its own way, wholly regardless of what the others are doing, and the net outcome is futile overlapping at excessive cost in labor and material instead of dovetailing of efforts under competent centralized direction designed to achieve the best results.

England and France have reduced the production of hand-made combat machines to perfection and could turn them out in great numbers if freed from the necessity of building heavy bombing planes by the same painstaking process. We cannot; we have developed neither the craftsmanship nor the motors, and we cannot hope to do so in time. What we could do through concentration would be to fabricate bombing planes equipped with heavy Liberty motors in vast quantities,—sufficient to supply our Allies with all they could possibly use.

Where and to what extent production of one type should cease and production of another type begin is a matter that could be determined, of course, only by careful weighing of respective facilities, availability of raw materials, etc., but

there is no shadow of doubt that the supplanting of the present haphazard processes by well-judged apportionment among the Allies would multiply the total output of the next twelve months.

Herein lies the President's greatest opportunity. While reorganizing airplane production at home, why should he not obtain its co-ordination both at home and abroad? He can do it. It was at his behest chiefly, made manifest through the quiet and unassuming but everlastingly tenacious insistence of Colonel House, that a Generalissimo was appointed in the nick of time to whirl back the Huns in a retreat which probably marks the beginning of the end. That was the most signal practical service rendered to the Allies by any statesman during the war and it was performed with consummate tact and skill.

We beg that the President may now see his way clear to consolidate the Allied forces in the air as he consolidated the Allied forces on land,—through the same personal medium as before, if practicable, but if not, through another, at the earliest possible moment, because, as we have already said,—

There is not a week, not a day, not an hour, not a moment to be lost, if we are to win the war next Summer,—as God grant we may!

Washington, D. C., Monday.—President Wilson late to-day walked to the State, War and Navy Building from the White House and conferred with Secretary Baker for more than half an hour. The President seemed in the best of spirits and was whistling as he returned to the White House.—*The Herald*.

To keep his courage up, of course; one counts ten to keep from cussing.

The Aviation Calamity

The Senate Committee's report on the aircraft situation merely confirms our worst fears as set forth in these columns from time to time during the last six months. Compared to the miserable mess made of this vital section of our military programme all the scandals of the Spanish War fade into insignificance. The uninitiated are likely to look upon this failure as a thing apart from the general military programme. They err. It affects every phase and section of the programme. God only knows how many lives, American, French, British and Italian, have been sacrificed and how much treasure has been wiped out because of this failure.

Terrible as are the revelations already before us, the story is only half told. Charles Evans Hughes is yet to be heard from. It would be improper at this time to forecast in detail the contents of the Hughes report. Despite the fact that powerful influences have been at work to lead Mr. Hughes off the trail, we know that he has spurned the tempters. The Senate Committee report shocked the country. The Hughes report will horrify it. Mr. Hughes will show the

Grand Jury not only that fools were entrusted with the programme, but crooks as well. If his recommendations are followed a score of men who fattened, to the extent of millions, on the wreckage of the programme, will be indicted.

Comment on the Senate Committee's revelations appears to be superfluous. But a few questions must present themselves to every thinking man.

When Mr. Gutzon Borglum tried to uncover the truth last winter why did the War Department connive at an attempt to blackmail him into silence? Why has Newton D. Baker deliberately and persistently deceived the country for almost a year on the programme?

Those who have followed the dirty trail of the scandal will remember that Mr. Borglum in December was empowered by the President to investigate the programme. He labored assiduously and it became known that he had discovered shocking conditions. Suddenly something happened. We do not know what, but we do know that the President was deceived. Then Borglum went to the press and made charges which were so terrible that they appeared unbelievable. He refused to be silenced. A final effort was made to shut him up. The files of the War Department were searched and an unsubstantiated series of allegations charging Mr. Borglum with attempting to sell his influence with the President were handed to one of the Administration's tried and trusted press agents. They were printed far and wide. The evidence appeared to be damning. But Mr. Borglum scorned it all and insisted on telling the truth. Time has vindicated his character and proved his charges.

Who were the men powerful enough to use the War Department in an attempt to blackmail Mr. Borglum into silence? Does Mr. Baker know? Possibly Mr. Hughes will tell us. We are not particularly interested in Mr. Borglum, but we are concerned to learn if the gentlemen who sought to silence Mr. Borglum, who had access to the secret files of the Intelligence Bureau of the Army, still surround the President and deceive him on other matters as they deceived him on the condition of the aviation programme. Every man the Senate Committee found responsible for the failure was appointed by Mr. Baker. There was General Squier—notoriously unfit for the job. Mr. Baker was warned that he would make a fizzle. He refused to remove him until the whole world realized his incapacities. Mr. Howard Coffin was the laughing stock of Washington months before he was demoted. Everyone but Mr. Baker seemed to know that he was a hopeless visionary. Colonel Deeds is in a class by himself. The Senate Committee found that if not actually involved in questionable transactions he winked at them. This was common talk in Washington all winter and spring. Everyone knew it but Mr. Baker.

Had Mr. Baker months ago taken a strong hold on the situation and applied the proper remedies, he would have our full sympathy, but what are we to think of him when, not only failing to grasp the situation, he actually deceived the public month in and month out by issuing the most preposterous statements, and countenanced an attempt to destroy Mr. Borglum, the only man who dared tell it?

But the truth is out at last and we look with confidence to Mr. Ryan, acting under the personal direction of the President, to clear away the wreckage and *carry on, carry on*.

Senators Speak of Airplanes

"WE are approaching a period when quantity production of planes soon may be hoped for."

So said the Military Sub-Committee of the United States Senate on August 22, in a report which was the fruit of long, careful, and fearless investigation. Which reminds us that—

THE WAR WEEKLY on May 3 said that "The public is entitled to the truth and the whole truth about the aviation scandal."

That on June 6 this journal declared that "The absolute waste of some considerable portion of the \$640,000,000 which Congress cheerfully and promptly placed at the disposal of Secretary Baker with which to construct aeroplanes is obvious to all intelligent and non-partisan observers."

That on August 1 we urged "the unification of aircraft service under a single administrative head."

And that on August 8 THE WAR WEEKLY unequivocally reported that "not one American-made combat machine is in service at the front."

These statements were made in our columns with reluctance and regret, but under the compulsion of a sense of duty to the nation far transcending any other feelings or motives. We made those recommendations and those statements at those times because we knew the facts.

We ask our readers to compare, item by item, the utterances of THE WAR WEEKLY, as we have recalled them from our files, with the report of the Senate Sub-Committee.

THE WAR WEEKLY nearly four months ago called for disclosure of the truth. The Senators have now disclosed it.

THE WAR WEEKLY spoke of the wasting of a considerable portion of the \$640,000,000 appropriation. The Senators say that that appropriation has been exhausted and "practically wasted"—not merely a portion of it, but the whole of it.

THE WAR WEEKLY said that not a single American-made plane was in battle service. The Senators say: "We have not a single American-made chasse (or plane of attack) upon the battle-front. We have not a single American-made heavy bombing plane upon the battle-front."

THE WAR WEEKLY urged that aircraft production be placed under a single administrative head. The Senators say: "We should create a Department of Aviation, under the control and supervision of a Secretary, ranking with those of the Army and Navy."

In further detail, Senators declare that the whole aircraft programme has been marked with favoritism, incompetence, delay, and failure; as a result of which, after "practically wasting" \$640,000,000, now, nearly seventeen months after our entry into the war, we have not a single fighting airplane at the battle-front, nor any immediate prospect of one. THE WAR WEEKLY recently expressed some doubt whether we should have any number of battle-planes at the front before January 1. The Senators say:

"We are approaching a period when quantity production of planes soon may be hoped for."

Note, that we have not yet reached a point at which such hope may be cherished, but are merely *approaching* it. We are not approaching a point where quantity production will be assured, but merely where it *may be hoped for*. And even

then it may not be hoped for immediately, but *soon*. "Not yet, but soon!"

Such is the situation, such the outlook; as set forth not alone by THE WAR WEEKLY, but by thoughtful, impartial and thoroughly informed Senators of the United States.

We can understand and appreciate the President's reluctance to interfere with the work of the Secretary of War. Yet in his broad and lofty patriotism he must hold the welfare of the country, especially in the successful prosecution of the war, superior to all other considerations. He is about to ask the country to subscribe another Liberty Loan of several billion dollars. The three former loans have all been over-subscribed, and we have no doubt that this fourth one will be, too. But if, when asked for their money, people inquire what has become of the nearly two-thirds of a billion which they gave to Mr. Baker for airplanes, or if they demand to know what is being done with the incompetents and profiteers who "practically wasted" that enormous sum, what answer shall be given them? It is for the President to supply the answer, which we shall be glad to repeat, and which every loyal citizen will rejoice to hear. But the answer, to be effective, must come from no less an authority than the President himself.

He has already given us some of the finest watchwords of the war—

"No peace without victory."

"The world must be made safe for democracy."

"Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit."

There is opportunity to-day, and there is most urgent necessity, for him to add some word that will reassure the American nation concerning its aviation service in the war. After nearly seventeen months of war and the appropriation of more than a billion and a half of money, this nation has a right to something more than the assurance that—

"We are APPROACHING a period when quantity production of planes SOON MAY BE HOPED FOR."

Thrice commendable is the official address of the Allied Powers to the Russian people. It is commendable because it makes plain to the Russians the benevolent and lawfully authorized character of the Allied intervention; so plain, we should say, that the simplest moujik should understand it and be convinced, while it is so strong in logic that not even the subtlest dialectician among the Bolsheviki will be able to controvert it. It is commendable because it frankly condemns the Bolshevik usurpers and despots, and recognizes the Constituent Assembly as the only rightful Russian Government. That Assembly was formed by the free franchises of the whole Russian people, and an appeal for its reconstitution and recognition as supreme can surely not fail to meet with a favorable response from that people. It is commendable, too, because of its repudiation of the infamous Brest-Litovsk "treaty," in which the Bolshevik tools and hired agents of Germany betrayed the freedom and integrity of Russia to her Hunnish foes. The fact that the Bolshevik conspirators began their unclean reign by repudiating the most solemn and sacred obligations of the Russian Government, in a manner never before approximated by any revolutionary régime, placed them and their acts at once outside the pale of legitimate recognition. They were and are out-laws, and their acts are of no legal validity.

Results! Results!

OF the nine specific recommendations of the Senate Committee for putting the airplane service on an effective basis, the one that leads all the others is this:

The creation of a Department of the Air, headed by a Cabinet officer of equal rank with the heads of the War and Navy Departments, and organization of an air service under one man, not alone for this war but for all time.

Hitherto we have had one branch of aviation under the Secretary of War and another branch under the Secretary of the Navy. Over all, as the report of the Committee reveals, there seems to have been a Department of General Chaos and Confusion. To the members of the Committee the logical solution of this medley of cross-purposes and inefficiency appeared to be a unified organization with a responsible head. Great Britain had an experience in aircraft work, not quite so disastrous but quite analogous to our own. Great Britain met the difficulty in precisely the manner our Senate Committee so strongly urges. A Department of the Air was created. Under Lord Weir, as Air Minister, a council of seven was created—a Vice-President of the Council, corresponding to our Assistant Secretary of the Navy; a Chief of Staff; a Master General of Personnel; a Director General of Equipment, corresponding to a Quatermaster General; a Master of Ordnance; a Director General of Aircraft Production and an Administrator General of Works and Buildings. All these are responsible to the Air Minister, and the Air Minister is responsible to the Government and the country.

Under this system the British air service soon began to function admirably. Under it the Hun air service is quite outclassed, as has long been demonstrated on all the fighting fronts. It was co-ordination of this kind which Major-General Brancker, of the British Aircraft Service, recently recommended, on the basis of England's actual experience, to the consideration of our own Government. Presumably the Senate Committee has given careful study to the workings of the British service and presumably that study had weight in the Committee's decision.

It needs no argument to demonstrate that the military forces of the air are now and are hereafter to be as important a part of national defense as are the forces of land and sea. The creation of a Department of the Air is "not alone for this war, but for all time."

Now, to the unilluminated mind, it would seem that the Senate Committee's first-of-all recommendation was in every way sane and sensible. The President's objection is, unofficially, said to be that "he wants no more Cabinet officers;" consequently he names Mr. Ryan, as he named Mr. Schwab, to exercise full authority. To that course no valid objection can be raised. Titles are of no consequence; nor are methods.

What we want is results, and we rejoice to believe that results we are going to get.

Ford lost the Republican primaries in Michigan by a vote of two to one. He was fishing in North Carolina at

the time. Asked, before he heard the result, what he would do if he had received both nominations he replied:

I would pitch a penny to decide which nomination I would accept or leave it to my secretary to decide. I would give a million dollars to be out of the matter, and I would not have been in it but for President Wilson's request.

Well, he need not pitch his penny and he can still get out for less than a million dollars. Incidentally, we venture the prediction that he will be sorrier than he is now if he does'nt. Down with all disloyalists!

From The Sun:

That is excellent advice which Mr. George Creel, speaking as a newspaper sage and official conservator of journalistic rectitude, gave the city editors on Sunday. This is the substance of it:

Print only what you believe to be the truth. Don't let your headlines exaggerate. Get the truth, print it, and then stand back of it to the end.

We hate to pass from general sentiments so admirable to specific judgment so particularly unpleasant as that which is pronounced upon one of the latest performances of the Government's publicity department by a real editor, a scrupulous collector of facts and a tireless and unterrified printer of the truth; namely, by Colonel George Harvey, in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY of the week just ended:

* * * * *
We received yesterday the first number of Mr. George Creel's *Official Film News*, bearing Mr. George Creel's certificate of official authority and containing among other things this headline: "American Troops Disembarking from Transport on Newly Completed American Docks. Are They Over? Well, Rather! Nearly 2,000,000 Strong."

Don't let your headlines exaggerate!

One has only to transpose a few sentences and ignore the context to evolve a true-as-gospel editorial from the *World*. For example:

Henry Ford has just committed another crime which we hasten to call to the attention of Colonel George Harvey, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and all the sober-minded patriots of Big Business who are appalled at the possibility of Mr. Ford's election to the United States Senate by an irresponsible proletariat in Michigan.

Such a person is obviously unfit to be a Republican United States Senator from Michigan.

If Truman H. Newbury should be nominated and elected to the Senate nobody in Michigan would ever be obliged to apologize for his Americanism, which is exactly 100 per cent. in all temperatures.

Mr. Newbury is indeed the antithesis of Mr. Ford.

Neatly put! The *Herald* touches another phase of the subject when it says:

Careful scrutiny of Mr. Huddleston's record fails to disclose his ever having said:—"I don't believe in the flag; it is only something to rally around; when the war is over those flags will come down, never to go up again." If Colonel Harvey's WAR WEEKLY is accurate, that statement was made by Mr. Henry Ford in 1916 and was reiterated by Mr. Ford less than three months ago! A Senator from Michigan is a Senator of the United States. Can the President of the United States afford to give the support of his high office, or of his party leadership, to an aspirant for the United States Senate guilty of such an utterance as that attributed to Mr. Ford?

He seems to think so. In fact, Ford says in the *World's Work* that the President "commanded" him to run. Ugh!

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Where the War Must End

THERE is increasing talk of clearing the Huns out of Picardy and Flanders this fall, and of ending the war by decisive victory on the western front next year. It is indulged in by men of information and judgment, and in part is not injudicious. The fine strategy of Foch and the fighting qualities of all the Allied armies make it by no means impossible that the first part of the programme will be realized. The Allies are out-manceuvring and out-fighting the Germans at every point, and if our levies continue to be poured in at the rate of the last few months, they will soon considerably outnumber them. In such circumstances it would not be surprising to see the enemy driven out of Picardy and Flanders in the next three months. May it be so!

It is also possible and indeed not improbable that next year will see a decisive Allied victory on the western front—decisive, that is to say, so far as the western front is concerned. General March is probably right in calculating that four million fighting Americans on that front, together with the French and British, would be able to smash through the German lines at will. If we have a million and a half men over there at this time, and keep on sending them at the rate of a quarter of a million a month, by next July we shall have sent four millions over; so that by a year from the present moment we ought to have the needed four millions on the firing line. May that, too, be so!

A smashing victory on the western front would not, however, necessarily bring the war to a satisfactory close. It might drive the Huns out of France and Belgium, and restore Alsace and Lorraine to their proper owner. It might convince the Huns of the futility of any further attempts in that direction, for the time. That it would so convince them that they were beaten as to cause them to accept our "only possible programme of peace," however, is exceedingly doubtful. Indications multiply that the Germans may retire to their own side of the Rhine and there make a desperate stand, meantime retaining and exploiting the enormous conquests which they have made in the East. If they should do that, all the victories the Allies might win in Belgium and Picardy and Champagne and Alsace-Lorraine will not win the war. The war will not be won, and cannot be won, until the Germans are made to realize complete and crushing defeat, and are willing to make the reparations and restorations which the just sense of the world demands, and to give satisfactory guarantees for the future.

That can be effected, we believe, only by four achievements:

One is, victory on the western front, with redemption of Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine.

The second is victory on the Italian and Balkan front, with redemption of Italia Irredenta and Serbia Irredenta.

The third is victory on the eastern front, the sweeping away of the Brest-Litovsk chicanery, and the proper rehabilitation of Russia, Poland, Roumania, Finland, and the country of the Czecho-Slovaks.

The fourth, which we believe to be equally essential with the others, is the marching of an Allied army into Berlin and the dictation of terms of peace there. Without such occupation of their capital, the Germans would not fully realize their defeat, but would insist that while perhaps beaten in aggression, they had been successful in their defensive war.

In this final demand there is nothing vindictive. Berlin should be entered, not for the sake of looting it, as Antwerp was looted, nor of destroying it, as Louvain was destroyed. We would not carry reprisals to that extent. But it should be done for the sake of convincing the Germans that they are beaten and of securing for the world satisfactory guarantees against a renewal of the war. For that reason the war must be ended not on the western front but in Berlin.

EDSEL.—(ed'-sel), *n.* 1. A commercial name for fordson. 2. An American name for slacker; *dim.*, slicker; *syn.*, skunk. "And thereafter all cravens, milksops, skulks, poltroons and quitters were known as *edsels*."—Future History of the Great War.

Peace Terms Restated

THERE is nothing new in Senator Lodge's statement of what he felicitously calls the "irreducible minimum" of peace terms. Neither is there anything new in the Ten Commandments, or in the Declaration of Independence. It is often profitable, however, to have old facts restated; especially when this is done by indubitable authority, and most especially when there is danger that those facts will be forgotten, ignored, or concealed by some insidious and unscrupulous propaganda of treason.

That such danger is imminent must be obvious to every judicious observer. There is always a German peace drive when things are going badly for German arms; and as they are now going worse for German arms than ever before, we may expect, if indeed we cannot already perceive, the greatest of all peace offensives. This is already perceptible, both in Germany and in America, where German agents are active. Complaints are made that the Allies have not stated their terms of peace, or the objects for which they are waging the war; and suggestions are made that with our splendid victories on the western front we can afford to seek peace through negotiation on liberal terms.

Amid such mephitic miasmas the words of Senator Lodge come like what Whittier called "the blast from Freedom's northern hills." True, we repeat, there is nothing new in them. They are practically, so far as their statement of the terms of peace goes, a repetition of the President's declaration of January 8 last. But those terms need to be kept fresh in the public mind, and since we cannot expect the President to be periodically repeating them, it is a grateful patriotic service to have them repeated by that man who by virtue of service rendered, and force of mind and character, may without invidiousness be accounted to stand *primus inter pares* in the Senate of the United States.

In brief, the conditions of peace, and the objects for which we are fighting and will continue to fight, are these:

The restoration of Belgium, of Alsace and Lorraine, of Italia Irredenta, of Serbia and Roumania, of Poland and of Russia; the safeguarding of Greece; the redemption of the Czecho-Slovaks and of the Jugoslavs, and the deliverance of Palestine, Syria, Armenia and Constantinople from the Turkish yoke. Practically all those items were contained in the President's "only possible programme of the world's peace." They are the "irreducible minimum" of Senator Lodge.

Note, now, the triple grounds on which such terms are

demand. The first is that of Justice; which, of course, would alone be abundantly sufficient, and which is an absolute prerequisite to all others. They are required by simple, elementary justice; and not merely the justice of retribution against Germany and her allies, but the loftier justice of right to the nations and peoples who have been oppressed. That is the first impregnable ground, on which we shall fight until victory is attained.

The second is that of Security. We mean the security of the nations against renewed ravishment, and of the peace of the world against being once more disturbed by a Hunnish assault upon civilization. That ground is well emphasized by Senator Lodge when he says that the three great Slav states must be restored to independence to stand as a barrier at the east against German aggression; that Germany must be driven out of Russia so that she may not use that empire as a source of supplies and base of operations against the rest of the world; and that she must be compelled to relinquish the stolen riches of Lorraine so that she may no longer use them, as she has been doing for forty-five years, as resources against those from whom she stole them. The security of the world demands the enforcement of these terms.

The third ground is that of the welfare of Germany itself. Intense as may be our detestation of that criminal Power in its present courses, we must remember that Germany is in the world to stay. We cannot, as Senator Lodge reminds us, abolish or annihilate her. We shall be compelled to live in the world with her. Certainly it is desirable, for our own sake as well as for that of benevolence to an undeserving object, that Germany shall if possible be civilized and humanized and made fit for renewed intercourse with the rest of the world. Now it is quite certain that any peace through negotiation would be regarded by Germans as a victory for them, and would confirm them in their arrogant criminality. If they are to be made to see the evil of their ways, to renounce Hohenzollernism and their "old German Gott" and the divine right of despots, and to place themselves in line and in accord with the enlightened democracies of the Allies and the Neutrals, it must be through being made to realize that they are defeated, utterly and hopelessly defeated.

That is why we exult in and commend to universal American acceptance and resolute maintenance Senator Lodge's supreme declaration that, in order to attain these ends, we must have not a peace negotiated outside of Germany, but a peace dictated by victorious Allies inside of Germany, inside of a conquered Germany, even within the precincts of the imperial capital. Nearly half a century ago Prussia forced an iniquitous war of conquest and robbery upon France, and dictated unjust terms of peace in the French capital. We have not forced a war upon Germany, but she has forced it upon us; the most iniquitous war of conquest and robbery that ever was waged. It will be in accord with eternal justice if we dictate just terms of peace to her in her own conquered capital.

The Berliner *Lokal-Anzeiger* sadly remarks of Senator Lodge's great American speech:

Even those who most keenly desire an understanding must realize that an understanding is impossible as such views obtain among the enemy. All love of peace is useless in such a case and our sword must continue to speak until our opponents have convinced themselves that they cannot overcome us.

Right you are! Those who take the sword must perish by the sword. Senator Lodge spoke for united America when he said in substance: "First, we are going to lick hell out of you; then we are going to *dictate* terms of peace; there will be no place for a Hun at the Council table."

Consider these figures:

GERMANY	
Called to colors.....	10,900,000
Ages in call.....	18 to 50
Percentage of power called.....	70
Losses	†4,760,000
Man power still available.....	5,340,000

UNITED STATES	
Called to colors.....	*5,000,000
Ages in call	18 to 45
Percentage of power called.....	21.30
Losses	‡24,052
Man power still available.....	18,000,000

* Including coming draft. † To August 1. ‡ To date.

The German Government and the German people may as well understand first as last that Uncle Sam has enlisted for a fight to a finish. Incidentally, moreover, all Pacifists in or out of public office will do well to recognize that anybody who gets in the way will find himself under the biggest tank ever constructed.

An Unparalleled Opportunity

A phase of the Naval Overseas Transportation Service which, in the stress of war, apparently has escaped the notice of those in authority, is the wonderful, the unparalleled opportunity which it affords of rehabilitating the American merchant marine when the war is over.

This vast fleet, of from 2,500 to 3,000 ships, born of the necessities of the war, will afford all needed carrying capacity for the lion's share of the commerce of the world. The war will have played havoc with the merchant fleets of most of the European nations. A personnel of upwards of 200,000 men and 22,000 officers, enlisted and commissioned for the period of the war, all loyal Americans, will afford such a force on which to draw for the personnel of the merchant marine as this country never had before and as no other nation will possess. Nor is it unreasonable to assume that these men, having once known the magic of the sea, will be at all loath to follow in times of peace the avocation for which they have been so carefully chosen and trained by the Navy and in which they have served with distinction during the perilous times of war.

All that will be needed to convert the American merchant marine from the memory it was in ante-bellum days to an actuality, an actuality proportionate to the dignity and importance as well as to the commercial needs of this great nation, will be organization and direction. And that organization and direction must be prepared for now.

Already England is taking heed of the economic and commercial needs of her people when war shall cease. High commissions are giving careful thought and study to the economic problems which will confront the nation, and to the commercial possibilities of trade development. That Great Britain even now is paying due heed to the future needs of her merchant marine and the development of her transoceanic trade has been strikingly illustrated only recently by the proposal that this country obligate itself to return, not only all ships contracted for by Great Britain and subsequently com-

mandeered by the Shipping Board while in process of construction, but an amount of tonnage equivalent to that loaned to this country for the transportation of its troops. The proposal was rejected by naval officers who foresaw that such an arrangement would leave the United States temporarily bereft of tonnage with which to develop its foreign trade. This would be so because all available American ships would be required to bring home from Europe the army and its equipment, while the vessels returned to its European Allies would be immediately available for the expansion of their foreign commerce.

Expedition, which can only be the result of carefully pre-conceived plans, of legislation framed, and even enacted, in advance, and the immediate assignment of shipping to carefully designed trade routes, will be necessary if this country is to acquire its share of foreign commerce and the carrying trade of the world. Naval officers in close touch with the situation point out that, their training having been wholly devoid of commercial experience, they now need the advice of those expert in the practical lines of trade development and carriage. Even Germany, facing defeat, as those in high command must realize, is devoting time and attention to plans for future trade development.

If, therefore, the wonderful opportunity afforded this nation to rehabilitate the American merchant marine is to be utilized, the plans must be made now. In so far as possible they should be complete and ready for operation as soon as the treaty of peace is signed. Capital for the purchase of the ships which must revert to private ownership should be located and enlisted. It is probable that even before that can be done it will be necessary radically to amend the shipping laws, but that can easily be accomplished while the war is in progress. Trade routes should be made the subject of exhaustive investigation and study, that neither time nor money may be lost in routing ships. Consuls should receive carefully considered instructions prepared with this end in view. With the cessation of the war it is entirely probable that many naval officers, instead of being retired from the service, could be utilized as attachés of the various American embassies and legations, especially in South America and the Orient, and detailed to the more important ports there to aid in every way possible the organization of the commercial service.

Germany has been in the past the chief competitor of the United States in South America. Her commerce is now driven from the seas and the trade she has enjoyed is necessarily neglected by this country and its Allies because of war conditions. But when the war is concluded the race will be to the fleet, and fleetness on the part of the United States can be the result only of thorough preparedness.

Congress has repeatedly rejected, by one means or another, propositions for subsidizing ocean commerce. Even postal subvention failed as the result of a filibuster. Nor does it seem probable that subsidization will prove acceptable now. But the appointment of a commission, not of politicians, but of practical and successful shipping and businessmen, to study the situation, cannot incur the opposition of the most ardent anti-subsidist. It should devise and prepare such legislation as will be essential to insure the enlistment of capital; its enactment by Congress; and the completion of an organization which will make possible this unparalleled oppor-

tunity to recreate an American Merchant Marine, to extend the nation's foreign trade, and to procure and occupy the available markets for the products of American farms and factories. Furthermore, such a step will go far toward solving such economic problems as the readjustment of labor conditions when the soldiers shall have returned from the war, which are today the occasion of anxiety to thoughtful men in this country. England has already confided the solution of these problems to a commission composed of some of her ablest men.

In a word, realization and pride in the achievement of the Naval Overseas Transportation Service should be accompanied by a determination to utilize the opportunity it presents to rehabilitate the American Merchant Marine. We should, to transpose the words of a famous patriot, in time of war prepare for peace.

From the Philadelphia *Evening Ledger*:

Columbus, Ohio, Aug. 8.—Captain Prescott Sheldon Bush, 23 years old, of Columbus, graduate of Yale in the class of 1917, has been awarded the French Cross of the Legion of Honor, the English Victoria Cross and the American Distinguished Service Cross for gallant action during the recent fighting in France, when he saved the lives of General Pershing, Foch and Haig, according to word received by his relatives to-day.

The lives of the three Allied leaders were momentarily endangered by a German shell while they were making an inspection of American positions.

General Pershing had sent for Captain Bush to guide them about one sector. As they approached a certain battery it was evident that the place was being heavily shelled, but the Generals proceeded. A shell hit twenty yards in front of them and a fragment tore Captain Bush's boot. The party then moved along more rapidly. Suddenly Captain Bush saw a shell coming directly for them. Shouting a warning he drew his knife, wielding it as he would a ball bat, and deflected the shell to the right.

Creel ought to get hold of Prescott.

Judge Mayer's decision in the *Lusitania* case is to be valued as a calm, detailed, and quite irrefragable statement of an incident which must for all time rank among the most memorable in the annals of crime. There is nothing new in the decision, of course; but it is an orderly recapitulation, under the seal of the highest authority, of facts which hitherto have had only partisan utterance and have been more or less subject to controversy. The record of Hunnish infamy, of wanton murder supported with cynical perjury, now passes from the domain of controversy to that of accepted history. The *Lusitania* was unarmed, and was not laden with munitions, wherefore she was not subject to treatment as a war vessel or even as a naval auxiliary or transport. She was a peaceful merchant ship, and her destruction was a deliberate crime against both law and morals, committed by the German Government. The fact can hereafter be no more disputed or called into question than, for example, the fact that Bismarck purposely provoked the war with France in 1870 by perverting the text of an official dispatch.

The future will be ours.—*William the Damned*.

At the Greek Kalends.

Surely the Secretary of War would not think of going abroad pending publication of the Hughes report! What?



Satifa

“The conclusion reached by the Committee that substantial progress is



tion

w being made," said Mr. Baker, "will be very reassuring to the country."

The Week

WASHINGTON, *August 29, 1918.*

News from the western front is to be regarded with both exultation and caution. We cannot be too exultant in the splendid achievements of the Allied armies. General March says and repeats that with four million Americans in the field we could go through the German lines at will. We probably could, for the Allies would then have a decisive numerical superiority. The supreme glory of the present situation is that without any numerical superiority, if not indeed with some inferiority, we are able to strike the German line at will, and wherever we strike it to drive it back with far greater loss to it than to ourselves. It is stated on excellent authority that during the last two or three weeks the number of German prisoners taken by the Allies has been greater than the total number of Allied losses of all kinds, killed, wounded and prisoners. As we have killed and wounded more Germans than we have captured, it follows that the total German losses have been more than twice as great as ours. That is doubly gratifying, and is extraordinary: gratifying because we have lost so few; gratifying because the Germans have lost so many, since the war is to be won by killing Huns; and extraordinary, because we have had the initiative in all this fighting and the common rule of war is that the attacking party suffers most. In being able to take and to maintain the aggressive, and yet to lose in attack not half as many as the enemy loses in defence, General Foch shows himself one of the world's greatest masters of the art of war.

The news calls for caution. We must not expect too much, nor overestimate the value of what is being done. There is talk of driving the enemy out of France and Belgium, or at any rate out of Picardy and Flanders, before winter sets in. It may be done. We shall not be surprised if it is. But we must not be disappointed if it is not. Bear in mind that with all our magnificent advance, we are on most of the front not yet back to the line which we held last March. Progress over the remaining territory will be much harder than that already achieved, for the reason that the Germans, as is their custom, are making a desert of the land as they retreat, so that we shall have to construct roads and railroads and bridges on steadily lengthening lines of communication and supply. We shall do it, of course. We shall probably retain the initiative and continue our progress; but the work will be arduous and slow.

After we have driven the Germans back to where they were six months ago, the war will not yet be won. The Germans will not be conquered, any more than the Allies were conquered when four or five successive German drives had driven them back to Amiens and to the Marne. They will have suffered heavier losses than we suffered when they drove us back. But they will have reached a stronger position than that from which we have driven them, and will be nearer their base of supplies, while we shall be further from our base and shall be less advantageously situated for continuing the attack. Then from that Hindenburg Line it will still be a long way to the Rhine. And from the Rhine to Berlin is a long, long way.

All this is to be said not by way of discouragement, for which there is now no ground, but by way of prudent reminder of the work which is still before us, and by way, therefore, of exhortation to diligence and unflagging energy in that work. This is no time for putting on the brakes, or for relaxing in the least degree our efforts to speed up the prosecution of the war. We have said that as we advance our own advantages of position will decrease while those of the enemy will increase. What then? Why, we must compensate ourselves for that change by increasing the numbers of our troops, of our guns, of our tanks, of our airplanes, and of our entire militant equipment. Freeman once estimated that the difficulty of conducting a campaign, and therefore the force required, increased as did the square of the distance from the base of supplies. Perhaps that estimate, made threescore years ago, would now be exaggerated. But it is certain that the further we go the greater force we need. The chief lesson of the week's news from the front is, therefore, the necessity of speeding up conscription and of keeping it speeded up to the highest possible pitch.

Following the appalling disclosure by a Senate committee of the failure, and worse than failure, of our aircraft service, comes a request from General Pershing for 25,000 planes by next July, and the answer that he cannot have them, but that he may have 18,000 or 20,000. It will be grossly discreditable and disgraceful if we do not send him all that he wants. The time named will be two years and a quarter after our entry into the war. Surely by that time we ought to be able to give our army the equipment which it needs. If not—well, perhaps the war can be won with only 18,000 or 20,000 planes. That is, if we get so many as that. If we remember aright, it was once promised that we should have many thousands of fighting planes at the front by July of this year. We ought to have had, with a billion and a half dollars and a year and a quarter of time. Yet we had not a single solitary one. We trust that the President will realize that if we are to have 18,000 by next July, something will have to be done; something more than was done to fulfil the promises of a year ago.

This, too, is a very practical object lesson of the week's news from the front. What would it not be worth to the Allied arms now if our promises of a year ago had been fulfilled and if we now had ten or twenty thousand fighting airplanes on the western front? We said recently that half a million more American troops in the operations between Soissons and Rheims would probably have enabled us to capture the contents of that big German "pocket" instead of simply forcing them out of it. Will somebody of a conservative turn of mind calculate the probable effect of a fleet of twenty thousand American battle planes, turned loose today on the western front? And we might have had them!

Plans are in progress for a nation-wide celebration of the Lafayette and Marne anniversary, on September 6. They cannot be too generally made or too heartily fulfilled. That day will be the 161st anniversary of the birth of the hero whom France gave to us to stand close by the side of Washington himself in the winning of our independence. It will be the fourth anniversary of that immortal day of splendor when France saved America from Hunnish

ravishment. We say that France saved America. Few Americans realized it at the time, but few can fail to realize it now. It was a drive at Paris that the Huns were then essaying. But the success of their drive at Paris would have meant a drive at America, just as surely as the drive through Belgium meant a drive into France. For that salvation, in the day of our utter helplessness, we can never be too grateful, nor too mindful. The day of Lafayette and the Marne should forever be memorable in our calendar of patriotism.

The German Colonial Minister is clamorous for the restoration of all Germany's colonial possessions after the war; but his clamor is not likely to prevail. Germany's misuse of her colonies has long been one of the scandals of civilization. She has made them at once the scene of abominable oppression and degradation of the natives and the base of offensive intrigues against neighboring states; and her stewardship of them has not been such as the world could approve or should restore. It seems certain that British South Africa and the Dominion of Australia will never assent to German re-occupation of the colonies adjacent to them, and we do not expect to see the British Government act in that matter contrary to the will of those countries.

If the Federal Censorship was not willing to let an official report of the United States Senate be published outside of this country, it really should have been considerate enough to warn the newspapers of that fact in advance so that they could print expurgated editions for foreign circulation. It must be regretted that it did not similarly prohibit the alien dissemination of Creel's creelisms, to which this Senate report gives the lie. Surely truth should not be handicapped and hamstrung in her effort to overtake falsehood.

The Poles, in Germany and Austria as well as in Russian Poland, are said to be adopting President Wilson's declarations concerning the rehabilitation of their country as a definite programme, which they expect to see fulfilled. They certainly are justified in so doing, and by that circumstance we are again reminded of the responsibility which was assumed by this country in the President's utterances. When the United States committed itself to the policy of an independent Polish State, embracing all the indisputably Polish populations, in Prussia and Austria as well as Russia, and having free and secure access to the sea, it gave Poles everywhere cause to expect that it would see to it that that programme was fulfilled. For us now to withdraw from or to falter in that policy would be to betray those whom we encouraged to trust in us.

Whenever stories crop up, as they periodically do, about famine and other distress in Germany, while we may hope that they are true, it will be well to remember the stories that were widely told in the very first year of the war, about Germans writing under the postage stamps on their letters to friends in this country the message, "We are starving." Those stories were true. Such messages were found under postage stamps. But of course the messages were lies. They were put there as a part of the camouflage which the German Government was even at that early date practising. We are not likely to believe such messages again.

Special Paris dispatches in the *New York Times* tell

us that the Socialists of France are likely hereafter to support the Government in its war policy. John Spargo, one of the foremost American Socialists, writes in the *New York Tribune* that "there is not a Trade Union in England in which the Pacifists could muster a decent minority on a straight, well-defined vote. . . . Pacifism and defeatism in Great Britain today constitute the credo of an almost infinitesimal minority of the wage-earners." Apparently the Socialists of Germany and the Bolsheviki of America and Russia stand alone among the world's workers in subservience to autocracy.

The Governmental decree for publishers of magazines to use a lighter weight of paper might well be heeded by some functionaries of the Government itself. Some of the numerous bureaus and commissions are sending out daily or weekly bulletins and other publicity matter printed or mimeographed on paper of a veritable *de luxe* thickness and quality. There must be tons of such output every week; indeed, every day. The great mass of it goes straight into waste-baskets, and only an infinitesimal proportion of it is intended for preservation or for any other use than to be read, in some cases to be reprinted, and then to go to the scrap-heap. The Government might itself effect a very great saving in paper by using lighter weight and less expensive stock; and perhaps by considerably curtailing the distribution of such matter. Where is the use in sending to the editor of the *Squedunk Squeaker*, with 250 backwoods subscribers, reams of bulletins, on extra heavy cream-laid paper, about the necessity of subscribing a billion dollars for the Liberty Loan in the metropolitan district?

Now and then some zealous propagandist speaks of the certainty of our "controlling" the trade of the world, or of the Western Hemisphere, after the war. We fear that we shall scarcely have so much as a "look in" at it if we do not now get busy, as all the other nations are doing, with preparations for the industry and commerce of restored peace. As urgent as we are, however, for such preparations and for the securing of a due share of the world's trade for this country, we must deprecate the idea of "control." We do not want a monopoly, or a commercial despotism such as Germany would establish. We want the high seas to be free and the markets of the world to be free and under the "control" of no one Power, not even ourselves. A fair field and no favor is all we have a right to ask.

In addition to enacting a stringent anti-idleness law, applicable to all men, New Jersey is setting the good example of putting all prisoners, patients, and other inmates of State institutions of all kinds, at productive work for the State or Federal Government, as long as need lasts. In the whole country there must be scores of thousands of such persons, capable of contributing much to the industrial efficiency of the nation.

We have thus far loaned to our Allies something more than six billion dollars. Meantime for four years our Allies have protected us from being invaded, ravished, and looted of perhaps twice six billions. Moreover, they have done that without expectation of reward, while we expect to get our six billions back. So, after all, they are not so very greatly our moral debtors.

Why Mr. Norris Won

THE reasons why Mr. Norris won the Republican Senatorial nomination in Nebraska are precisely the reasons why he should not have won it. He won it because his anti-war record in the Senate met the hearty approval of pro-German voters in his home State. And these same voters are not merely pro-German. They are German. Thousands of them are not even naturalized citizens. Nebraska is one of ten States in which declaration of intent is accepted, so far as right of suffrage is concerned, as full American citizenship. Under that preposterous doctrine, the rankest Hun that ever butchered a baby or murdered a Red Cross nurse, by going through the farce of "declaring his intent" to become an American citizen may remain rock-ribbed in his loyalty to that besotted country with which we are at war and go right on voting into Congress men whose utterances and acts have been sufficiently un-American to meet his approval.

The investigations of the State National Defense League revealed that in Nebraska there are communities where German and not English is the spoken tongue. It revealed that there were schools in which scholars were punished for speaking English. It revealed that in certain districts the encroachments of these German schools were so great that the English-speaking schools had to close their doors for want of attendance, or were forced to continue with an attendance so small that it was farcical. It revealed that many of the teachers in these German schools had never been naturalized, even though they had been here for years. It revealed that in at least one locality the pro-Germanism was so strong and so violent in expression that the propriety of calling upon Governor Neville for military aid to prevent physical clashes between Americans and the Hun hordes surrounding them was seriously discussed. It revealed, in a word, that Nebraska is one of the worst Hun-ridden States in the Union.

Now Mr. Norris in his utterances echoed the Hun slogan that our war against Germany was a dollar-tainted war; that it was an unnecessary and an unrighteous war. And in his votes he backed up his words. He voted against conscription; he voted against taxes to support our armed forces; he voted against the anti-sedition laws. He carried his pro-Hun zeal to such an extent that he won the hearty approval of Mr. George Sylvester Viereck, now under indictment for pro-Hun activities. He also won the hearty approval and the votes of that same pro-Bolshevik, pro-Hun Non-Partisan League, against which loyal Americans in the Northwestern States have long been conducting a relentless war.

No wonder, with all these forces concentrated for him, that Mr. Norris won a nomination in a State where they are so formidable. We do not say Senator Norris is disloyal. We do say that his speeches and his votes have been such as every disloyal, pro-enemy, pro-Hun reptile in the country enthusiastically endorsed. We do not say he is a contemptible, time-serving politician, crawling about Hun feet and licking Hun boots to get Hun votes. We do not say that. We do say that had Senator Norris been precisely that kind of a politician we fail to see how his course could have been much different from what it has been. We do say further that no man with such a record as that of Senator Norris

is a fit man for a seat in the Senate of the United States in the stress of times like these.

Lieut. Hudson, son of Paul Hudson, former proprietor of the *Mexico City Herald*, destroyed three German planes on August 1. His engine failed while over the German lines but he finally landed safely well behind his own lines.—*The Sun*.

It would be interesting to know how many Germans such Americans as Hudson would "get" if they had properly built American planes instead of being compelled to rely upon worn-out French engines.

Grabbing for Government Control

WITH the legitimate purpose of the Sims Power Plant bill, all loyal citizens should be in hearty accord, though they may differ concerning the way in which it is best to be attained. From the spirit and evident purpose of Secretary Baker's advocacy of the measure, we believe that an overwhelming majority will strongly and implacably dissent.

The ostensible object of the bill is to increase the utilization of water-power for manufacturing purposes. That is entirely laudable. It goes without saying that water-power, which is inexpensive and inexhaustible, should at all times be utilized as fully as possible. It is imperative that this should be done at this time, when the country is menaced with distress if not with disaster from a scarcity of coal. It is at all times folly to burn coal while water-power runs to waste. It would be little short of criminal to do so now. Therefore we say, by all means let power plants be enlarged to their utmost capacity.

Under the Sims bill this is to be effected by placing them under Government control. It is said that private operators are unwilling to enlarge their plants because they fear that the increase will not be needed after the war, but will then be a dead loss to them. In that we think that they are mistaken. In England there has been not only enormous enlargement of manufacturing plants, but miles of new factories elaborately equipped have been erected; all for war work while the war lasts, but with the confident expectation that they will all be needed and will be highly profitable in peaceful industry after the war is ended. It would be an intolerable reflection upon American enterprise to suggest that similar conditions cannot be made to prevail here.

If, however, private operators cannot or will not increase the utilization of power, then we cordially acquiesce in Government control for the period of the war; just as we acquiesce in Government control of railroads and other things.

Secretary Baker, however, being at heart a Socialist, is not content with that. He wants not merely Government control but Government ownership, and not merely for the period of the war but for all time. He says:

I do not share the prejudice against Government ownership of enterprises of this kind, and my natural disposition would be to encourage rather than to discourage Government ownership.

The hands of the Government should not be tied to prevent the development of a subsequent peace policy. It should be left within the power of the Government to determine, at a future time, what its future policy will be.

To that we doubly object. We have hitherto pointed out and protested against the mischievousness of trying to

sneak through any fads or dubious "reforms" under the guise of war measures, and against trying to make temporary war expedients a permanent practice in time of peace. If it is desirable for the prosecution of the war to give the President control of the railroads and telegraphs and water-power and what not else, by all means do it. But let that extraordinary arrangement automatically cease with the cessation of the extraordinary circumstances and needs for which it is made. Then if, as a result of the experience thus gained, the nation wants to renew that arrangement and make it permanent in time of peace, it can do so; otherwise not. Either way the matter will be logically and honestly disposed of according to its own merits.

We object, also, to Secretary Baker's impertinent assumption that "the Government" means the Executive Department and nothing more. He does not want "the hands of the Government tied," but wants it to be "left within the power of the Government to determine what its future policy shall be." For "Government" read, in his mind, the President; plus, we suppose, the Secretary of War. He wants Congress to make and to leave the Executive free to do what it pleases about Government control, Government ownership, and all such matters. He does not want the President's hands tied by a mere Act of Congress. That is the only possible interpretation of his remarks. It would be asinine to pretend that by "Government" he means Congress as well as the President, because it would be impossible for one Congress to "tie the hands" of any succeeding Congress; especially impossible for it to do so by simply omitting to impose any legislative obligation upon it. To pass an act providing for permanent Government control or ownership—as Mr. Baker wants Congress to do—might indeed be regarded as in a measure tying the hands of a succeeding Congress, to the extent of making it necessary for it to repeal that act. But to make such a measure temporary, automatically lapsing at the end of the war, will be to leave the hands of the Government thereafter untied and absolutely free; as of course they should be.

We have no idea that Mr. Baker's impertinent and pernicious scheme to foist a Socialist fad upon the country under the camouflage of war necessity will be successful. But he ought to have sense enough to realize that by playing such tricks he embarrasses the Government by arousing in the public mind unfavorable and unfortunate suspicions concerning its policies.

The unanimous election of Henry Cabot Lodge as Republican leader of the Senate will meet with the approbation of all Americans who prefer pure patriotism to petty politics.

Electioneering Embarrassments

IT is good that Vardaman was defeated. It would be good to have every such man defeated and eliminated from public life. His presence in the Senate has long been offensive to loyal Americans. At times it has been actively detrimental to the welfare of the nation; at first during our controversy as a neutral Power with Germany, and later in the war. In only a less degree than the now unnamed creature who dishonors a Wisconsin Senatorship, he has been an annoyance to the President and a menace to the nation.

We say that he has been an annoyance to the President; wherefore, for the President's as well as for the nation's sake, we are glad that he is about to be retired from a place which he was never fit to fill. Yet not for that reason should he be retired. We could not fail to sympathize with the President in his wish, publicly expressed, for his defeat, though, as we have hitherto said, we were compelled to regard that expression as what is diplomatically termed a "blazing indiscretion," from the possible results of which the President has been mighty lucky to escape through Vardaman's defeat.

For suppose that he had not been defeated, but had been successful. According to the President's own words, the State of Mississippi would thus have recorded its condemnation of the Administration. But, frankly, we do not believe anything of the sort, and we cannot persuade ourselves that the President does, either. We do not believe that all the thousands of citizens who voted for Vardaman are hostile to the President; not a bit of it. Lots of them are perfectly staunch and loyal supporters of the Administration. They voted for Vardaman for reasons entirely apart from the President and his policy. And it may be, though we hope not, that some voted against Vardaman who are opposed to the policy of the Administration. We were sorry to see Huddleston successful in Alabama in spite of the President's blast against him, but we do not therefore believe that Alabama or a single Congressional District in it is disloyal.

The great danger in such Presidential interference in elections is, that people will think him actuated by personal motives. There are those who remember that a former President, of no less scope of statesmanlike vision than Mr. Wilson, while he was still Governor of a great State, frankly asked that a certain legislator be not re-elected, for the sake of his—the Governor's—"personal comfort." That was a "blazing indiscretion" which came near to having disastrous results for its author; but he was probably saved by the very frankness and sincerity of his indiscretion. Now it is doubtless impossible that Mr. Wilson should have such personal motives. Yet, as we have said, there is always danger that people will think he has, when he speaks of his Administration instead of the welfare of the nation.

Anything that looks like the President's intervention in State elections on personal grounds is bound to be resented; and it should be resented. Any appeal of his on broad and impersonal grounds of patriotism, for the election of none but loyal men, is bound to have a favorable response; as it should. Such an appeal in Alabama would probably have been successful against Huddleston, where the personal condemnation of the man failed. Such an appeal in Michigan would be favorably answered by the defeat of Henry Ford; yet the President does not make it. Instead, he puts himself in the astounding position of condemning Vardaman and at the same time letting it be believed that he is supporting Ford.

We know that Mr. Wilson holds that the Presidency was originally and should be still "the frequent source of politics," but we cannot help thinking that this particular kind of politics, when issued from the Presidency, is perilously likely to cause serious embarrassment. From such embarrassment the voters of Mississippi have on this occasion saved Mr. Wilson. But it would not be prudent nor judicious frequently to tempt fate in such fashion.

Congratulations and Apologies

IN the issue of July 6th, under the title of "One American Mother," the WAR WEEKLY published an account of the sacrifices that Mrs. Wyman, a widow living in California, had made for her country. In that article we told how all of Mrs. Wyman's seven sons had voluntarily enlisted in either the army or the navy and were then at their respective posts of duty. We told how each of the seven young patriots had made such reservations out of his pay that the combined sums would have been ample to maintain the brave little mother in comfort at the old home, but that, unfortunately, the respective allotments from the boys got mixed up and held up in the barbed red tape entanglements of the swivel chair forces in their bomb-proof Washington trenches, with the result that Mrs. Wyman was left in straightened circumstances; that she had to work at such tasks as her partially crippled physical condition made possible, and had not even enough money, after paying postage on a dozen or so letters she wrote every week to her sons—which letters, probably, were not delivered—to buy the seven-star service flag for the little parlor window which, as a matter of fact, she confessed she very much coveted.

Now, the publication of that article brought two widely different results. One was a rather voluminous correspondence containing expressions of sympathy, substantial and otherwise, for Mrs. Wyman. The other was quite as copious a flow of letters charged with a somewhat tidy total of abuse. The abuse, of course, was not directed towards Mrs. Wyman. It was exclusively devoted to us. It was assorted abuse, varying in character from plain accusation of lying to the direct charge of conducting pro-Hun propaganda.

For, it seems, the article made something of a stir in Redlands and among people widely dispersed who are interested in one way or another in that beautiful California city. The people of Redlands were indignant and the many friends of Redlands were indignant. For the fact is that a fine tooth comb search of Redlands and vicinity failed to reveal the presence there either of a Mrs. Wyman or any other patriotic American mother with seven sons in the service of their country. It was felt, and justly felt, that the presence in Redlands of a patriotic woman left to remain in straitened circumstances by the sacrifices she had made for her country would have been a stigma upon the loyal people there. And, as there was no such person in the city or suburbs as the one described in our article, it was also felt that we owed Redlands an apology.

Well, we do owe Redlands an apology and that apology is hereby tendered with the hope that it will be accepted as frankly as it is offered. At the same time we would wish to extend to the people of Redwood City, San Mateo County, California, our hearty congratulations on having so splendid an American mother as Mrs. W. H. Wyman among their citizens. She is an honor not only to Redwood City but to San Mateo County, to the State of California and, indeed, to all American motherhood. And we would still further congratulate the people of Redwood City and of San Mateo County on the superb way they rose to appreciation of Mrs. Wyman's patriotism when the facts in her case were brought to their attention. Not only did Mrs. Wyman get the seven-star service flag she coveted, but she got, through formal presentation from the people of Fresno City, a

gold seven-star service pin, with every star a jewel, which ornament, with a very pardonable pride, she is now wearing.

And that is not all. The people of San Mateo County are raising a fund wherewith to purchase for Mrs. Wyman a home which is to be all her own, and in which we hope she will live to welcome those seven splendid sons of her's when the war is over. Incidentally we may mention that, after some little trouble in learning the correct address of Mrs. Wyman, we have committed to the care of the Politicalmaster General certain substantial testimonials of regard which we received from WAR WEEKLY readers, and which we also greatly hope—although the hope, alas, is tempered with some measure of doubt—that the Politicalmaster General will succeed in delivering into the lady's hands before the war is ended and the boys get back.

So, it was all only a little error, just one of those impish typographical deviltries, changing Redwood into Redlands, which made all the trouble. But Mrs. Wyman is found. The article we printed about her was true—every word of it, and the good woman is getting the honor and reward she so richly merits.

And "may we not" take advantage of this occasion to extend to those who abused us the renewed assurance of our undiminished consideration? The error was ours. The grape juice is on us. We swallow the abhorrent dose with as pleasant an expression of countenance as the circumstances admit.

Only we do wish some of them had not called us a Hun Propagandist. There ought to be some limit to bad language, even in a case of typographical error.

A week ago Mr. Baker announced with great pleasure that Lieut. Thaw flew one of the De Haviland 4s when the first reconnaissance squadron crossed the German lines. This is the type of machine that General Pershing complained had "structural weaknesses." Four days later Lieut. Thaw was killed when the machine he flew fell to the ground.

Theodore Roosevelt on Ford

Every loyal American citizen in Michigan should read the last two numbers of Mr. George Harvey's WAR WEEKLY. In these numbers there are quotations from Mr. Henry Ford's speeches made two years ago and again since we entered the war. Mr. Ford has not questioned the accuracy of these quotations given by Mr. Harvey. Speaking of American flags over his own factory Mr. Ford said: "I don't believe in the flag. When the war is over these flags shall come down, never to go up again."

The sedition act, approved by President Wilson, inflicts a maximum punishment of twenty years in the penitentiary for any man who while we are at war utters "Language intended to bring the flag of the United States into contempt or disrepute."

During the last year many poor and ignorant men have been convicted and sentenced for using language thus forbidden by law. In my view the fact that Mr. Ford is an enormously wealthy man ought not to give him immunity from the law, if he cannot show that he did not use the language quoted in the WAR WEEKLY. But whether or not amenable to the law, no patriotic American can afford to put in the Senate, perhaps to help negotiate the peace treaty, a man who announces that as soon as peace comes he wishes to haul down the American flag and never again to hoist it. To send such a man to the Senate professing such sentiments under existing conditions would give the enemy a wholly wrong idea of the pacific sentiment of our country.

There is nothing in the world which would now help Germany as much or give her so much heart in her struggle for the overthrow of liberty and democracy as the belief that men professing such sentiments would have part in the peace negotiations on behalf of this country.

Among the further utterances of Mr. Ford (as given in the *WAR WEEKLY*) is one that "he does not believe in patriotism" and that "he does not care any more for the United States than China or Hindoostan."

The man who does not believe in patriotism is not fit to live in this country, still less to represent it in the Senate.

If these words of Mr. Ford mean anything, then Mr. Ford is unpatriotic and has no more right to sit in the United States Senate than a Hindoo or a Chinaman. Unless Mr. Ford can show that he never uttered these words, no man worthy to be called an American, and, least of all, any religious or patriotic man, can afford to support him for the Senate.

Mr. Ford has been given immensely valuable war contracts of the government. No doubt he has executed them as well as the thousands of other contractors who now render service to the government for pay, but no service he can thus render the government can offset the frightful damage he did our people by the lavish use he made of his enormous wealth in a gigantic and profoundly anti-American propaganda against preparedness and against our performance of international duty during the two and a half years before we entered the war. This crusade against righteousness included the sending of the ridiculous "peace ship" to Europe. This particular manifestation was too absurd even to do harm, but so far as it had an effect at all it encouraged Germans to believe that we were as neutral between right and wrong as Pontius, and that as far as we were concerned she could safely proceed with wrongdoing because we held the scales of judgment even between the wrongdoer and his victim.

The crusade also included an extraordinary series of advertisements issued long after the *Lusitania* was sunk, in which Mr. Ford violently opposed and denounced preparedness, advocated and approved the McLemore resolution, and announced that it was our duty to keep out of war and not merely himself kept silent about the wrongdoing of Germany, but assailed those who set forth this wrongdoing on the ground that they "Had bred racial hatred by the printing of incendiary news stories and articles." It may well be doubted whether this propaganda did not do more damage to the American people than the propaganda carried on at the same time by Ambassador Bernstorff. If we had seen our duty and had fully prepared during those two and a half years either we would never have had to enter the war or we would have brought it to a close immediately after we entered it.

The best and bravest of the young men of the nation are now paying with their blood for our unpreparedness, and therefore for the pacific propaganda, quite as much as the pro-German propaganda carried on in this country during the two and a half years before we entered the war. But wealthy Mr. Ford's son is not among these men. He is of draft age; he applied for exemption. The local board refused his application. He applied to the President. The President did not act for two months. Then the revised draft regulations were promulgated and Mr. Ford was exempted under the deferred or exempted class, which included a married man with a child, however wealthy that man might be. Many thousands of young Americans, men of small means who are not sons of multi-millionaires, have declined to take advantage of this legal right. They have left their wives and babies to go to war for a great ideal, for love of country, for love of liberty, and of civilization, but Mr. Ford's son stays at home. These other young Americans face death and endure unspeakable hardships and misery and fatigue for the sake of America, and have surrendered all hope of money-getting, of comfort, and of safety. But young Mr. Ford, in ease and safety, is in the employ of his wealthy father in a private relation. I understand that Mr. Ford is an amiable man, but I am not dealing with him in his private relations. I am discussing him as a candidate for high office. We are bound truthfully to set forth what we believe will be the effect of his election, and therefore we are bound to say that it would be damaging to the United States and would be encouraging to Germany. No patriotic American should support Mr. Ford.

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The Shortage of Officers

The *Chicago Evening Post* says:

Colonel George Harvey is out with a bitter attack upon Secretary of War Baker for the latter's alleged failure to keep officers' training camps permanently open and thus supply a proper force of "officers of mature judgment" to serve as captains and majors in the great new addition to the army.

We see in this a perhaps unconscious expression of the desire of the "40 to 45" years old men of large affairs to be given a chance to "join up" under the approach of the draft as officers instead of as privates.

The issues here raised are difficult. They can hardly be settled by accusations and demands in the fashion set by Colonel Harvey. It would undoubtedly be a waste to take men of the high executive caliber who will come under the new draft and set them permanently in the ranks as privates. The Government could hardly afford to do this to any great extent, and under

the "work-or-fight" rule, it may limit its actions so as to conserve its greatest strength.

But, on the other hand, it is hardly fair to assume, as Colonel Harvey seems to, that every man of "mature judgment" would make a better major than the younger men who have been through Plattsburg, spent a year in cantonments and served some months in France. Under this routine they have gained both maturity and judgment. Furthermore, it seems decidedly unfair to them to take men who have "started" a year later and give them preference in promotion over those who antedate them in service. It might well hurt morale.

Colonel Harvey paints the "40 to 45" men in rather pathetic colors, as having been straining at the leash for many months in their eagerness to enter the training camps from which they were debarred by the callous Mr. Baker. There is some justice in this picture. The older men could not, perhaps, have foreseen that the Government would need them; it is not completely fair to say that they had their chance and did not take it. Yet there is a great deal of justice in that stand, and back of it is a general military policy for which every relative of a soldier must be profoundly thankful. That policy is that it shall be increasingly difficult for any civilian to become an officer. This means that our boys will receive, as far as is humanly possible, the protection of training in their commanders.

We devoutly hope that this principle will not be departed from now, no matter how strong may be the pressure from influential men of the "40 to 45" class.

We have little fear that any departure from present rules will be made. General March was cross-questioned on Colonel Harvey's complaint about the lack of officers "of mature judgment" and he declared roundly that there was no such lack at present. He said that the army's great need had been for "young second lieutenants," that it now had a great supply of these and was making more.

General March reaffirmed the principle that no officer of the line would hereafter be appointed direct from civil life. This means that men to be sent to the officers' training camps would first have to enlist as privates and win their assignment on merit.

This seems to us an entirely healthy idea. It should be lived up to. No officer, whether "of mature judgment" or not, is going to be hurt by a preliminary experience in the ranks.

Of course, the whole question must be left to the decision of the military authorities. They must know whether they can afford to continue to choose officers on the present sound system, or whether the great sudden growth of the army will compel its modification. But whatever they decide, they should not be harassed by dictatorial, accusative civilian comment. They have the confidence of the country and they should feel free to act simply and solely as the country's war needs demand.

We shall let the *Chicago Tribune* answer:

A serious mistake in Secretary Baker's department is about to present its consequences. The shortage of officers for the new men to be selected for military service is alarming. The War Department was frequently urged not to confine its training of officers so closely, not to restrict the numbers to the needs immediately perceived, to consider that officer training was laborious, and the lack of trained officers fatal.

Possibly it was the pacifist taint in Mr. Baker which prevented him from seeing the situation in large. There has been constantly evident in his department a reluctance to accept a complete plan, to do a whole piece of work, to contemplate an entire necessity.

Mr. Baker never has done anything but waste time by his temporary success in evasions. The necessity always has caught up with him, but the waste of time never could be made good.

It was apparent even to civilian comprehension that the continuous training of officers upon a large scale was necessary. Soldiers can be trained if the officers to train them are available. Without available officers a draft presents raw material without competent instruction.

All of Mr. Baker's orders have reduced the opportunities for willing men to be trained as officers. There has been a waste of the material which in the first tests of fitness, when the number of commissions was small and the number of volunteers large, was discarded.

There are the needed thousands of available and willing men in the United States. The time for their training has been given. The officer shortage points to a serious error in calculation, to a serious fault in comprehension, to a serious defect in planning.

A pacifist hope that a great deal of force would not be needed may have been the cause of short-sightedness in the War Department. This hope may have produced a reluctance to adopt in full measures which by their very scope suggested the use of power upon a scale appalling to the expectations. The hope that we could stop somewhere short of the maximum is being obliterated, but it prevailed long enough to interfere with the application of that maximum power.

We have only to add, in response to the *Evening Post*, that we had a much higher opinion of General March's judgment and independence before he played lickspittle to Mr. Baker in delaying expansion of the draft ages two full months.

Letters From Our Readers

SOMEWHAT MIXED

Sir: My approval or disapproval of public men and matters may be of little consequence. But its expression is my only weapon to use in any righteous warfare (except my knitting needles), and therefore I venture to tell you that I like the tone of your references to the entrance of Hayti into the war against Germany. I rejoice also in your general endorsement of President Wilson's proclamation about mob violence; but I regret that you do not see its full necessity. Perhaps, however, I have not apprehended your meaning quite correctly. Can it be that you do not perceive that the hand of the lyncher lays bare the breast of this country to the thrust of her enemies?

In the East St. Louis massacre a white American man threw a black American baby in the fire.

I am a white woman. My pedigree on several lines has been American for nearly three hundred years. My heart and my conscience are with America against Germany. Yet what could I say, when immediately after that East St. Louis horror, I received a letter, from which I quote the following sentences?

It seems to me, an alien here, that a country that can produce such a state of things hasn't much liberty to spare. If the "Huns" behaved to Belgians, if the Sinn Feiners behaved to the British, as Americans behave to negroes, what a demand there would be to extirpate such savages! People in glass houses oughtn't to throw stones.—H. S. Skeffington.

It would be trivial to remind Mrs. Skeffington that she herself makes the ethical and historical mistake, the outgrowth of a silly race prejudice, which speaks of Negroes in this country as though they were not Americans! It would be no answer to say that the Huns, whom she tries to whitewash by quotation marks around the name, have equalled the barbarity of white Americans. No Hunnish crime lessens an American one. So let Americans keep their own hands clean to fight the Huns with, and "lock their lips too close" to utter sanctimonious hypocrisy as to their own virtues.

Mrs. Skeffington has made great mistakes in her political efforts, and she has not seen clearly all the issues involved. The world pities her errors of vision, realizing that her eyes are clogged by the blood of her murdered husband. It is well to judge her leniently. But, "look on that picture and then on this." A few weeks ago, an American woman of African descent cried out madly because her husband, unconvicted of crime, had been murdered by an American mob. So the mob murdered her publicly.

LILLIE BUFFUM CHACE WYMAN.

[No one in his senses would pretend that Americans can look without regret at their handling of the Negro problem. But only a gravely limited intelligence could think that a difficult racial problem too passionately attacked is on all fours with the monstrous savageries of the Germans in Belgium.—EDITOR.]

THE RADIANT MORALITY OF MR. W. B. WHEELER

Sir: A rare and glorious opportunity is yours.

You must realize that the end of the war is approaching and that it is none too early to think of the personnel of the commission that will represent the United States when the peace treaty is signed. It is important that this document shall be forward-looking and therefore that it must be framed by men of vision. Whom shall we send?

Friend, one thing is certain—whatever else the treaty does, it must prescribe world-wide prohibition, for only a world free from the curse of alcohol will be able to recover from this awful war.

It is very necessary that our commission shall stand for this principle to the end, and to that end a movement has been started among the earnestly moral elements of the country in favor of making Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler of Ohio a member of that body.

Who is Mr. Wheeler? Well, if you do not know, you can easily find out, for his clean, white life is an open book.

He is one of the moving spirits in the great Anti-Saloon League that is doing such glorious work for God and country.

He towers over lesser men as a great sycamore towers over the sumachs.

Every night, on bended knees, he prays to God.

He simply radiates morality.

Like other moral men, he was opposed to our entrance into the war and now that we are in, he favors the only course open to one of his type, that of making the evil of war work for good. Let us bring light out of darkness by bringing world-wide prohibition out of war!

We are going to make a drive on Congress but first want to have some press support. Mr. Wheeler has not yet been told that he is our choice and we want it to come as a pleasant little surprise to him.

New York City.

WASHINGTON PIPER.

BADGES FOR THE REJECTED

Sir: More power to the movement for badges for the honorably discharged. I tried to enlist, then registered for the draft, and was rejected; yet I get "Slacker!" shot at me constantly.

Well-dressed and apparently well-bred women on the street-cars carry on a conversation purposely loud enough to be overheard about able-bodied loafers hanging around living soft lives when they should be in the army. No doubt some of these women are really patriotic, and mean well by it in a misguided effort to appear loyal, and I can understand that, if they have sons in the service, or possibly already killed or wounded, to see a young fellow in civilian clothes, apparently sound in body, must hurt them.

I am one of the lucky (?) ones working on a non-expansion salary trying to keep even with the very expansive living costs, which were hard enough to meet in pre-war times. I have a regular snap of it, working every Sunday and many extra evenings a week trying to keep up the work in a so-called "essential industry" of some of the other fellows who were accepted in the draft.

The slurs and insults would not be quite so hard to bear if it was not for the eternal "hero-worshipping" of some fellow in uniform who has been safely tucked away out of all danger through the kind efforts of papa or papa's political friends, on some inspection job, high up in some office building, 3,000 miles from any possible air-bombing, or out in some Western army camp where no one has had to exert themselves since Sitting Bull was killed. I don't want to see those fellows get hurt, but I would like to see some of them get their uniforms grease-spotted, or have mud splashed on their shiny puttees.

If those women feel badly because I am not in the service, I feel a blamed sight worse.

Cleveland, Ohio.

"5-G"

FROM ENTERPRISE, OREGON

Sir: It is needless for me to tell you that I enjoy the WAR WEEKLY immensely.

I have just finished the work of the Legal Advisory Board in reclassifying registrants. The fact that Baker deferred the amendment raising the age-limit, caused the Board to put many men in Class One who were bona fide farmers. We did this in order to get men for war drafts in July, August, and September, which would not have been done had we been sure the age-limit would be raised so that they could have called typical Class One men of the ages from 30 to 40, or 45. To our mind, this is one of the greatest blunders Baker has been guilty of, and almost gives aid and comfort to the enemy.

Your WAR WEEKLY should be in the hands of every American citizen, and I congratulate you on your wonderful work.

Enterprise, Oregon.

DANIEL BOYD.

MORE BURLESONIANA

Sir: I have been noticing your references to Burleson's Mail Service, and thought perhaps you would be interested to know what he is doing in the country. Here in La Salle County he is discontinuing three rural routes, adding the territory to others, changing the routes from gravel roads to mud, lengthening them so that in bad weather there will be no service, this in entire disregard of our petitions to the contrary. One inspector told me we had no rights in the matter at all: that it was up to the department to do as it thought best. Our family came here in 1839, and our mail has always come from Ottawa even in old Star route days. Ottawa has grown to be a first-class office, and our service has been good. The other day we were given notice that after Aug. 1st we would get our mail from Utica, a little third-class office that gives very poor service. The routes are all jumbled up and owing to trains not stopping at Utica a lot of our mail will be a day late. Then a fellow is asked to forget politics. It seems as if war time was a poor time to monkey with the mail service of a county.

Ottawa, Ill.

W. B. ELLSWORTH.

NOTICE TO GERMAN SUBMARINE CREWS.

Sir: What an opportunity you have! Give notice that you will hang all submarine officers and shoot the crews as pirates that you catch: that their names, descriptions, birthplaces, etc. will be published throughout the world. You need not fear reprisals, as is the case with us and the French (think of our poor prisoners!), for you have hostages and the Kaiser's own investments and property.

Auckland, N. Z.

J. MARJORIBANKS STEELE.

QUITE SO.

Sir: In your recent article, "The Dress of a President," should you not have included the name of McKinley as a participant in the Civil War?

The inclusion of Major McKinley increases the number of soldier Presidents to sixteen.

With very best wishes for the success of your most interesting WEEKLY.

Canton, Ohio.

WENDELL HERBRUCK.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

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NO. 36

Fetch ALL AMERICA into the War

WHEN General March apportioned the credit for transporting safely to France more than a million American soldiers, he mentioned one circumstance which possessed peculiar significance. It was that Brazil had contributed to the success of that endeavor, free of charge, one large troop ship which made four trips across the Atlantic. He might have added—for such is the fact—that our sister republic now has cooperating with our fleet abroad six destroyers and a large number of smaller craft engaged industriously in seeking and sinking the submarine pests.

Simultaneously Brazil increased her regular army to 54,000 and followed the lead of the United States in enacting conscription. Her government can now call to the colors hundreds of thousands of men as quickly as ours can do so. But in point of fact the Executive has no need to exercise his prerogative. We have it upon unimpeachable authority that a great number of the young men of Brazil are eager to enter the mighty conflict shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart with our own intrepid lads.

Equally stirred by the call of freedom and humanity, equally keen to win prestige for their beloved country, equally valiant they seek only the way.

Unaided, Brazil cannot afford them the opportunity which they crave. She lacks equipment, uniforms, rifles, machine guns, ammunition, money and, above all, facilities and capable officers for training large numbers of men.

All these needs the United States can supply. We have small arms in abundance; we soon shall have an ample supply of machine guns for practice; we can provide the uniforms; we can build cantonments here or help to build them there; France can furnish experienced officers for training in Brazil as well as in the United States; we can advance whatever money is required with-

out even an act of Congress; Brazil is our ally and the President, acting through the Secretary of the Treasury, can extend aid in his own discretion; we shall have the ships for transport in the Spring; nothing stands in the way of placing upon the battlefields next Summer the united forces of All America,—for mark you, seven Latin-American nations are already at war and six more have severed relations with Germany.

Can anyone doubt that Argentina and Chili would hesitate for long, in view of what must now be regarded as certain ultimate allied victory, to raise their standards in Flanders alongside those of the United States, Brazil, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Hayti, Panama and Cuba?

Consider the moral effect of such an advent abroad upon both our Allies and the enemy! We would not think of proposing a complete brigading of South American troops with our own. There would be the North American army and the South American army, differing in size but alike in purpose, fighting side by side for common liberties, following their respective flags grouped in a cluster symbolizing the unity of the entire Western hemisphere, a solid phalanx of the republics of the New World pledged to win for all peoples the God-bestowed rights of human freedom.

Consider the effect upon Spain!

Be mindful, too, of the far-reaching consequences after the war of the inevitable development of neutral respect and mutual regard, of the certain elimination of traditional distrust so long fostered by German agencies, of the forbearance and fraternity engendered by comradeship in a common cause of those millions who, returning from their triumphs abroad, will surely assume control of the political destinies and commercial relations of their own countries for many years to come.

Unity in war cannot fail to make for unity in peace.

Here is another great opportunity for the President. He alone can utilize it; he alone has the power and prestige. But the time is most propitious. Soon His Excellency, Dominico de Gama, Brazilian Ambassador to the United States, will return to his country to assume the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs. He will not only bear to the high post to which he has been promoted the golden opinions which, through the exercise of exceptional sagacity and unflinching tact, he has won in this country, but he cannot fail in addition to instil in the minds of his people the spirit of sincere friendliness toward them which now to a greater degree than ever before animates our own. That he would exert to the full his powerful influence in behalf of the consummation of the project in mind cannot be doubted.

But the President, as ever nowadays, must point the way. He alone has the power of initiative. He alone can act effectively. It rests with him, if he should deem it wise as we trust he may, to extend the helping hand, to invite our friends of the South to join with us in the North in demonstrating to the world that All America is in the war to stay until complete victory shall be attained; to pledge our full cooperation along specific lines which shall be determined in conference; to dispatch forthwith to Brazil a suitable Mission empowered to present for himself as the Chief Executive of the great Republic the thought that is bound to make for untold good for all time to come.

"Forthwith," because—

There is not a day, not an hour, not a moment to be lost.

The President's Appeal to Labor

PRESIDENT WILSON was well within the fact when he said in his Message of Monday last that Labor Day, 1918, was not like any other Labor Day we have ever known. Indeed, Labor Day, 1918, will long stand out in an isolated dignity of its own if for no other reason than for that masterly paper which the President himself addressed to the American people on that day. It is a document quite on a level, in point of grave earnestness of appeal as well as in restrained, simple force of diction, with his memorable Mt. Vernon address, and, indeed, with any of the remarkable utterances for which we have been indebted to him in so many instances within the past few months.

It was only to laborers in the sense that we are all laborers in the great cause to which the country has devoted itself that the President addressed his words. Nothing could be better than the few grave, earnest sentences with which he brought out the fact, so often obscured in many minds, that the man far behind the lines here at home is playing as vital a part in the great struggle as is the man on the firing line itself. "Keenly as we were aware a year ago," he said, "of the enterprise of life and death on which we were embarked, we

did not perceive its meaning as clearly as we do now." And he adds:

We knew that we were all partners and must stand and strive together, but we did not realize, as we do now, that we are all enlisted men, members of a single army, of many parts and many tasks, but commanded by a single obligation, our faces set toward a single object. We now know that every tool in every essential industry is a weapon, and a weapon wielded for the same purpose that an army rifle is wielded—a weapon which if we were to lay down no rifle would be of any use.

The only direct appeal to the "laboring man," technically so called, is after an analysis, in a few admirably compact sentences, of the origin and impelling motives back of the war on the part of both our enemies and ourselves, when he says:

This is, therefore, the war of all wars, which labor should support and support with all its concentrated power. The world cannot be safe, men's lives cannot be secure, no man's rights can be confidently and successfully asserted against the rule and mastery of arbitrary groups and special interests so long as Governments like that which after long premeditation drew Austria and Germany into this war are permitted to control the destinies and the daily fortunes of men and nations, plotting while honest men work, laying the fires of which innocent men, women, and children are to be the fuel.

You know the nature of this war. It is a war which industry must sustain. The army of laborers at home is as important, as essential, as the army of fighting men in the far fields of actual battle. And the laborer is not only needed as much as the soldier. It is his war. The soldier is his champion and representative. To fail to win would be imperil everything that the laborer has striven for and held dear since freedom first had its dawn and its struggle for justice began. The soldiers at the front know this. It steels their muscles to think of it. They are crusaders. They are fighting for no selfish advantage for their own nation. They would despise any one who fought for the selfish advantage of any nation. They are giving their lives that homes everywhere as well as the homes they love in America may be kept sacred and safe, and men, everywhere be free as they insist upon being free. They are fighting for the ideals of their own land—great ideals, immortal ideals, ideals which shall light the way for all men to the places where justice is done and men live with lifted heads and emancipated spirits. That is the reason they fight with solemn joy and are invincible.

To say that this is fine is to woefully belittle it. It is vastly more than fine, a resonant summons and a summons clothed in language so deep and solemn in tone that it carries with it a conviction as profound as its stirring appeal is irresistible.

And it is not alone the men of America, in and out of the ranks, who will be moved to sterner resolution of purpose and action by this amazingly strong address. The men of England, of France, of Italy, of all the countries with which we are allied in this most righteous of all crusades will be roused by it to a new life and a new determination. Indeed, one might almost think that even the sodden, dumb-driven, morally inert masses of the Huns themselves, could it reach them, might be awakened to some dim conception of the tragically imbecile role they are playing in this great drama.

Mr. Wilson has done many splendid things in the way of appeal and interpretation of American purpose in this war, but never anything more splendid than that Labor Day message. A message to his fellow citizens, he calls it. It is much more than that. It is a message to all liberty-loving, civilized mankind.

His Majesty readily accepts the vow to co-operate for the maintenance of an unshakable confidence in God and in our just cause and does not doubt that after the heavy fight for life and freedom a prosperous peace will arise for the German people which, obeying the law of the hour, now is firmly united with its Princes and heroes at the front.—*William the Damned.*

"At the front," indeed! Edsel himself is not safer than the Princes and the royal "heroes."

One Perfect Day's End

A BETTER day's work was never done than that of Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis when he laid about as heavy penalties as the law provides on Big Bill Haywood and his rapscaillon gang of I Won't Workers in that Chicago court last Thursday. To both judge and jury who tried this remarkable case the country owes a debt of gratitude. On the jurymen all efforts to confuse the issue and inject irrelevant "free speech" and sentimental cant were lost. They stuck strictly to the text. The evidence against the accused, collectively and individually, was complete. In the face of that evidence there was but one thing the jury could do, and that was precisely the thing it did do. In just sixty-five minutes it found Haywood and all his followers guilty on the four principal counts in the indictment. Quick work, and as good as it was quick. It even took the judge nearly double that time to individually impose upon all the 95 culprits the punishments that fitted the crime. And the sentences Judge Landis passed in every case will be as heartily approved by the country as was the swift, unerring action of the jury.

Haywood, the "uncrowned king" of the Won't Work realm, and fourteen of his chief aids and grand viziers got 20 years' imprisonment in the Leavenworth penitentiary, where the slogan is not "I Won't Work" but is very emphatically "You *Will* Work." It will be a novel experience to Big Bill and the ornamental nobles and statesmen of his court to be introduced to actual toil, but they will not be able to dodge the ceremony, however embarrassing and annoying it may be to them. A stretch of twenty years' hard work in a penitentiary ahead is a sizeable subject for serious meditation, especially when the court in each case imposes a \$20,000 fine, as did Judge Landis, by way, presumably, of initiation fee and dues to this Leavenworth You Will Work Union. From this high level, the penalties inflicted tapered down to ten years, in 33 cases, five years in 33 more, and so on all the way, in two instances, to a mere ten days in jail, and all with appropriately heavy fines.

A splendid result. It breaks the back of as pestiferous a band of organized murderers and incendiaries as has afflicted this country since the more restricted, but entirely similar, activities of the Mollie Maguires of Pennsylvania. But, as between the two, the Mollies were in every way the least dangerous. Their jurisdiction of assassination and arson was localized. It was confined to a comparatively small district in a single State. Its objectives were merely parochial in scope. It was not in revolt against the Government of the United States any more than any other mere criminal is in such revolt.

The Haywood organization's criminal ambitions, on the other hand, were far wider and far more dangerous. They embraced treason to the Government and a general warfare of dynamite, torch, bludgeon and the assassin's knife and pistol on society as organized. It openly declared war on all employers, it expelled all members who entered the Government's military service, and, by concerted strikes and open rebellion, it endeavored to block all war measures now so vital to the country's very existence. These things it did, and many more. It burned standing crops, it fired factories and storehouses, it wrecked trains and bombed right and left until

it had certain parts of the country literally terrorized and cowed.

And now all that is gone and gone forever. Leaden-footed justice caught up with the crew at last and heavily indeed has its hand fallen upon them. They have found out finally that there is a God in Israel, a discovery on which Mr. Haywood and his followers will have abundant leisure, in the ordered respites from hard labor, to meditate. And thus we have the end of at least one perfect day in a court.

What a trial Jimham must be to the President. "I was sent here to" etc., etc., he began his speech in London, implying a mysterious secret mission, when in point of fact, as Senator Thomas bluntly declared, "the assumption that the Senator from Illinois is the alleged representative of the American Government is gratuitous and unauthorized." But it may be that the Colorado statesman is not familiar with the nuances of Illinois.

Efficiency or Fads?

IS our Pacifist-Socialist Secretary of War striving for efficiency in war industries, or for the imposition of Socialist fads upon the country? The question has arisen hitherto, more than once. It rises again with compelling force over the case of the War Department (through its War Labor Board) against the Smith and Wesson Company of Springfield, Mass.

The facts, as stated without contradiction, are as follows:

The company in question, one of the foremost private manufacturers of arms in America, now engaged in making revolvers for the Government, has for many years conducted its plant on the non-union basis. Its 1,400 employes have voluntarily made individual contracts with it, stipulating among other things that they would not join a labor union without giving the company a week's notice of their intention. Under this arrangement the establishment has been "singularly free" from labor troubles, it has attained and maintained a high degree of efficiency, and a gratifying degree of satisfaction has prevailed among its employes.

Recently, however, eight of the employes violated their contracts by joining unions without giving notice, and were consequently discharged. All the other employes appear to have acquiesced in this action, so that there was no danger of a general strike which would delay fulfilment of the company's contract with the Government. The discharged employes, however, made appeal to the War Department, and it directed the War Labor Board to look into the case. It did so, and in consequence "recommended"—there are times when a Government recommendation has the moral force of a command—the company to revolutionize the whole method of doing business under which it had long been highly successful; to abandon the non-union principle; to stop dealing with its men through individual contracts, and to substitute collective bargaining with them through committees; to reinstate all the dismissed employes with full back pay; and hereafter to substitute the decisions of examiners for executive control by the officers of the company. In brief, the company was asked to turn all its affairs topsy-turvy in a Socialist muddle, and then abdicate its authority.

Naturally, and most properly, the company declined to do anything of the sort, and announced that instead it would

turn over its whole establishment to the Government, for the latter to run as it pleased; the company promising, however, to give its own full coöperation so that there would be no failure of efficiency in completing the contracts for the Government.

We can conceive no possible ground of justification for this astounding action of the War Labor Board. We know of no legislation authorizing the Executive thus to require private business concerns to revolutionize their business methods. We cannot see that the War Labor Board, or the War Department, has any more right to prescribe collective instead of individual bargaining than it has to prescribe red ink instead of black on a firm's letter heads.

There might have been cause for intervention if there had been a general strike, endangering vital war work. But nothing of the sort had occurred. Nothing of the sort was threatened. There had been no impairment of efficiency. There was danger of none. There was no prospect nor promise of any increase of efficiency in the adoption of the Board's "recommendation." The only thing to be gained was the arbitrary imposition upon a great industry of some of those Socialist fads which seem to be so dear to the heart of the Pacifist Secretary of War. And the thing came with especially bad grace just at the very time when another decision of the same Board had provoked an extensive and costly strike of employes at Bridgeport, disturbing industry and interfering with enterprises of vital moment to the prosecution of the war.

The question therefore arises, pertinently and urgently: Is it the purpose of the Secretary of War to take advantage of war conditions and the extraordinary war powers of the Government to put into practice Socialistic fads of dubious merit? Is he intent on winning the war in Europe, or on promoting Socialism in America?

Would President Wilson go campaigning for the Liberty loan if an election was not impending?

Farms for the Soldiers

SECRETARY LANE'S plan for the reclamation of unused lands and their parcelling out among returned soldiers, when the war is over, can hardly fail to commend itself to the wisdom of Congress and to the hearty approval of the country. It is one of the ways in which we may give substantial form to the nation's gratitude to those men who are unflinchingly offering to lay down their lives in defense of everything here at home that is worth living for.

The days of our no-man's-land frontier are gone. Our no-man's-land, as it once existed when there were limitless acres of fine agricultural country open to every comer, has now become some-man's land. The best of it has been taken up. It has been transformed into homesteads and teeming farms. What little is still left of it is negligible.

But, beyond this great acreage of ready-to-use soil there is a vast domain which only needs a little scientific treatment to become equal to the best of that which is now occupied and yielding fine crops. Irrigation, drainage and clearing are all that is needed. There are 15,000,000 acres of arid land which, with water brought to it, may be transformed into orchards heavy with fruit, fields of waving grain, and gardens with all that gardens anywhere can produce. There are between 70,000,000 and 80,000,000 acres of what is now

swamp lands which only need drainage to become bountifully productive and the sites for thousands of prosperous homes. And, over and above all this great expanse of reclaimable soil, there are 200,000,000 acres of "cut over" or "logged off," once timber lands, now a tangle of brush and serried ranks of enormous, deep-rooted tree stumps. Once cleared of this litter, here alone are Uncle Sam farms enough to give the boys "over there" a pretty wide field from which to pick and choose when they come back home—a total reclaimed territory of from 285,000,000 to 295,000,000 acres, as a matter of fact, which, if the plans of the Secretary of the Interior are carried out, will be open to entry for our soldiers.

On just what terms these lands are to be thrown open to the taking of title is a matter which, of course, has not yet been worked out save in the broadest outline. All that can be predicated now is the general statement that the terms, whether in the form of a liberal long-time loan at low interest, with the land itself a first mortgage security, or in the nature of a nominal payment and continued occupancy, or any other methods suggested, will be terms liberal to the very limit of encouragement to reasonable industry and self-reliance. That thousands of returned soldiers, men of hardened muscles, of the concentration of purpose and disciplined energy which military training gives, will take advantage of such openings as these is a certainty. A home and a hundred or so acres of land of their own will hardly fail to be an alluring proposition to them.

And they alone will be by no means the only gainers. The entire country will gain and gain enormously. It takes very little imagination to form some notion of the vast increment to the wealth of the nation which would flow from the combined energies of these thousands of the very highest type of American manhood let loose on those millions of acres of now idle and waste lands.

It is Secretary Lane's plan that the work of reclaiming this vast area be begun and begun at once. The Appropriation Committee of the House of Representatives has recommended the appropriation of \$200,000 for the preliminary study of the task. Mr. Lane is asking for the appropriation of \$1,000,000 more for the same purpose, and the President has approved the recommendation. Sentiment in Congress seems to strongly favor the Secretary's plan and the chances for its ultimate adoption are excellent.

Colonel Harvey really ought to lay aside the editorial hammer for a month or so and come out in the Mississippi-Missouri valley basin where the real FARMING is done and find out what is going on. Middle western farmers are not farming more intensively, but on the contrary more extensively. Intensive agriculture means devoting much time, labor, machinery and fertilizer to a small piece of ground. And in the middle West the acreage has been increased while the draft has taken many workers. As a result each man is caring for more acres than ever before. It is an actual fact and explains the prospect for a bumper crop.—*Minneapolis News*.

Good news; the best; now don't disappoint us!

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"Lafayette! We Are Here!"

A MILLION and a half strong, American soldiers fighting for France upon the soil of France repeat the greeting to the immortal shade of the French soldier who seven score years ago was fighting for America upon American soil. "We are here!" They are there for the self-same purpose as that for which he came hither. Thank God, they have to-day an inspiring promise of winning the self-same victory.

That is, indeed, the gratefully dominant feature of this dual commemoration of Lafayette and of the Miracle of the Marne, that it comes at a time of progressive and increasing triumph. We should observe the anniversary in any circumstances; even for the sake of renewing hope in the darkest hour of disaster and distress. But it is supremely grateful to do so at a time when Frenchmen and Americans fighting side by side are winning daily victories for the cause in which Lafayette and Washington fought side by side, and when the Marne triumph of four years ago is being confirmed and extended on the red banks of other streams much further toward the Rhine and Spree.

It is well that this should be a time of national commemoration for America. The birthday of Lafayette is scarcely less an American anniversary than that of Washington himself. The value of his services to the infant Republic are beyond all estimate; and indeed it is upon those services that his fame is chiefly founded. Great as was his subsequent work for France, it was achieved largely because of what he had already done for America, and it takes second place by the side of his matchless knight-errantry in the dark days of our Revolution. The Marne, too, was scarcely less a victory for America than was Yorktown or Gettysburg. There is no fantasy, no exaggeration, in saying that had it not been for that repulse, our shores would probably by this time have been invaded by the Huns, and American States would have shared the fate of Belgium and Picardy.

One other feature of the time must not be overlooked. That is, that the great Power against which Lafayette and Washington contended is now aligned with their successors in common cause, so that the three "Yorktown nations" are to-day united for a single purpose and under a single command. That fact gives to our celebrations a peculiar zest and an exalted inspiration. The Briton, too, cries "Lafayette! We are here!" not as of old in enmity, but as friends, showing the world how surely great causes outweigh selfish feuds, and how in answer to the summons of humanity and civilization, to save them from the Beast, the ancient adversaries become the best allies.

It is for us to-day to see that we give ourselves to France as unreservedly as Lafayette gave himself to America, and that in our aggression upon the Somme, the Meuse, the Rhine, the Spree, we show the same victorious resolution that France and Britain showed in defence four years ago upon the Marne.

The Georgia primaries are to be held on September 10, and Editor Loyless of the *Augusta Chronicle* assures us that Hardwick will be beaten. We hope so. Hardwick may not be as offensive as Vardaman and Blease, but, as Mr. Loyless relentlessly declares, he "should be made to walk the political plank for defying the overwhelming sentiment of the people" for stern prosecution of the war. We repeat: Be

they Republicans or Democrats, down with *all* disloyalists!

More of George Harvey invective against Ford is being used than had hitherto permeated the docile State. It will be interesting to see what will be the effect of the Colonel's long-distance participation in the battle royal—for that is what it seems to be.—*Washington Herald of Aug. 24.*

Duly answered by loyal Michigan on August 27.

Stop Waste Rather Than Use

THE orders for the reduction of consumption of some prime articles of necessitous and universal use may be imperatively needed. We assume that they are, else they would not have been issued, and we shall, of course, loyally accept them and obey them. But we shall not, we trust, be accused of a grudging or unsympathetic attitude if we point out what should be an obvious fact, that these orders would have commanded much more cordial acquiescence if they had been preceded by more stringent and efficient action for the abatement of waste of those same articles.

Gasoline affords a striking case in point. The request not to run automobiles on Sundays save for absolute necessities is being generally complied with, despite the fact that it means great deprivation and actual hardship to a great number of people. If it were not thus complied with, it would have been followed by an order to the same effect which would have to be obeyed, under penalty. Yet it is calculated by authoritative experts that, without interfering with Sunday riding, a stoppage of outright and preventable waste and of quite needless use of cars would result in a saving of fifty per cent more than all our war needs of gasoline.

Thus it is estimated that more than 100,000 gallons of gasoline are used daily for washing, and 150,000 gallons more are consumed through the vicious practice of letting engines run idly, while the car is standing still, while more than 271,000 gallons daily are charged against leaky and ill adjusted engines. Here then we have considerably more than half a million gallons, or much more than half our war needs, lost through sheer but preventable waste. It seems to us that before putting a ban upon Sunday riding it would have been well to prohibit the use of gasoline for washing, to make it a penal offence to let engines run idle, and to require official inspection which would assure reasonably correct adjustment of carburetors. Such measures would have resulted in very important savings, and would have made people much more ready to comply with requests for further economy. But we should hate to express in cold type the probable thoughts of the man who is forbidden to take his family out riding on the only day when he could do so, and who sees on other days his neighbors wasting ten times as much gasoline as he would consume.

Again; we are all reconciled to economy in the use of print paper. Some even think that a still greater reduction of size of some newspapers would be a sweet boon. Yet it does rather grill an editor, we imagine, to be asked to reduce his space for real news, and to see the one and only *Congressional Record* pursue its profligate way unchecked. Granted that that unique publication ought to contain a verbatim report of everything that is said and done in Congress, there is still no justification for its containing so much that is not done there. Within the last few weeks members have filled many pages of it with local news and comment

on the results of the primary elections in their various districts. Such stuff has no business to be there at any time. At such a time as the present, for the Hon. Gulliver Skyfugle to fill half a dozen pages with eulogies of himself quoted from the pages of the Squedunk *Squeaker* apropos of his winning the primaries over the Hon. Simon Guyhooter, is little less than a crime.

We repeat: Restriction of even the most legitimate use of some things may be necessary. But it should not be resorted to first, but third. First, waste should be eliminated. Second, production should be increased to the utmost limit. And then, third, if necessary, use should be restricted. We shall agree to the last unhesitatingly when we are assured that the first two have been thoroughly done.

"The Day" To Be Ours

IN the reception New York gave to Pershing's 400 bronzed and scarred and valor-decorated veterans from the front the other day there was a little foretaste, just a slight hint, of what awaits the boys when, for good and all, their homeward feet shall find their way back to American soil once more. The war over, the war won, the world's atmosphere cleansed of the foul Hun stench, the reign of amenities and some degree of kindness of thought and deed among men restored once more; the hideous Hun era of lies and dirty treachery, of sneaking, skulking espionage in every home or factory or bank or mercantile house wherein a vile Hun reptile could crawl and lurk to bite the hand that fed him—all this gone, the world a cleaner, brighter, better world than it had been for half a century!

And the boys, Our Boys, Uncle Sam's Boys who had thrown the weight of their millions of man-power and the irresistible might of their splendid, light-hearted, laughing, dauntless courage into the winning of all this—these boys back again, swinging along in snappy rhythmic step to the stirring music of their bands and under the myriad flutterings of that flag they had borne so triumphantly aloft in all the glare and roar of that battle-front hell over there! When all this happens, and it is going to happen, what will the plain American people who see it all, who line the sidewalks, swarm on the roofs, festoon the lamp-posts and load down the more staid acres of "reviewing stand" benches—what will they be doing, these American folks welcoming their beloved ones home again?

Well, we got just a suggestion, a mere distant intimation, of what they will be doing, when we saw what those New York crowds did who swooped down upon and all but submerged those 400 Pershingites last week. Ah, that will be a great day, that day of welcome to Our Boys when the war is won; a day to look forward to, a day to pray that one may live to see, a day to be a proud reminiscence for the little shavers who will see it to tell about in their old age, and to swell out their chests over having been an eye-witness to.

And where will the slackers be on that day—the Edsels and the puling pacifists, the Bayard Hale Hun propagandists and the men for whom patriotism means scoundrelism and for whom the American flag means no more than the flag of Timbuctoo, a rag to be hung out under semi-constraint and pending work on war contracts, but to be hauled down and trailed in the dust the moment the coercive emergency is past

—where will they of that ilk and tainted breed be on that splendid, brilliant day? Will there be any cellar, any well, any remotest, black, unexplored depth of the Mammoth Cave itself deep enough and Cimmerian dark enough to hide their shame-crowned heads?

Our Army's Moral Effect

PROPORTIONATELY to the aggregate forces hurled against the Hun by General Foch's masterly strategy, the number of American troops actually engaged was small. It ran well into the hundreds of thousands, no doubt, but what are a few hundred thousands in an army of millions?

But the aid we gave, and are increasingly giving, is not confined to mere fighting by any means. On the strength of statements of French officers, Charles H. Grasty, the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, is able to tell us that the moral effect of our men's presence and of their alert, intelligent, well-trained appearance had an enormously inspiring effect upon the officers and men of the French army. It was, indeed, this confidence evoked at French Headquarters by General Pershing himself, his own supreme confidence in the men under him, and the personal and closely critical French study of our army's make-up and morale which had no little to do with determining General Foch to develop the brilliant, swift offensive which has achieved, and is still achieving, such superb results. General Pershing, say the French officers, put the full force of his own strong, determined personality behind his sure knowledge of his men. His confidence so impressed French Headquarters that it entirely removed whatever lingering doubt their limited experience and training at the front may have remained in the French higher command as to our men's entire reliability under the terrible ordeals to which necessarily they would be subjected.

And in every instance they have vindicated, and are still more and more vindicating, General Pershing's full and absolute confidence in them as well as the soundness of the Commander-in-Chief's judgment in accepting General Pershing's faith, as well as the confirmatory views of the war-tried veteran officers of the French Marshal's staff. The presence of our comparatively small army has injected a new spirit and a renewed confidence in complete victory. It has been an inestimable morale tonic.

And another thing that is extremely satisfactory to know is that the bearing and general conduct of our officers and men abroad are being commented upon in terms of all but enthusiastic eulogy. Our Yankee boys over there are not merely behaving themselves as self-respecting American men and soldiers should behave; they are conducting themselves like gentlemen as well as like the brave soldiers they are. Their courteous, light-hearted kindness and the friendly frankness of their intercourse with civilians as well as with their comrades in arms, are winning them affection for them as men as much as their splendid fighting courage is winning them respect.

It has no doubt caused something of a wrench for our French and English friends to give up the time-honored article of faith that the American is a swaggering, boasting blow-hard. But our boys have even demolished that venerable dogma and not left it a leg to stand on. If there is one compliment that comes to them more than another it is on the extreme modesty of their speech and attitude relative to

their surroundings, their achievements, and their equipment for the task before them.

Nothing to worry about concerning our boys "over there." They are doing themselves and their country proud every day of their lives, both as men and as soldiers, in the unflinching bravery with which they are ready to go to their deaths for the honor of the flag and the safety of that dear old land at home they love so well.

From Private J. Y. Simpson, Jr., 82nd Company of the United States Marines:

MY DEAR FATHER:

I just wanted to write you a letter on your birthday. I don't know when I will be able to mail it, but will take a chance anyway.

I want to thank you as your son. You have always been to me the best father that a man could wish. I want to thank you for the gift of a clean, strong and vigorous body that can serve America in her need. Most of all I want to thank you for the long years of self-denial that made my education possible, for the guidance and teaching that kept me straight through the days of my youth, for the counsel ever freely given when asked and for all the noble things in your example.

I surely hope that you will celebrate many more birthdays and that I will be home for the next one. Also may the coming years bring to you wider fields of service and honor, strength to perform your work and in the end peace, contentment and quiet rest.

Your son, a soldier of the United States, salutes you, with love and devotion.

JIMMY.

A week later Private Simpson was killed in action, but none, to our mind, has left a finer legacy than this.

Edsel's soliloquy.—

I love my country, yes I do.
I hope her folks do well.
Without their arms and legs and things
I think we'd look like hell.

Young men with faces half shot off,
Are unfit to be kissed,
I've read in books it spoils their looks,
I guess I'll not enlist.

Teach War Lessons in the Schools

THE beginning of a new school year brings with it suggestions of the desirability of utilizing in public instruction the lessons of the war. By that we do not now mean military drill. That will come in time. It has already been adopted in many of the best colleges and private high schools throughout the land—incidentally, we strongly recommend our readers to patronize such institutions in preference to any others—and we cannot doubt that it will eventually extend throughout the public school systems of all the States. But there is something else of even greater importance, which should be universally attended to at once. That is, the teaching of all children above the very youngest grades the meaning of this war, the purposes with which Germany began it, the manner in which it has been conducted, and the objects for which the Allies are prosecuting it to a victorious close.

We understand that little preparation for doing this has been made. In individual schools, or by individual teachers, it doubtless will be done. But that is not enough. It should be done universally, and it should be done uniformly. The educational authorities of the various States should get together—they should have done so long ago—and prepare a syllabus for general use, containing a course of instruction concerning the war suited to each grade, and the use of it should be made as compulsory in all schools as is the teaching of arithmetic.

This has not been done. In the State of New York, we

are told, the syllabus of instruction in citizenship and cognate subjects is substantially identical with that in use before the war. Neither in civics nor in history nor elsewhere is the war so much as mentioned. Much is to be taught about the greatness of the American merchant marine before the Civil War and its decline during and since that struggle, but apparently not a word about the phenomenal expansion of it which is now taking place. There is enough about our alliance with France in the Revolution, and about our two wars with England, but nothing about our present practical alliance with both those countries against a common foe.

Now it may be that all these things are to be left to the discretion of the teachers. If so, that is a great mistake, for there will thus be no uniformity of teaching and there will be countless errors made. It will not do to say that it is yet too early to teach the lessons of the war. The essential facts are as well established now as they ever can be, as indisputably as those of the Revolution or the Civil War.

Every child in every American school should be taught, right along with the Three R's, that Germany deliberately provoked this war, as the culmination of forty years of preparation, with the purpose of establishing her dominance over the whole world; that in doing so she manufactured official falsehoods wholesale, filled friendly lands with criminal propaganda, and regarded the most solemn treaties and the whole code of international law as "scraps of paper"; that she has waged the war with a savage inhumanity rivalling the infamies of Nero, Attila and Timur Leng; and that the humanely civilized nations of the entire world have been compelled to band themselves together against her, in order that liberty, humanity and justice may not perish from the earth.

These are facts which should be taught to every child in the land. It would be a mockery to teach of the sacking of Magdeburg and not of the destruction of Louvain; to tell of the horrors of the Reign of Terror and not of the Rape of Belgium. These things should be taught if for nothing but a purely academic reason, that the children's education may be complete and up to date. But there is a vastly more important reason. Children now in grammar schools will be men and women, voters and engaged in business, before all the issues of this war are finally settled. We want them to know what it is all about, so that they will know how to vote and how to act a few years hence. Germany, as we know, has for years been systematically teaching her children falsehoods about herself and about other nations. It is time for America to teach her children the truth, and at least equally with all else, the truth about the war.

The school year has begun; but it is not too late to supply this supreme desideratum, this imperative patriotic need.

Col. George Harvey favors placing between a blank wall and a firing squad those who say that now is the time, when we have the Hun on the run, to think of coming to an honorable peace with the Germans. Colonel Harvey has a habit of getting on the unpopular side of most questions occupying the public mind, but this time he will have all Americans with him. No peace with the Hun until he is utterly crushed.—*Albany Argus*.

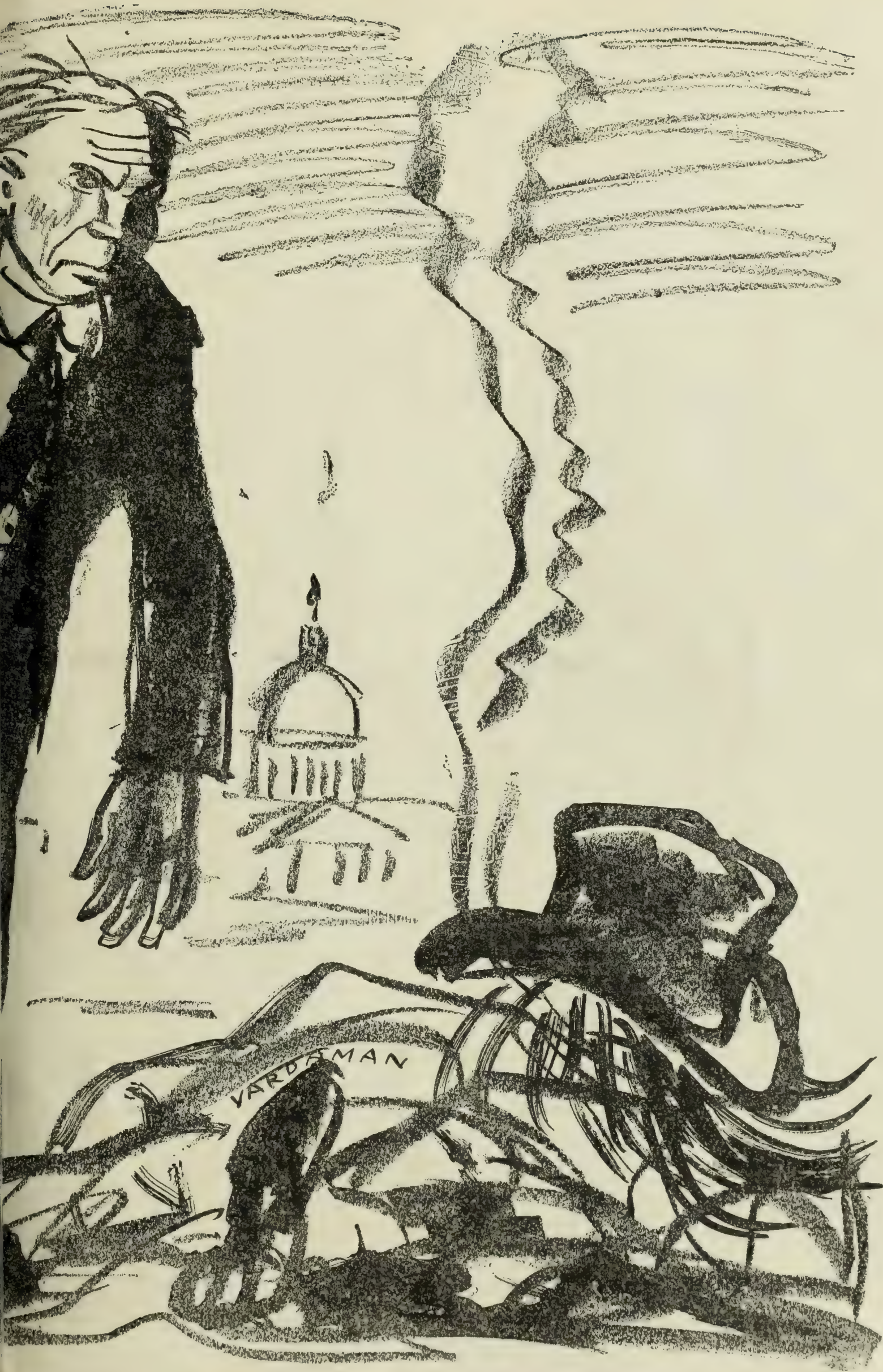
Mr. John D. Ryan said in Oregon:

I am going back with the conviction that the Northwest is doing its part. I can now turn to aircraft matter not so well in hand.

Very good; heaven knows it is high time. But remember, sir, that all you have achieved as yet is opportunity, and eagle eyes rest upon you.



Edsel (exempt)—“Father, dear Father



Come Home with me Now!"

The Week

WASHINGTON, September 5, 1918.

THE glorious campaign continues. We cannot call it a drive. It has none of the characteristics of such a movement, which plunges forward precipitately for a few days, thrusting a deep salient into the enemy's lines, and then comes to a halt. This has been and is a forward movement on a vastly longer front than any drive could have; and it has been marked with no phenomenal gains at any one point or on any one day, and with no coming to a dead halt. But day after day, week after week, now here and now there and so at all parts of the truly "far-flung battle-line," the Allies have made irresistible progress; of which the end is not yet.

This, we need scarcely say, is the best kind of progress; for a number of reasons. It is costing us less, in men, and is costing the enemy more, in men and guns and munitions, than any mere drive would cost. It is exposing us immeasurably less to the danger of a counter attack and loss of what we have gained. It was one of the great tragedies of the war that Byng's magnificent drive, to the precincts of Cambrai, failed of support and was presently hurled back with heartbreaking losses. We have little fear of any such sequel to the present Allied advance.

But perhaps the finest feature of it all, and the most significant, is this: That it demonstrates the superior power of the Allies in sustained attack. For weeks we have retained and exercised the initiative. At no point have the Germans been able to wrest it from us. We have not relied upon surprise, as on some former occasions. The Germans have had ample warning, a standing notice, of our aggressive intentions, and they have not been able to concentrate defensive strength sufficient to withstand us. Whether that chiefly means our superiority in numbers, or in morale, we shall not undertake to say. It may mean both. We fervently hope that it does. In either case it is highly significant and unspeakably gratifying.

The critical moment is now at hand. The Allies have reached and at points crossed the famous "Hindenburg Line." That was supposed to be the line at which the retreating Germans would make a stand, and at which there was some probability of the Allies being halted. Now we are quickly to see what the Germans are going to do about it. That their grand stand will be at the Hindenburg Line is now out of the question. They have already lost too much of that line. But have they prepared another and supposedly stronger line back of it? There have been rumors to that effect; and estimates, too, made by thoughtful military experts. There has, of course, been time, since the retreat of their fighting line began, for them to construct a most elaborate system of trenches, wire entanglements and other fortifications. They could command for it the forced labor of scores of thousands of Belgians whom they have expatriated and enslaved, and prisoners whom they have taken from the Allied armies.

If they have done this, we must expect our advancing forces to reach the place very soon. They may do so any hour. And then there may be a radical change in the plan of campaign. We all remember what happened four years ago. Beaten at the Marne, the Germans retreated to the Aisne, where, meanwhile, trench fortifications had been prepared which enabled them to hold their ground and to stop the

Allied advance. That may happen again, at any point between the Hindenburg Line and the frontier. If it does, the question will be, how long and what means it will take for the Allies to drive the Germans out of those trenches. In that work, airplanes in great numbers will be of the greatest possible service. Had the Allies had a sufficient air fleet, the Germans would have been driven from the Aisne, four years ago. The bitter reflection is that we can make no contribution of airplanes to the needed fleet.

But if the Germans do not make such a stand, in such fortifications, but continue operations in the open field, there will be ground for expecting our advance to continue without interruption, though perhaps at a less rapid rate. That will be a practical confession of German weakness, of inability to "dig themselves in." For we know that they prefer trench fighting to war in the open. Except when attacking an immeasurably inferior force, or a force destitute of arms and munitions, they have invariably been beaten in open warfare. If they form no fortified line, therefore, they must expect to be driven remorselessly and irresistibly back to their own frontier, or perhaps to the Rhine. Any moment may, and the near future must, disclose which of these courses is to be pursued. In either case, the proper procedure of the Allies is unmistakable. It is, to put on more speed and more power, more men, more guns, more airplanes. "Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit"; no matter on which side of the Rhine we are.

The Austrian Emperor has been hobnobbing with his fellow-sovereigns of Bavaria, Wuerttemberg and Saxony. What a Grand Lodge of Sorrow they must hold among themselves, over their ever having delivered themselves as puppets into the hands of the Hohenzollerns! It is by no means impossible that they will take counsel together over plans for separating South Germany from Prussia, after the war; perhaps with a hope of thus escaping some of the long-lasting penalties which will fall upon the latter. Such plans would be as natural as they would be futile. They have all permitted themselves to be tarred with the same Prussian stick, and will have to take the consequences.

KING OF BULGARIA SUDDENLY WORSE.—*Newspaper headline.*

That's good!

The fate of Miss Rankin at the Montana primaries seems to indicate that in that State patriotism is at least a huckleberry and a half ahead of chivalry. Doubtless it wrung the hearts of the gallant Republicans of the Mountain State to reject so charming a candidate. But really, one has to draw a line somewhere; and it did seem necessary to draw it so as to exclude the lady who, having voted against the prosecution of the war, with exquisite consistency proclaimed her readiness hereafter to vote "as heretofore" for the more effective prosecution of the war.

Mortality at the primaries among pacifists, Bolsheviki and their kind has been gratifyingly heavy. The father of Edsel Ford, however, is still in the race, yodelling his war cry of "Down with the Flag!" The Republican party, to which he pretends to belong by virtue of having once voted for a Republican Presidential candidate four years after his elec-

tion, of course repudiated him overwhelmingly. But he played the "Good Lord! Good Devil!" game so shrewdly as to get the Democratic nomination; in which result the Democratic party of Michigan disgraced itself beyond redemption in this generation. As the Democratic party in Michigan does not count, anyway, for much more than the proverbial bear without claws in Hades, Edsel's father will doubtless be beaten out of sight in November. If he isn't, the Republicans there will be worse, if possible, than the Democrats. But we respectfully submit the inquiry, how much longer the President means to endure the imputation, so impudently put forward by the candidate himself, that he is the patron and backer of Edsel's father in his scandalous campaign. The President must regard him with detestation. But why not say so, as in the cases of Vardaman and Blease? Neither of them is half as odious as the father of Edsel Ford.

Is Jimham trying to be the understudy of Colonel House?

Victories for the Allies—including the Czecho-Slovaks, who are now "one of us"—continue in Siberia and in various parts of Russia, abundantly vindicating the wisdom of intervention. It is especially gratifying to see the circumspection with which this delicate, difficult and immensely important movement is being conducted. Thus it was most commendable to frown upon and suppress the attempted dictatorship of General Horvath. We may give that intrepid Yugoslav commander credit for valor and loyalty to the anti-German cause; but in seeking to make himself dictator he showed lamentably poor judgment. Not a dictatorship but a constitutional government is what is needed in Russia and in Siberia. It is therefore also most commendable that the intervening Allies are giving all possible recognition and encouragement to the Constituent Convention. That body is still in legal existence, despite the Bolsheviki efforts to destroy it, and it is the one lawful governmental body in Russia to-day. If we can succeed in restoring it to integrity and efficiency, we shall have gone far toward solving the Russian problem.

We may not, probably, expostulate with Mr. Burleson himself without some sacrifice of delicacy; but we may perhaps be permitted to use the freemasonry of fellow-journalists in suggesting to Colonel Harvey that his enthusiasm has a halo of gravity about it that in a time of less general constraint it might not have.—*The Nation*.

Burleson has a hello, not a halo.

Discussing the battle in the Aisne-Marne sector, Mr. Baker warned against over optimism.

"We are only beginning," he said.
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—*Washington Post*.

Quite so! A more lucid portrayal of the actual situation could not be desired. And how characteristic of Mr. Baker!

Meyer London does not approve the sentiment, "My country, right or wrong." Neither, if we remember aright, did John Quincy Adams approve it, in its baldest application. But we feel quite confident that Adams would not have joined nor sympathized with a foreign country against his own even if he did regard the latter as in the wrong. And we know that he would not have regarded his own country as in the wrong when in fact it was in the right. It would be interesting to see how far a parallel could be drawn between Mr. London and Mr. Adams.

The panic-stricken Huns in the Rhineland towns and cities are wildly clamoring for their government to seek an agreement with the Allies to forbid airplane raids. Does anybody recall any protest from these creatures against the German bombing of residence towns, schools and hospitals in England? How much more terrible it is to bombard a Prussian armory than an English hospital!

The Cologne *Volkszeitung*, speaking of the war and its bloodshed and devastation, sapiently observes that "Much as we detest it as human beings and as Christians, yet we exult in it as Germans." Of course, they are Germans first, and human beings afterward as a secondary and subordinate condition. Also, bloodshed and devastation are characteristics of the German nature. Such is the Huns' own testimony of themselves.

The "Work or Fight" provision was dropped from the Man Power bill, we are told, because the end at which it aimed can be attained just as well by Executive action under already existing legislation. That may be. And we are quite in accord with the principle that the statute books should not be cumbered with two laws where one will serve the purpose. But it is always desirable to be sure that the one will serve. It is also often highly desirable to have a definite mandate from the law-making authority, instead of somewhat vaguely leaving a matter of importance to the discretion of the President. It is for the President to execute laws, not to make them; and the less he is burdened with the responsibility of deciding whether or not a law is to be enforced, the better. As we remember it, he has hitherto on some occasions asked for specific legislation in order to be relieved of precisely such discretion as is now being imposed upon him.

When a crowd of pacifist propagandists organize a bureau for giving legal advice and assistance to drafted men, it is dollars to doughnuts that its chief activities will be in the direction of defending slackers and helping them to evade their proper obligations. The government itself makes ample provision for giving men all the legitimate information and "advice" that can be needed in filling out questionnaires and securing just classification. Any effort to supersede or to supplement this official service with officious private service is open to grave suspicion and should be subject to the searching scrutiny which the Department of Justice is giving it.

Recruiting has started in earnest in Ireland, and is superseding politics in popular interest. Really, you can't keep Irishmen from fighting when there's anything worth fighting for.

The orders of the Director-General, for all railroad officials and employes to keep entirely out of politics, are certainly drastic to a degree. We have no doubt of the desirability of at least most of them, and of course none whatever of Mr. McAdoo's entire sincerity in promulgating them. But we cannot help wondering what would be the effect of the issuing and enforcing of such orders in some other departments of government. The Department of the Politicalmaster-General, for example.

The artistic appearance of Berlin will certainly be much improved by sending to the melting pot the effigies of Hohenzollerns which have hitherto been publicly displayed there.

Which reminds us. The statue of one of the most notorious of that criminal line was recently retired from exhibition in Washington. We don't know exactly what has become of it; but it might be a graceful thing to send it to the melting pot, too, for transformation into pleasant souvenirs which our aviators might deliver to various German cities along the Rhine. Or perhaps it would be best to reserve the bombs made from it for delivery in Berlin itself.

While automobilists are being asked to use as little gasoline as possible, and are most loyally complying with the request, it should not be forgotten that it is at the instance of the Government itself that automobile traffic and consequent consumption of gasoline has this year so greatly increased. The request of the Director-General for people to use railroad trains as little as possible, and the very marked reduction in railroad facilities for traveling, unquestionably caused many people to use motor cars instead. It has been estimated by good authority that highway travel in automobiles has thus been increased fifty per cent.

The Secretary of War has certainly done well in ordering that pacifist and pro-German books, of a seditious character, be at once removed from army libraries, and destroyed or interned. The imperative need of such action, seeing that the books are there is a matter of course. But we hope that he will not stop there. It ought to be possible to find out who was responsible for the acceptance of such stuff and for placing it on the shelves of camp and cantonment libraries. We can imagine German spies and propagandists sending in seditious and lying volumes. But who is there in authority who accepted for our soldiers books by George Sylvester Viereck, Hugo, Muensterberg, Scott Nearing, Frank Harris, and others of that kidney? We have little fear that many would be corrupted by them, but we have a constitutional objection to insulting men who wear Uncle Sam's uniform. Moreover, if it has been possible to get such stuff into the camps, it is obvious that a pernicious and dangerous German propaganda is still somehow evading the activities of the Department of Justice.

There seems to be no limit to Hunnish effrontery. Hindenburg says that "on the fields of France and Flanders the German Army is defending the sacred ground of the Fatherland." Is German soil any more sacred than that of France or Flanders, that it was necessary to "defend" it by invading other lands? We have never before heard a burglar pretend that he was protecting his own home by looting the homes of others. Hertling, too, to show that civilians are not behind soldiers in cynicism and falsehood, says that if Germany does not win, European culture will sink into the misery of barbarism. We suppose that it was to protect culture from thus sinking into barbarism that Edith Cavell was butchered, the *Lusitania* was sunk, and Louvain was destroyed. If the Roman augurs could not look at each other without grinning, Hunnish soldiers and statesmen ought not to be able to see each other without fits of apoplexy.

The arraignment of the Federal Trade Commission which has just been made by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is entirely too severe, too specific, and too authoritative, to be ignored or to be passed over without some

very strong assurance of satisfaction to the public. It is declared that the Commission has exceeded its jurisdiction to the detriment of its proper usefulness, has departed from the purpose for which it was created, has abused its powers of publicity, and has subverted common justice. These are grave charges. They are either true or untrue. In either case, somebody should be made to suffer.

So far as the Trade Commission is concerned, we believe that it has attacked some important industries or businesses with such phrases as "barefaced fraud," "monopolistic control," "manipulation of the markets by illegal devices," and the like. Yet so far as we know, nothing has come of these hard words. Nobody has been prosecuted for "barefaced fraud," and the Government has not shown any ability to break "monopolistic control" or to interfere with illegal devices. We should hate to conclude that the chief functions of the Federal Trade Commission were to call hard names and then plead the baby act.

1920

From the *Chicago Record-Examiner*:

Colonel Harvey, as the world knows, has all the witches in Macbeth "faded" when it comes to predicting what is going to happen at elections.

He, and nobody else, picked, selected and announced Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States.

Colonel Harvey is able to pick. He reads the future like a timetable. Had it not been for California, Hiram Johnson, and one or two other little things, he would have been right about Hughes.

We ask Harvey to get out his Hecatic sphere, read it carefully, and tell us who is to be WHO, in politics.

Our own judgment is that so far as the White House is concerned, a civilian will continue to be the inhabitant after 1920.

The days of Dewey and Grant seem to be gone—although if some young man, now unknown, should come back, bringing the Kaiser's sword with him, he might be a factor.

Woodrow Wilson is certainly doing all that he can to build up, unselfishly, as regards himself or his friends, the soldiers that are doing their best in Europe.

He appoints a special PERSHING Week for the buying of War Stamps—not a Woodrow Wilson Week.

This writer believes that it will be extremely difficult for Woodrow Wilson to keep out of a third term—which he doesn't want—and quite impossible for any military hero, ex-military hero, or present-day critic to convince the people not to take for President the man who started the war at the right time and finished it up at the right time.

If anybody asks the nature of Colonel Harvey's Hecatic sphere, let him read the sayings of Zoroaster and the history of the Chaldeans.

The Hecatic sphere is a rare thing—Colonel Harvey possesses the only one in the United States and sleeps with it under his mattress. He inherited it from Chaldean ancestors that settled at Peacham, Vermont. The Hecatic sphere is made of solid gold, with a sapphire buried in the center. It is curiously engraved in Chaldean characters. And the seer who studies it turns it slowly with a thong made of ox-hide. Harvey has worn out several thongs.

When you realize that the ordinary seer studies a crystal ball that he can get at a five or ten cent store or from a chandelier, you can see what an advantage George Harvey has had with his Chaldean relic.

He is reading it every day, and putting what he sees in his Washington WAR WEEKLY.

Soon, no doubt, he will answer the question about the 1920 man in uniform in the White House, for he knows. Will the people demand a hero from the front?

Will candidates be expected to open their khaki coats saying, "Here are my wounds, all in front except those that went all the way through. Count 'em."

The Romans electioneered in that way.

No hectic or hecatic sphere is needed to show that, if a national election were to be held in November, the contenders would be Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt. We cannot say as of 1920. Our Chaldean globe is in safe deposit and the time lock is set for the springtime of that politically fateful year.

Revenue, Loan, Conscription

THE greatest three things of their kind that the world has ever seen come before the American public together in this month of September. They are the largest revenue bill, the largest popular loan, and the largest registration for an army draft. They are presented to the country which of all that have ever existed is best able to meet them. And this country will meet them. Almost incomprehensibly great as are the burdens thus to be laid upon it, the nation realizes the necessity of them, for the sake of its own existence and the security of democracy and humanity throughout the world, and it will bear them ungrudgingly and even cheerfully. All that it demands—and this it has the best of rights to demand—is that they shall be laid upon it with all possible equity and discretion.

This demand applies chiefly if not solely to the first-mentioned of the three. The others, in their very nature, comply with the requirement to a satisfactory degree. But with the levying of a compulsory tax the case is far otherwise. Since this is the largest taxing bill, in amount of revenue sought, that the world has ever known, it should if possible be drawn in the broadest, most far-seeing and most statesmanlike spirit; and to that end it should receive the most careful consideration and be subjected to the most searching scrutiny and to the fullest and most fearless criticism, constructive or destructive as the circumstances may demand.

It is axiomatic that a vast sum of money must be raised, for the prosecution of the war. The nation is willing to provide that sum; that will not be for a moment questioned. True, we have just been officially informed that hundreds of millions which the nation provided a year ago for one of the most urgent needs of the war have been "practically wasted," with a strong suspicion that they have largely been worse than wasted. Yet the nation is willing and ready to provide billions more. But it asks that the deed be done on the basis of sound principles, and not for the promotion of fads.

Some of the money must come from loans, and some from taxation. That, too, is axiomatic. What proportion should on a basis of moral responsibility to the future come from the one source and what from the other, we need not discuss. It cannot be determined. That division must therefore be determined upon the basis of present and practical expediency. There are two fundamental rules which must prevail. The loans must not be so great as to exceed the coming ability of the nation for interest service and amortization. That is one rule, which we must heed if we are not to bankrupt the future. The taxes must not be so great or so placed as to cripple industry, impair prosperity and reduce the revenue-producing power of the nation. That is the other rule, which we must obey if we are not to bankrupt the present.

Let us grant, as we are not unwilling to do, that in the present case there has been a judicious division between loans and taxes, and that the revenue needed above the proposed Fourth Liberty Loan can be provided by taxation. Then two questions arise. One is, how much such revenue is really needed; and the other, how the burden of taxation should be distributed. Let us glance at the latter first. It is agreed that a tax on luxuries is eminently proper. But we must discriminate in defining luxuries. We could not say, for example,

that all jewelry came under that head. A diamond tiara or a pearl necklace? Yes. But the workingman's ten or twenty dollar watch? No. So with automobiles. The costly limousine, used for pleasure or indulgence, is a luxury; but not so the simpler car used as a vehicle of business. We shall hope to see such discretion applied throughout the bill.

Again, there is the proposal to levy a tax upon excess profits, or "profiteering," which meets with instant and widespread approval. We are quite content that, if exorbitant profits inevitably accrue, they should be heavily taxed. But we submit as worthy of thoughtful consideration the questions whether they are inevitable, and whether, if they are not inevitable, it is sound policy to permit them to be made even for the sake of deriving a large revenue from them. We raise these questions because the country has accepted as a war measure Government control of prices; and because the control of prices predicates the power to prevent exorbitant profits. That it is of doubtful advantage to permit excessive profits even under a heavy tax should be obvious. Let us suppose that a certain article can be produced for \$100 at a fair profit; that the producer raises the price arbitrarily to \$200, thus deriving \$100 of "excess profits", and that the Government imposes, as in the present bill, a tax of 80 per cent upon such "excess profits." Now if the Government itself is the purchaser, as it is of a very large share of things on which excess profits are made, it will be paying \$200 minus \$80 which it takes back as tax, or \$120, for the article. But if it prohibited the raising of the price, it would get the same article for \$100.

We must believe, then, that it would be sound policy for the Government to exercise, of course with due discretion, the extraordinary powers with which it has been invested for the control of prices in such a way as to prevent any considerable "excess profits," which of course would mean to prevent extortionate advances in prices. That would in a great degree lessen its own expenses, and lessen the amount which it needs to raise. It would also restrain the evil of inflation, which we cannot help regarding as one of the greatest now menacing our domestic economy. In whichever direction the law of cause and effect may operate, there is a close and inseparable relation between inflation of the currency and high prices. To-day the per capita volume of the circulating medium—by which of course we mean not merely gold and script convertible into gold, but also commercial credits—is so enormously expanded as to be suffering inflation to an ominous degree. Those who remember the evils which were entailed upon us by a like cause just after the Civil War must regard with grave disquiet the growing tendency toward still worse conditions during the present war.

We have referred to the coincidence of this tax bill and the call for another Liberty Loan. Surely the Congressional financiers in charge of the former will not be blind to its very direct and material influence upon the latter. It is said, with substantial accuracy, that every person in the land will be affected by the revenue bill. That means, of course, every potential subscriber to Liberty bonds. Every citizen, as a matter of prudence not incompatible with patriotism, will want to know, before he subscribes for a bond, how his income is going to be affected by the new taxes. It is thus because of our earnest desire to see the fourth loan the greatest possible success, both in the amount subscribed and in the number of subscribers, that we hope that the revenue bill will be made

to conform with the soundest fiscal and economic principles and be unmarred by even a suspicion of the doctrinaire fads to which some of its framers have shown themselves to be too much inclined.

The case of the Butte *Weekly Bulletin* brings to light a tendency on the part of the Government that may possibly become dangerous. This paper desired to develop itself into a daily, presumably in response to local demands. But the War Industries Board flatly told the projectors that they must not proceed with their plans without the consent of that board, and the Montana Council of Defence took upon itself to issue an order "prohibiting the establishment of any new papers" in the State during the war.—*Evening Sun*.

There is no authority in the statutes for any such action. If we were the *Weekly Bulletin*, we should proceed to carry out our plans and tell both the War Industries Board and the Montana Council to go to blazes.

The total number of British soldiers who have been killed in action or have died from wounds is between 900,000 and 1,000,000.

Union of Labor for Victory

WE may hope that there was some auspicious significance in the absence of Mr. Samuel Gompers from this year's Labor Day celebration. Or perhaps we should say not so much in his absence here as in his presence "over there." For instead of spending the day here, with his colleagues and constituents, as had been his wont, he spent it in the United Kingdom, in conference with the leaders of British organized labor at the Trade Union Congress at Derby. Missed as he was here, we have confidence that his presence was much more valuable there; to an extent which may make the occasion memorable in the history of the war as well as in that of organized labor in the two countries.

On the one supreme issue of the day Mr. Gompers may be unhesitatingly accepted as a satisfactory representative not alone of the American Federation of Labor but also of the American people; even of the millions who are not affiliated with his Federation and who may not be in sympathy with some details of its domestic policies. For he stands for inexorable prosecution of the war until peace can be secured through victory. That was his message to American labor on Monday last, and that is the message which he has this week carried to British labor, and through it to the labor of France and Italy. That his message is welcome to British workingmen generally we cannot doubt. Yet it may be no less important in its effects than as if it were needed to convert them to his views. For what is essential at this time is the establishment and maintenance of the international solidarity of labor in support of the cause of democracy and the rights of man; and this can be effected in no other way so well as through the personal contact of men of representative authority.

There have recently been assurances of the most positive character, that the overwhelming masses of workingmen, and of political Socialists, in Great Britain, Belgium, France and Italy are resolutely determined to wage the war to a trium-

phant finish. We recall with satisfaction the statement of war aims which was adopted by the Socialist and Labor parties of those countries at the Inter-Allied Conference in London last February, and which was substantially identical with that of the British Labor Party and Trade Unionist Congress in December preceding. That statement declared it to be the fundamental purpose of that Conference to have the world made safe for democracy, to which end it would support the prosecution of the war. Beginning with this general principle, it proceeded more specifically to declare that Germany must be compelled fully to restore the independent sovereignty of Belgium and to pay that country for all the damage that has been done to it in the war; that Alsace and Lorraine must be permitted to return to France; that Serbia, Montenegro, Albania and Roumania must have their freedom "without regard to the imperialist pretensions of Austria, Hungary, Turkey, or any other state"; that Italia Irredenta must be restored to Italy; that Poland must be reunited and freed, with access to the sea; that Germany must keep her predatory hands off the Baltic Provinces of Russia; that Palestine must be made a free state; that the Dardanelles must be neutralized; that Armenia, Mesopotamia and Arabia must be permanently rescued from the tyranny of the Turk; and that the Czecho-Slavs and Jugo-Slavs must have their freedom and political independence.

Such are the aims of British labor, and of the labor of the other Allied countries. It is Mr. Gompers' pleasant and inspiring privilege to assure the men who have formulated them that they are equally the aims of American labor, and of the whole American people. He himself has repeatedly expressed them in behalf of organized labor. The President of the United States has expressed them, in substantially identical terms, in behalf of the entire nation, and also in behalf of the great party of which he is the political leader. The Senatorial leader of the opposition has with notable directness and force expressed them, in behalf of that party.

We may hope, therefore, that this week's memorable assemblage at Derby, and Mr. Gompers' participation in it, may result in placing the final seal upon the union of labor in all the Allied lands for the determined prosecution of a war in which labor is more deeply and directly concerned than in any other that ever was waged among the nations, and for its prosecution to a victory and a dictated peace in which, through the safeguarding of democracy and the destruction of militarism, labor will gain more than it has gained from all other wars that ever were fought. It is a war of the people against the autocrats, and in it the attitude of labor can never be in doubt.

Mr. Will H. Hays never did a better day's work than when he forced Pacifist Frank P. Woods out of his position as Chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee. But what about Norris, the Republican candidate for the Senate in Nebraska? Down with *all* disloyalists!

Kentucky lost its biggest-hearted son when Ollie James died. What a pity that Swager Sherley, the ablest representative to hail from the blue grass State in many moons, cannot succeed him! Will not the Editor Emeritus of the *Courier-Journal* kindly take a hand?

Why We Cannot Negotiate

THE peace must be, says Senator Lodge, a peace dictated by the triumphant Allies on German soil. That is a principle of justice and of wisdom which should be engraved upon every American mind and heart. Yet there are those, professedly loyal, who challenge it, and insist that we ought to be willing to end the war and to re-establish peace, through negotiations with Germany, and through a voluntary treaty to which Germany should be a partner. The Germans, they argue, have a right to self-determination, and if they elect to retain the present imperial system, we are bound to recognize it as their legal government.

To all that we may assent without conceding that we must negotiate with that government and repose faith in treaties made with it. And for justification of our refusal to negotiate with it we have merely to consider what that government is. Briefly stated, it is William the Damned. The Chancellor, the Ministry, the Reichstag, the people, all count for nothing. For that, we have the undisputed authority of William the Damned himself. This is what he has said of the German government:

"It is a talent entrusted to ME by God."

"There is but one will in Germany, and that is MINE."

"We Hohenzollerns regard ourselves as appointed by God to govern the people."

"My crown was born with me. I shall follow the same path as Frederick I, who of his own right was sovereign."

"My responsibility is to the Creator alone, from which no Minister, no Parliament, no people, can release me."

Now we contend that in this Twentieth Century a democratic government is abundantly justified in demanding some more authoritative government to negotiate with than so arrogant an autocrat, and in declining to negotiate with "Germany" so long as "Germany" thus means, by his showing and by its acquiescence, nothing but William the Damned.

It is idle to pretend that we are already recognizing the authority and the trustworthiness of monarchical governments by entering into relations with Great Britain, whose chief of state is King and Emperor equally with the Hohenzollern. The British sovereign holds his crown by virtue of the Bill of Rights, the cornerstone of the constitution of the kingdom and empire, which specifically declares that "Kings reign by popular, not divine, right." That is to say, he is as truly the creature of the popular will as is the President of the United States. Such a monarchical government may consistently be recognized and dealt with by a republic, because it is just as much a democracy as the other. The essence of democracy is not in the name of the chief executive nor in the duration of his term of office, but in the authority by which he holds his place. If he holds it by the free will of the people, recognizing and subjecting himself to that will, the government is a democracy.

We can do business with a King who says "I reign—not rule—by popular—not divine—right." We submit that it is now too late in the history of the rights of man for us to do business with a King or Emperor who says "I rule—not reign—by divine—not popular—right." If the German people are content to continue under that sort of government, that is their privilege. But they must take the consequences in our refusal to negotiate on equal terms with any such anachronism.

The Star Spangled Banner

MISS KITTY CHEATHAM, whose American ancestry and American loyalty are impeccable, has in pamphlet form entered a protest against "The Star Spangled Banner" as a song which "opposes the spirit of democracy which the Declaration of Independence embodies." She says:

To keep alive the emotion which this hymn expresses appears to me to prevent Great Britain and America from being allies in the true sense.

And yet America and Great Britain seem to be getting along pretty well as "allies in the true sense," however disturbing to good relations the words of "The Star Spangled Banner" may be. To be sure, it might seem a little incongruous to see substantial British subjects standing reverentially with uncovered heads, and English Army and Navy officers of high rank, and even England's King himself, standing respectfully at salute while these stirring words were boomed out by some singer with conscientiously clear enunciation:

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and country should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.

The gentleman reverentially uncovered and the officers and Royal person standing respectfully at salute, being the band that "vauntingly swore" and, as a nation, the very ones whose footsteps they have thus heard musically and metrically described as a "foul pollution." Now if our English brothers in arms can stand for that, we submit that the peril to Anglo-American friendship is not sufficient to keep anybody awake nights on either side of the water.

And then there is another thing about the words of "The Star Spangled Banner" which we suspect Miss Cheatham overlooks. And that is that most Americans and probably next to no Englishmen know what the words are. We all get along rather swimmingly in the song while it inquires if we can see, and deals with the dawn's early light. But right there at that daybreak is where the slackers begin to drop out. A good many of them come resonantly up to the front again with "the rocket's red glare" and "the bombs bursting in air." That is mouth-filling and sonorous as well as pyrotechnical, and the singers noticeably perk up. But once that corner is turned, the way the laggards come hobbling behind on a rum-te-tumty-tum verbal equipment is really scandalous. As for washing out the foul footsteps with blood, not one in a thousand succeeds in getting in even as a spectator at that gory ablution. Indeed, very few indeed know there is any such episode in the song. And even if Yankees and Englishmen ever did get so far along as that drastic event, it is just about ten to one they would be laughing at and with one another while the grim ceremony was going on.

So, really, we cannot share Miss Cheatham's anxiety over the danger to Anglo-American good will from "The Star Spangled Banner." On the contrary, it seems to us that the fact that Americans and Englishmen can and do sing it together is fairly strong evidence that that good will is on a pretty substantial foundation.

"CAMOUFLAGE," SAYS SENATOR SHERMAN OF PLANS TO TEACH SOLDIERS—A MASK FOR UNIVERSAL TRAINING.—*Headline in the World.*

We only wish it were.

Letters From Our Readers

OUR BOYS OVER THERE

SIR:—I am one of your steady readers of the REVIEW AND WAR WEEKLY, and an admirer of your staunch loyalty to your country and to its high ideals.

I also know you are delighted to praise when you can, and am therefore quoting from a letter of a nephew of mine, who is very near and close to the head of Headquarters in France. He writes me as follows:

Our American soldiers are giving us all great cause for pride. I wish you could see how fine they look, how healthy, and could hear the many compliments paid them by the French and British. They are doing *splendid* work. Just keep them coming right along and they'll do the job. It is marvellous how well they get along with the French and how easily they have adapted themselves to the conditions. They are well taken care of in all particulars.

The above is in line with your great desire, "just keep them coming right along." So say we all of us.

A. ROBINSON McILVAINE.

Downingtown, Pa.

CREELIAN MUSINGS

SIR:—Stretched on a green bank reading the WAR WEEKLY and doing the izaakwalton for any fish that might amble by, I was suddenly struck with a great thought. Over my shoulder was a basket technically known as a creel. If fish go into a creel why isn't that the place for fish stories to come from? And again, musing on that word and casting its letters fore and after, I discovered that "creel" if rearranged could produce "relec" and likewise "celer"—perfectly good words from the phonetic standpoint, and, in their logical sequence, a relic taken from a cellar. Perhaps he is. And then I thought of the Committee on Public Information, or C. P. I.; or, again, Creel's Pure Inventions—but just then I got a bite and went no further.

K. P.

Westtown, Pa.

BEAUTY AND THE FLIVVER

SIR:—I want to thank you for the work you are doing in trying to keep Henry Ford out of the Senate of the United States. When one thinks of the hitherto performances of that amiable gentleman, it causes a shudder to think of what might happen if he were invested with the toga. Just imagine what a force for culture such a man would be in our national legislature! A man who will go on making a useful, necessary machine like his flivver for a series of years, in ever increasing quantities, and never try to improve its appearance, is stamped at once with an absolute lack of taste. Men are to be judged by what, given their opportunities, they fail to do. And a man who will go on, year after year, turning out thousands of ugly flivvers when he could just as well make them graceful, is no man for the Senate. This comment may seem to you frivolous, but it isn't—it really goes to the heart of the Ford case. The man has no tendencies at all toward the good, and true, and beautiful.

STEVEN B. AYRES.

New York City.

THE HUNS AND THE HATTERAS LIGHTSHIP

SIR:—In relation to the destruction of the Hatteras lightship by the Germans: If light vessels and lighthouses have not been used as military or naval signal stations or auxiliaries they are to be regarded as exempt from shelling, assault, or destruction, especially if they are on great ocean routes and susceptible of general use as aids to navigation.

If used only for normal purposes they would come under the general tenor and exemption of Art. 1, Chapter I of the Hague Convention, No. IX of 1907, which provides that "the bombardment by naval forces of undefended ports, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings is forbidden." Innocent lightships are not specifically mentioned, but unless they are specifically involved in military operations they are within the scope of this article. This is the more emphasized as they are for the general use of commerce (neutral as well as that of the attacking belligerent also). If a belligerent finds a light vessel actually an impediment to his naval purpose he may perhaps, where such occasion justifies, destroy the light and signal apparatus, but he thereby does general injury to all sea-borne commerce. A light vessel on the high seas also, in spirit, comes within the scope of Art. 4 of Convention XI of the Second Hague Convention, exempting from capture (and therefore from destruction) vessels charged with religious, scientific, or philanthropic missions.

The truth is that the purpose of the shelling, destruction, and non-provision for the safety of light vessels like that off Cape Hatteras is a part of that contemptible system of attempted terrorism which is so essentially Germanic in its nature, and which is in complete violation of the clause of Convention IV of the Second Hague Convention in its preamble, which says that the "population and non-belligerents remain under the protection and the rule of the principles of the law of nations, as they result from the usages established between civilized nations, from the laws of humanity and the requirements of the public conscience."

Even the German representative at the Hague Peace Con-

ference (see Higgins, page 342) expressed the sentiments which should govern as to such cases as the wanton destruction of open sea aids to navigation.

CHARLES H. STOCKTON,

George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

WE SHALL

SIR:—To-day, while resting, I had a chance to read my copy of your WAR WEEKLY, and because there are so many good articles in it, I hasten to congratulate, and also approve. If I were a cartoonist I would draw a picture of a livestock train stopping at a country station for water, say, with locomotive labeled "World Democracy," and three carloads of livestock, "France," "Great Britain," and "United States in 1917-1918," and show some cattle "down" in the third car, with you and T. R. shown as "cow punchers" prodding these Administration sluggards to their feet. Another good "cow puncher" is the "National Security League," which I joined on organization here. Also the "Navy League," which I joined in its infancy. I would suggest as a name for the entire drawing—"How the Paris-Rhine Drive Special Escaped Being Too Late."

Whenever I look back over the events of the past four years, with the kind of Administration in power, and being influenced by pacifists like Ford, Baker, David Starr Jordan, et al., I shudder to think of what the United States and this old world would be like just now, if it had not been for the activities and goading of the men and organizations I mention above as "cow punchers."

I remember well, as a boy, in southern Wisconsin, my father joining the original "Union League," and being a specially militant member during the war. A sturdy old Britisher he was, who became an American citizen as soon as our laws permitted, and cast his maiden vote for John C. Fremont.

I thought of him when the two Leagues named above were forming, and also of the invaluable aid of the old "Union League" rendered the United States in the "sixties," and joined both on first invitation.

Your articles about Marshall, Ford, and McLemore are worthy of special praise, and I hope you will keep right on in what seems to be the even tenor of your way, viz.: prodding wherever and whenever needed.

CHICAGO, ILL.

ROBERT H. LANYON.

FRITZ A POOR LOSER

SIR:—In a recent issue of the WAR WEEKLY, you ask, "How are we going to win?"

From the tall timber and sagebrush, where we have plenty of time to read, cogitate, and ruminate, let me send you a message of good cheer.

Not long ago, a German official said that America's weight would not be felt. In thought, I answered, "Take another think, Fritz. All the important things used in this war were invented in America; the steamship, telegraph, ironclad, telephone, aeroplane, submarine, etc.

"America, when engaged in industrial pursuits to which she gave all her attention, far outstripped the other nations, and did things on a scale more gigantic than the other nations thought possible. If she gives all her time and attention to this war, strings herself out, gets in the game, Fritz, you can form a faint idea, only, of what she can do."

In the beginning of our participation in this war, we procrastinated and bungled, and did not live up to our reputation; but having been admonished by you and others, in a kind and friendly manner, we fired a foreman or two, remodeled our system, got into our stride, and now we are getting there, somewhat.

Two hundred and seventy-six thousand soldiers and equipment landed "over there" in one month, and the record growing rapidly, will soon provide an army that can do real things, you will allow.

When we are all ready, whilst our Allies hold the Hun, we can stamp on his face; whilst the troops in the trenches hold in deadlock the armies of Germany and Austria—and they can do just that—a reserve American army of two million soldiers can force its way where it pleases, romp all over Germany and Austria.

The armies engaged in this war are much greater than those of the wars of the past, simply because of the improved means of communication and transportation. Bonaparte found a way; and no doubt, if alive, could do so to-day; Grant could. Jackson could. Some of our officers "over there" will find a way.

Fritz is a poor loser. He lacks gallantry when whipped. When in retreat, he will not stand the harrowing nagging, the persistent lacing, that the American knows so well, how to inflict.

FORT BIDWELL, CAL.

GEO. H. AYRES.

RIGHT AND FINE

SIR:—Your article on "Labor and the Draft" was right to the point and fine. Why will Americans not wake up and defend themselves against un-American organizations?

Chicago.

ELLIOTT DURAND.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

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Apply the Acid Test to Labor

NOW, when the palavering Secretary of War is so far away that he cannot inject his everlasting politics into the situation, is the time to apply the acid test to Labor. It is not only futile but wicked to blink the facts. Despite the patriotic leadership of Mr. Gompers and the loyal responses from millions of workingmen, we all know that there is good ground for grave misgivings respecting the real attitude of many Unions.

We have had enough of protestations that their conduct has been so exemplary that they should be regarded as a class by themselves and not be brought, in common with all other citizens, under the law. Fine words butter no parsnips and assumption of superior virtues to justify special privileges wins no wars. We want the goods.

The opportunity to make the test stares the Government in the face. Here we are about to conscribe into military service two or three million men, whether they wish to enter it or not, and without the slightest regard to whether they approve the wages and other conditions of service; and the whole Nation approves the act. Yet in Bridgeport today are thousands of men, whose work in munitions plants is as essential to the prosecution of the war as that of the men in the trenches, deserting the service and refusing to work because they are not satisfied with some details of the terms of employment which the Government prescribes. The War Labor Board has made its award after thorough investigation and the proprietors have accepted it. The strikers have not and declare that they will not. Their attitude is more than reprehensible. It is intolerable.

The "Work or Fight" provision urged by General Crowder was abandoned reluctantly by

the Senate in response to assurance that the Administration already held the requisite authority. We believe that assumption was correct. But it is one thing to possess power and another thing to exercise it. We know very well what would happen if Mr. Baker were here. Nothing would be done. His unvarying coddling of Labor for political purposes proves that and, worse yet, his malign influence has induced a tolerance on the part of the President himself which many regard as excessive and mistaken.

But Mr. Baker is away and the situation is in the firm hands of soldiers who, divorced by law from politics, have to do only with winning the war. General Williams, the new Chief of Ordnance, is the man behind the gun and he has risen to the occasion by issuing an order to the effect that the award of the War Labor Board must be enforced, at all hazards, by whatever drastic means may be required.

We cannot doubt that the President will back him up, but to make assurance doubly sure the fact should be demonstrated to his mind that the country stands ready and eager to uphold his hands. Every patriotic journal should speak up.

If the strikers persist in their refusal, there will be but one thing to do. Deprive them of their present exemption immediately; put them under the draft; aye, do as our Allies do, put them arbitrarily into the class first to be sent to the front.

In simple justice to the thousands of gallant lads who already have given their lives and the hundreds of thousands who may yet have to make the crowning sacrifice, we can do no less.

The time for pandering has passed. Let the test be made and, if greedy slackers there be, let the retribution exacted from them be swift and sure.

A Grave Situation

THE simple truth is that the military program, so optimistically announced by Secretary Baker, the Chief of Staff and others, is in serious danger of breaking down. This is not due wholly to the dilatoriness of Mr. Baker in deciding to extend the draft age, that delay having been largely cured by the alacrity of Congress. Neither is it due to tardiness of men of draft age in responding to the call and mastering the rudiments of military training. It is due solely to lack of adequate overseas transportation.

All the plans of the War Department, with the single exception of those of the Quartermaster General, have been made on the basis of an army of 1,300,000 men in France. Suddenly that program has been expanded to one which calls for 4,000,000 men, and no man can foresee where ocean transportation sufficient to supply and equip that number of troops, or anything like that number, is to come from. Nor is the deficiency of the future. It is immediate. General Pershing called for shipments aggregating 600,000 tons during the month of August. It was impossible to send him more than 400,000 tons. War Department plans, in so far as there have been any, contemplate that American troops brigaded with English and French army corps would be supplied by those countries, but recently many divisions have been restored to the American command, greatly augmenting the demands on American supplies and equipment.

One of the most serious shortages which now confronts the army is in medical supplies. By direction of the Secretary of War, the Medical Department has based all its calculations on the needs of an army of 1,300,000 and now, almost daily, cables from General Pershing describe the desperate condition of the hospitals and surgeons on the other side, while his insistence on immediate shipment is confronted, not only by dire lack of shipping space but also by the ineluctable fact that it requires time to manufacture the delicate instruments which are essential to successful modern military surgery.

Finally, England is now threatening to withdraw the great number of ships which she placed at the disposal of this country to transport supplies and equipment. Nor is it possible to perceive how Great Britain can avoid taking that course, whatever may be the disposition of her officials. The supplying of her own army and her civilian population makes imperative the importation of the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand crops. This importation involves long carries, and English officials declare that their ships, temporarily loaned to this government, must now be devoted to the transportation of the Canadian and Australasian supplies.

It is only fair to say that Secretary Baker has supreme confidence in his diplomatic ability to induce England, irrespective of her own needs, to continue indefinitely the loan of British bottoms to the United States, but as he has not taken his associates into his confidence regarding the arguments by which he expects to achieve this end they do not share his artless faith.

Much has been made public regarding the admirable progress of the shipping program and the launching of new vessels has been widely heralded, while the possibility of constructing hulls of concrete has received its full share of inspired publicity, and there is no doubt that the shipyards of the country are doing excellent work; but the crux of the

situation lies in the equipment, especially the machinery, engines and boilers. When the hulls are launched only a portion of the work of putting ships in commission is accomplished and, although the mill capacity of the country is taxed to its utmost, it is impossible to produce machinery for the ships anything like as rapidly as it is needed.

The fundamental weakness of the military program, as everyone familiar with its details is aware, is the lack of a head capable of making a broad survey of the nation's needs and preparing in advance for increases in the expeditionary forces. At every turn the men who are striving to win the war find that smug complacency has been substituted for prescience and preparedness, and that, as in the case of the aeroplane program, predictions of extraordinary productivity and efficiency, widely heralded by the creel bureau, have lulled those responsible for actual achievement into fancied security that performance has followed prediction and that "the situation is entirely satisfactory."

Meanwhile, Mr. Baker deserts his post.

Is there any good reason why the Vice President of the United States continues not to be a member of the Cabinet?—*Letter to the World.*

There are two reasons: Wilson and Marshall. "East is east and West is west."

Senator James H. Lewis (Illinois) who was among the passengers, all of whom were saved, is suffering from a chill resulting from exposure while carrying wounded men from their bunks.—*Paris dispatch uncensored.*

We knew it.

The father of Edsel, founder of the Order of Dependent Parents, announces that his concern has five thousand men in the service; but not five thousand *and one*.

A Retrospect in Misinformation

"The 'United States Aviation Engine' has passed its final tests. They were successful and gratifying. The new motor, designated by the Signal Service as the 'Liberty Motor,' is now the main reliance of the United States in the rapid production in large numbers of high powered battle planes for service in the war. In power, speed, serviceability and minimum weight the new engine invites comparison with the best that the European War has produced. . . . I regard the invention and rapid development of this engine as one of the really big accomplishments of the United States since its entry into the war. . . . The story of the production of this engine is a remarkable one. Probably the war has produced no greater single achievement."—Official statement of Secretary Baker on September 12, 1917, approved by the Signal Corps, and issued by the Committee on Public Information.

"Contracts have been let and work is in progress on practically the entire number of airplanes and motors for which provision was made in the \$640,000,000 aviation bill passed by Congress in July. This program calls for more than 20,000 airplanes. The types of airplanes now in process of manufacture cover the entire range of training planes, light, high-speed fighting machines, and powerful battle and bombing planes of the heaviest designs."—Official statement of Secretary Baker on October 4, 1917, approved by the Signal Corps, and issued by the Committee on Public Information.

"The first American built battle planes are to-day en route to the front in France. This first shipment, though in itself not large, marks the final overcoming of many difficulties met in building up this new and intricate industry. These planes are equipped with the first Liberty Motor from machine production. One of them in a recent test surpassed all records for speed and climbing for planes of that type. Engine production, which began a month ago, is now on a quantity basis, and the peak of production will be reached in a few weeks."—Official statement of Secretary Baker on February 20, 1918, approved by the Signal Corps, and issued by the Committee on Public Information.

We hold no brief for the President's creel, as is sufficiently well known. But it is only fair that he be exonerated in these pages from responsibility in the matter of the notorious February 20th outgiving of the Committee on Public Misinformation regarding the first shipment of American built battle planes to the front. It is only fair, also, that the Committee on Public Misinformation itself and as a whole be exonerated in this matter.

Neither do we hold a brief, as is sufficiently well known, for our Pacifist Secretary of War, "the most efficient public servant, etc., etc." Accordingly, it is only fair that he be exonerated as well in these pages from complicity in the above-mentioned matter.

In short, it is only fair that the blame for the notorious statement of February 20th, issued by the Committee on Misinformation as an outgiving from the Secretary of War, to the effect that "the first American built battle planes are to-day en route to the front in France," and that, "this first shipment, though in itself not large, marks the final overcoming of many difficulties met in building up this new and intricate industry," and that "engine production, which began a month ago, is now on a quantity basis, and the peak of production will be reached in a few weeks,"—it is only fair, we say, that the blame for this amazing official falsehood, this wholly inexcusable bit of misinformation, should rest where it belongs: namely, on the shoulders of Colonel E. A. Deeds of the Signal Corps and Dayton, Ohio.

The facts are that the office of the Signal Corps practically solicited this piece of publicity of the Committee on Misinformation. Word was passed over a certain desk that there was an actual accomplishment waiting to be heralded. A man was sent around to get the story. He got the story from Colonel E. A. Deeds. He went back to his lair in the Committee on Public Misinformation and wrote the story. He took the story that he had written back to Colonel E. A. Deeds. Colonel E. A. Deeds made some minor corrections in the copy; and there is reason to believe that this manuscript, with corrections in the handwriting of Colonel E. A. Deeds, now reposes in a safe place where it may do some good.

A corrected manuscript, according to the tale we hear, was then prepared, and submitted again to Colonel E. A. Deeds. He approved it. (This would be the actual manuscript of the notorious statement of February 20th.) It was then submitted in due order to Secretary Baker and to General McIntyre, who was at that time military censor. They approved it in a purely perfunctory manner, it having come to them with the O.K. of the Signal Corps.

At that time there was one American-built airplane on the dock in New York en route for France.

Or in other words, somebody told an outright lie.

Why? Not to help the war along. It is hard to escape the conviction that there must have been a personal motive for such a lie.

Of course it involved the Secretary of War, and the whole machinery of the War Department, and the whole honor of the Government; but such minor considerations as these apparently did not matter.

We wonder if Colonel E. A. Deeds thought that he could get away with it? Plenty of people have known about this thing all summer, ever since it happened, in fact. What was the big idea?

Colonel E. A. Deeds is a good deal of a puzzle, anyway. Notwithstanding the above incident, which, one would suppose, must have weighed at least on his memory, if not on his conscience, he was still on deck and smiling as late as May, ready with another stupid trick from the same bag.

It will be remembered that about that time Mr. David Lawrence, the apologist-prodigy, took a swing around the circle to tell the nation how wonderfully our aircraft program was getting on, visiting a string of factories, finding them all of equal efficiency and perfection, climbing the skies behind a Liberty Motor higher and faster than it ever had been done before, exhausting day by day his vocabulary of eulogy, and generally by common consent distinguishing himself and his backers. It perhaps is not known to a devoted country, however, that when Mr. Lawrence set out from Washington on his whitewashing trip he bore a letter from Colonel E. A. Deeds, which proved an open sesame to all aircraft doors, and enabled him, no doubt, to collect a great deal of his extraordinary information.

It is said that Mr. Lawrence, working steadily in the interests of truth and patriotism, got all the way around from Dayton and Detroit to Elizabeth, N. J., before this magic letter was questioned; but that there the Standard Aircraft people held him up, communicated with Washington—not with Colonel E. A. Deeds—and received instructions not to honor the document in question. So Mr. Lawrence subsided and came back home.

Well, at any rate, neither the Secretary of War nor the creel seems to be directly responsible for the lying statement of February 20th regarding the aircraft situation. Of course the Committee on Public Misinformation was indirectly responsible, by virtue of furnishing the machinery for fulsome publicity—machinery always ready, and as it were foaming at the mouth, for the chance to tell a glorious tale. Of course there was an unfortunate period, too—some say a couple of weeks—while the February 20th statement lay on the desk of Secretary Baker, after it had come to him with the approval of Colonel E. A. Deeds, and before it was given out to the public. It might be claimed, as well, that the Secretary of War was indirectly responsible on account of having such an ill-organized Department—a Department where official lies could be told without the liar being discharged, or apparently without his being suspected.

But all this is another story, which may or, of course, may not find suitable setting in the forthcoming Hughes report.

The Federal Trade Commission

THE criticisms which the Federal Trade Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has passed upon the Federal Trade Commission are, as we have already said, entirely too serious and too severe to be passed over lightly. They call for investigation and action, such as we have no doubt the President will give to them promptly and thoroughly. But they must not be understood as affecting the general principle of the utility of such a Commission. They are, if substantiated, damaging to the judgment of the present Commission, but they are not destructive of the policy of having such a Commission.

Synthesized and analyzed, the charges come briefly to this, that the Commission has undertaken to do things which it had no power to do and which it was not intended to do, to the neglect of its proper duties. That is a grave indictment, which on its face seems to be warranted. The statement of the Chamber of Commerce is very explicit, giving chapter and verse, date and place of the offenses charged.

Thus we are told that the Commission tried to act as arbiter between print-paper makers and consumers; but it had no authority to do so, and of course no power to enforce its award. In trying to deal with the coal problem before the creation of the Fuel Administration it is said to have blundered and displayed inefficiency. It has begun various important investigations, only to abandon them unfinished. It has changed its system of procedure without giving notice of the fact; it has abused its powers of publicity by giving out partial statements and by using publicity to influence legislation; it has subverted justice in some investigations by making public damaging documents and denying the parties thus attacked the privilege of reply or defense; it, or its sworn representative, has alleged the commission of crimes, though it has no criminal jurisdiction; it has made violent and abusive charges against business enterprises without satisfactory substantiation; and it has departed widely from the fundamental purpose for which it was established.

Thus, the critics of the Commission. It will be interesting to see what reply is made, or what is determined by the scrutiny of the case which we may assume the President to be making. The President asked for the creation of the Commission as a body which should not merely menace business men with the penalties of violating laws the purport of which they did not clearly understand, but which should give them definite guidance and information; and after its creation and its entry upon its duties he described it as a body with powers of guidance and accommodation which had "relieved business men of unfounded fears and had set them upon the road of hopeful and confident enterprise." There can be no doubt that such a body is highly to be desired, and there seems to be good reason for believing that this Commission at the beginning of its career fulfilled the beneficent purpose for which it had been created in a satisfactory manner. If now it has gone astray, as the Chamber of Commerce declares, it needs to be promptly returned to its proper functions; if necessary through a change of personnel. As originally conceived by the President it is too useful a body to be entirely lost to the nation.

Full responsibility for his [Edsel's] absence from the firing line rests with me. When the duly authorized authority says his services are more needed in the army than here in these industries he will be found at the front fighting.—*Henry Ford*.

That is very sweet of father, but the fact is that Edsel appeared in person before the Local Board and whined for exemption. Nevertheless, here is a chance for General Enoch H. Crowder who, at somebody's instigation, we are told, arranged the matter in Washington, to retrieve his error. Loyal Michigan, which so far seems to have lost more sons proportionately than any other State, is still clawing the air.

The Raids on the Slackers

THE slap-dash raids upon the populace of New York in quest of draft-dodgers were among the most irritating and deplorable of all the errors which have been made in war-time administration. They were so in a peculiar degree, because their object was one which must be approved as generally and as emphatically as their manner must be condemned. An eminent political philosopher once enlivened the tedium of a national convention with utterance of the incontrovertible apophthegm that "God Almighty hates a quitter!" For "quitter" read "slacker" and the words are as truly applicable to the present case as the original version was to that of years ago. The American people, too, hate, despise and loathe all slackers, and are desirous of seeing them get their full deserts.

But the American people, too, have regard for civil rights, and law and order. They wish to see criminals arrested and punished, but they very strongly object to seeing honest men by wholesale treated as criminals until they can prove their own innocence. It was certainly an extraordinary thing for a city not under martial law to be suddenly invaded by numerous soldiers and sailors, and for law-abiding citizens to be arbitrarily seized by thousands and marched into prison pens, and there be held, practically incommunicado, for hours, perhaps for all night, and then to be turned loose with nothing more than a curt, "You're all right. You can go." No decent citizen would object to the treating of slackers in such fashion. What hurt was, that not more than one in ten thus treated was a slacker.

The thing was made all the worse by the fact of its occurrence just before the new registration. For the last fortnight speakers and writers have been very properly urging the men of America to go to the registration booths not grudgingly but eagerly, not as performing an unwelcome and onerous duty but as embracing a glad privilege. We hope that thirteen million men have been enrolled this week in that spirit. But it did not conduce to that end to have tens of thousands of men who had formerly registered subjected to such drag-net proceedings.

The suspicion has been expressed that the campaign was suggested by a pro-German propagandist, for the purpose of compromising the new conscription. That does not seem probable, though of course there are plenty of pro-Germans who would have liked to do it. Incredible and intolerable should be the suggestion that the thing was the outcome of the Secretary of War's impassioned zeal to atone for the hitch in conscription which he had caused by putting on the brakes for two months; though in view of some of the extraordinary things which he has been known to do we cannot account anything impossible to him.

Failing that, we must charge it against the inexperience

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and ineptitude of officials over-zealous in a good cause to which they are unused. If we had been having in this country, as we should have had, universal military training, there would have been no such blundering; nor any occasion or opportunity for it. It was the more extraordinary because of the large amount of excellent work with which both the army administrators and the Department of Justice have done. This orgy of arrests was a lamentable confession of inefficiency; of inability to apprehend some hundreds of law-breakers without submitting many thousands of law-abiding citizens to humiliation, inconvenience, and actual suffering and loss. It was a sorry performance.

The tearing of passions to tatters over it in Congress will of course not mend matters. But the searching investigation which the Administration at once ordered ought to result in practical good. We don't care who is punished for it, if anyone is. But we do want to have some assurance that it will not happen again, and that such slap-dash methods are not to become habitual with any department of government.

The President did well to give up his speechmaking tour on behalf of the Liberty Loan. It is up to the country to furnish the money and up to the President to see that it is properly expended.

Personal contact with the mighty forces now operating in Europe by officers of such responsibility as the Secretary of War can hardly fail to be of great and lasting benefit.—*The World*.

It certainly was of great and lasting benefit before, when his absence enabled those left at home to speed up at a critical moment. And it can do no particular harm now, when they have taken his measure.

General Cabell Speaks A Piece

THE Huns have long been obsessed with the fool idea that by their clumsy lying and chicanery they could involve us in trouble with Mexico. Like their efforts along the same lines to cause friction between us and Japan, it was a part of their preliminary plotting to clear the way for their coldly premeditated and long prepared brigandage raid on civilization, whereof the motive was robbery of their neighbors, their subjugation to a long drawn out era of impoverishing blackmail, and, finally, the ultimate domination of the world.

As to embroiling us with Mexico, that, to the Hun mind, was easy. There was a groundwork of antipathy to us in that country all ready at their hand. They had only to keep this in a constant state of irritation and at the same time to sufficiently finance desperadoes and vagrant herds of semi-Indian outlaws, to equip them with arms and set them in motion along our border. This, with more or less success, they succeeded in doing. Perhaps the affair at Nogales may have been of Hun inspiration. Perhaps it may have been only a sporadic outbreak. Whether it was the one or the other is of no particular consequence. It was only a straw-fire explosion, ended as quickly as it began. It did not

embroil us with Mexico, nor is it going to. Even on the supposition that, were Hun affairs in Europe as prosperous as they are disheartening to Huns and Hun sympathizers, our Mexican neighbors might be inveigled into linking their fortunes with those of Hun autocrats, whose consecrated objects of special loathing are the theoretical liberties on which the Government of Mexico is founded—even were our neighbors on the south thus tempted by Hun successes to aggressions upon us such as would make war inevitable, the present posture of Hun affairs is little likely to suggest to Mexicans the advisability of such a course. If there are any tendencies towards climbing on a bandwagon now noticeable in those few Spanish-speaking countries which are not actually at war with or in open hostility to the Huns, those tendencies are distinctly toward the bandwagon of the Allies and not toward the rather shaky vehicle now being driven by the Potsdam charioteers. Another year and all of South America, as well as all of North America, will be lined up against the Hun. If Mexico elects to go her own neutral way more or less under Hun exploitation in those days to come, the privilege is hers. But that either of her own motion or under Hun inspiration, she will adopt the policy of being a bad neighbor to us is not in the least probable. Her own interests will all be too obviously the other way for one thing; and Huns at home and abroad will by that time have about all on their hands they want to attend to without embarking in any more *weltpolitik* campaigns of lies and intrigues.

With the Government and with the real people of Mexico we may reasonably count on remaining on good terms when the Hun is at last beaten to his knees, as he will be before another year is over—on better terms, indeed, than we have been for some time in the past. As for any of the Hun-paid, sporadic politicasters and desperadoes who may be inspired to kick up affairs like that at Nogales, they may, with advantage, read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the observations which that able-bodied American, General Cabell, addressed to General Calles, in command of the Mexican forces in Nogales at the time the outlaws there broke loose.

"If another volley is fired by your people," said General Cabell, quietly but very firmly, "I will take every man I have and come over and get you and everything you have; we are through with this nonsense."

We congratulate General Cabell. No American soldier ever spoke a better piece. Short, but clear, concise and entirely lucid even to the humblest understanding. We have not the remotest doubt that all future bandit enterprises on our southern border will be met with words and deeds precisely along the lines indicated so unequivocally by General Cabell. The Cabells will look out for the sporadic adventurers. The Governments at Washington and Mexico City will look out for the rest. We need cherish little anxiety over having serious trouble with our southern neighbor.

And may we not take advantage of this occasion to renew to General Cabell the assurance of our highly appreciative regard?

Surely Mr. Baker would not think of going abroad pending publication of the Hughes report. What?—WAR WEEKLY of August 31.

But away he scudded.

The Railroad Agreement

THE Railway Executives accept the final draft of the Government agreement. That was to be expected, and is gratifying. The owners of Railway Securities through their counsel demur to it. That was not unexpected, and is to be regretted; though it is not to be considered disastrous, or as condemnatory of the whole scheme of temporary Government control. It was not to be expected that the agreement would or could please everybody. We are not sure that any agreement of anything like comparable magnitude and complexity ever did. In the very nature of the case, with such a multiplicity of interests involved, many of them conflicting, it was inevitable that some details would be unsatisfactory to somebody. It is quite conceivable that such an agreement might not in any one respect be entirely satisfactory to everybody, and yet on the whole be highly commendable. In the present case there are just three considerable objections to the agreement, and if they can be fairly met the instrument must surely stand approved.

One relates to the payment of a road's debts to the Government out of the compensation which it receives from the Government; some of the railroad people insisting that there should be taken for that purpose only so much of the compensation as remains after the payment of the customary dividends. We confess that we cannot see the force of that contention. It might be a hardship, even an injustice, to expropriate for immediate debt-paying so much of the compensation as to make the paying of any dividends impossible. On the other hand, it would not be good morals to use all the compensation for paying full dividends and to pay nothing at all on the debts. It must be assumed that in this the Government will act with reason and justice, and neither deprive shareholders of all dividends nor permit debts to go wholly unpaid.

Another and more serious point, involving a grave reflection upon a department of the Government, is the requirement that roads which were in an unsafe condition when the Government took control of them shall pay out of their compensation the necessary cost of making them safe. To that requirement the security owners object, partly with and partly without reason. On the face of the case they should not object. The Government's requirement is reasonable. The roads had no business to be in an unsafe condition when the Government took them over. In being so they were violating both law and morals, and the best thing they can now do is to bear the expense of being made safe, and be thankful that nothing worse has happened to them as a penalty of their former neglect.

But—and here is the reflection upon a department of the Government—it is in at least some cases reasonably contended that the roads were not altogether to blame for being in bad condition, since they were the victims of the policy of the Interstate Commerce Commission in refusing them just and necessary increases in rates and thus practically starving them to death. Indeed, the Director-General himself by implication makes that very reflection upon the Government when he speaks of the bad financial condition of the roads and of the probability that some of them would have become bankrupt if the Government had not taken control of them. The indictment of the Interstate Commerce Commission's starvation policy is confirmed by the fact that soon after

taking control of the roads the Government itself made some much greater increases in rates than those which the companies had asked for and which had been denied them by the Commission. In view of these circumstances we have no doubt that the Director-General will exercise due discretion in charging costs of betterments against the roads.

The third and most serious objection of all is that which is made to the denial of the privilege of litigation, at the end of the period of Government control for losses incurred through diversion of traffic. There is no doubt that such losses will be suffered, and that in some cases they will be heavy. We must concede, too, that the roads should be compensated for them. But it is quite obvious, as Mr. McAdoo argues, that such diversion of traffic is a necessary incident to the use of the roads for war purposes, and that therefore it was intended to be covered by the compensation provided by Congress. The alternative is thus presented to each road, either to accept the agreement and in so doing to accept the stipulated compensation in full for that as well as for other claims, or to reject it and to look to the Court of Claims for all compensation. We should greatly doubt if many elect the latter course. It certainly would be an intolerable thing to have all roads, at the end of Federal control, plunge into litigation against the Government for extra and special compensation.

While we thus agree with the Director-General in overruling these objections as unreasonable, however, it may be pertinent to point out that in insisting upon the agreement as it stands in these respects the Government assumes the responsibility of administering its great trust with circumspection and equity, so as not by its own acts to invest the objections with a validity which they would not otherwise possess. And we think that we can trust the Director-General so to do. Mr. McAdoo would surely not consider it good morals or good policy to deprive shareholders of all dividends in order to collect at once indebtedness which might without harm be liquidated gradually; or to make roads pay for any alterations beyond those which they should themselves have made for safety's sake long ago. As for the diversion of traffic, he will certainly limit that to the requirements of the Government in facilitating and expediting business during the war so as the more efficiently to prosecute the war.

Thus sanely administered, it is to be believed that this agreement will in practice vindicate the wisdom and the sense of equity of the distinguished publicists who drafted it, and will enable the corporations to resume possession and management of their property at the end of the war with a minimum of loss and disturbance of their legitimate interests.

We respectfully suggest to Judge Bingham, the new proprietor of the *Courier-Journal*, that the title of Editor Emeritus of even that time-honored institution is not sufficiently comprehensive for Marse Henry Watterson; he is the Editor Emeritus of America.

We look for a mighty drive any day now by French and American troops pivoting on Belfort. Watch!

With a loud chorus of "ayes," the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church, one of the largest of its denomination in the United States, carried a motion last night asking for the resignation of Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War.—*Binghamton Herald*.

Make the Thief Disgorge

THE resolutions passed September 4th by the English Trade Union Congress, at Derby, fit in to a nicety with a forthcoming Hun peace propaganda programme outlined by M. André Cheradame in a very interesting article printed recently in the *World*.

M. Cheradame, by a presentation of facts and figures only too convincing, demonstrates that the belief, widely entertained among the Allies, that Germany is financially ruined by the war is a fallacy. Germany, as matters now stand, is not financially ruined. On the contrary, she is at this moment an enormous winner by the war. Belgium she has stripped bare. She has stolen everything in that unhappy country that was portable, from the playthings of the little children she has made houseless and homeless to priceless treasures of art. She has robbed Belgian banks, looted Belgian municipal treasuries, stripped Belgian women of their jewelry and personal keepsakes and well-to-do citizens of everything they possessed, even to the clothing on their backs. All this loot she has been for four years sending by the train-load back into Germany to be used and stored away there as an offset to the brigandage campaign expenses.

And what she has done in Belgium, she has done in France. Two of the greatest wealth-producing provinces of France, the two provinces which before the war paid one-quarter of all the taxes of the country, have been treated precisely as Belgium has been treated. Everything movable within them has been moved to Germany, from the art objects and expensive furniture of chateaux, which the Crown Prince and his putrid suite personally stole and sent home, to the farm implements and little household stores of bedding, crockery, chairs, tables, little ornaments made by the patient, toil-worn hands of the women folks of the humble little peasant and shopkeeper homes—all this has been seized, boxed and baled and sent into Germany. The sum total of these robberies would foot up well into the billions of monetary value were it susceptible of such appraisal.

Now, having wrought all this ruin and while he is gorged and stuffed and loaded to the scuppers with all this plunder, and with his clutches still on the Balkans and on Turkey and on tens of thousands of square miles of territory stolen from Russia, the Hun is ready to dicker. Faced with America's growing forces, his last hope of further westward conquest gone, he is now falling back. He would even fall back to the Rhine. To save his stolen goods, he might go so far as to talk of giving up Alsace-Lorraine. The one object now nearest his heart is "negotiation." "Peace by negotiation" is the prediction on the lips of all the more intelligent Yahoos made prisoner in Marshal Foch's recent splendid onslaughts. And "Peace by negotiation" means Peace With Plunder—precisely this and nothing more. With the Hun swollen with all this swag, where, for instance, would France be on the basis of a *status quo*, "negotiated" peace? Where would France be after such a peace, even should the Hun, to save the bargain, consent to lift his foul clutches from Alsace-Lorraine?

It is just that question which M. Cheradame answers, and his answer supplies the key to the whole Hun peace propaganda scheme. After repairing damages and rebuilding railroads, the national debt of France, in terms of francs, will be

200 billions. The interest on this debt and the pensions of soldiers' widows and the wounded will be seven billions of francs to be raised annually by permanent taxation. And these seven billions of increased permanent taxes are to fall upon a country with two of her richest provinces wrecked and pillaged and upon citizens who have lost twenty billions in ante-bellum loans on Russian, Balkan and Turkish securities, to say nothing of hundreds of other millions lost through the war's direct ravages.

Now there is afloat in France to-day 29 billions in paper money. Its purchasing power, to the extent of at least 50 per cent, is sustained by the anticipation of Hun reparation payments. Take this hope away and it would shrink by half. Its purchasing value would be cut in two in the middle. War-worn, nerve-strained, semi-impooverished people would find living expenses doubled.

It is upon this that the Hun is deliberately calculating. French morale, he thinks, would collapse. There would be uprisings past Government control. The national credit tottering, the hardships of winter impending, the superb French civic will to win would dissolve at last. The way would be open for a Hun bolshevik invasion of France and for another Brest-Litovsk treaty in the West which would leave France as Russia was left. French territory would be seized as was Russian territory. France would become a base of operations against Great Britain and the United States.

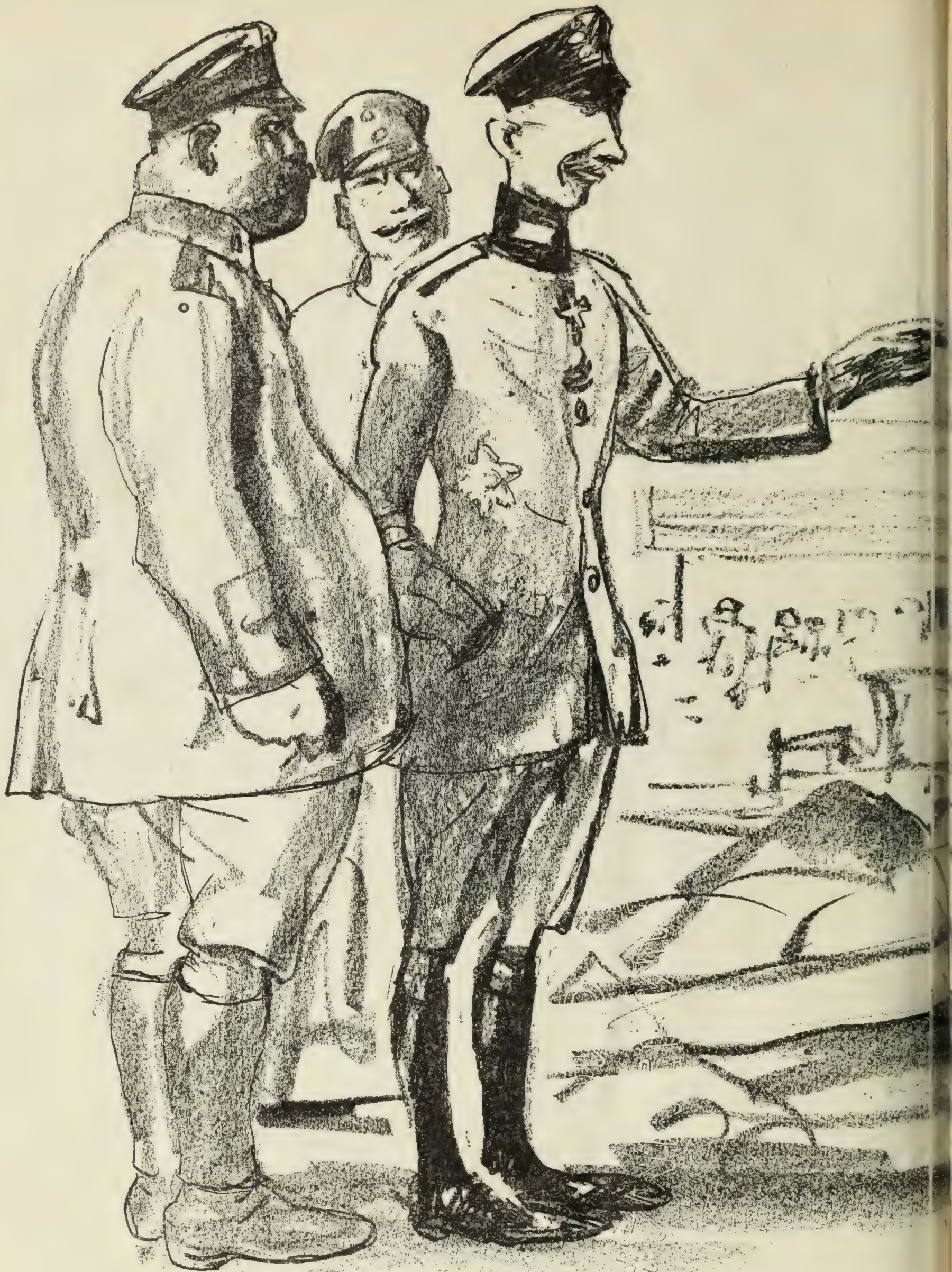
That is the Hun Peace-by-Negotiation dream. It was formulated in words only last week when the Hun Foreign Minister von Hintze said at Vienna that peace would come in the West "as it came in the East."

It is a plot to be met in one way and in one way only. The Allied armies must cross the Rhine. They must harry the Huns in their own lair as they harried Belgium and France. The Beast must be beaten to his knees. He must be choked until he disgorges his stolen goods to the last stiver. He must be loaded down with such monetary reparation penalties as will pay the war-imposed burdens of France and keep her credit sound. And to Belgium the same. Then, and then only, will the war be won. Until then all efforts, all hopes and aspirations of civilized mankind will be cramped and overshadowed by the ever-impending threat of devastating war.

And yet, here comes the English Trades Union Congress urging peace parleys the moment Germany evacuates France and Belgium! Urging this infamy, and thereby playing the Hun game as completely as though the Hun himself had stacked the cards. And we shall have the same thing here. The pacifist, the pro-Hun intriguer, the bolshevik, the half-baked Henry Ford standard of intelligence are right with us even now—right with us, a rich soil, ready and waiting for the Hun propaganda seed! And for that seed-sowing time the Hun is already preparing. He is talking about a winter armistice—a truce interval for peace-by-negotiations, to which the bare announcement of Allied consent would precipitate upon France the crisis which would spell Hun victory. Thus reasons André Cheradame, the man whose clear vision revealed the whole Hun world conquest plot, years before the war began.

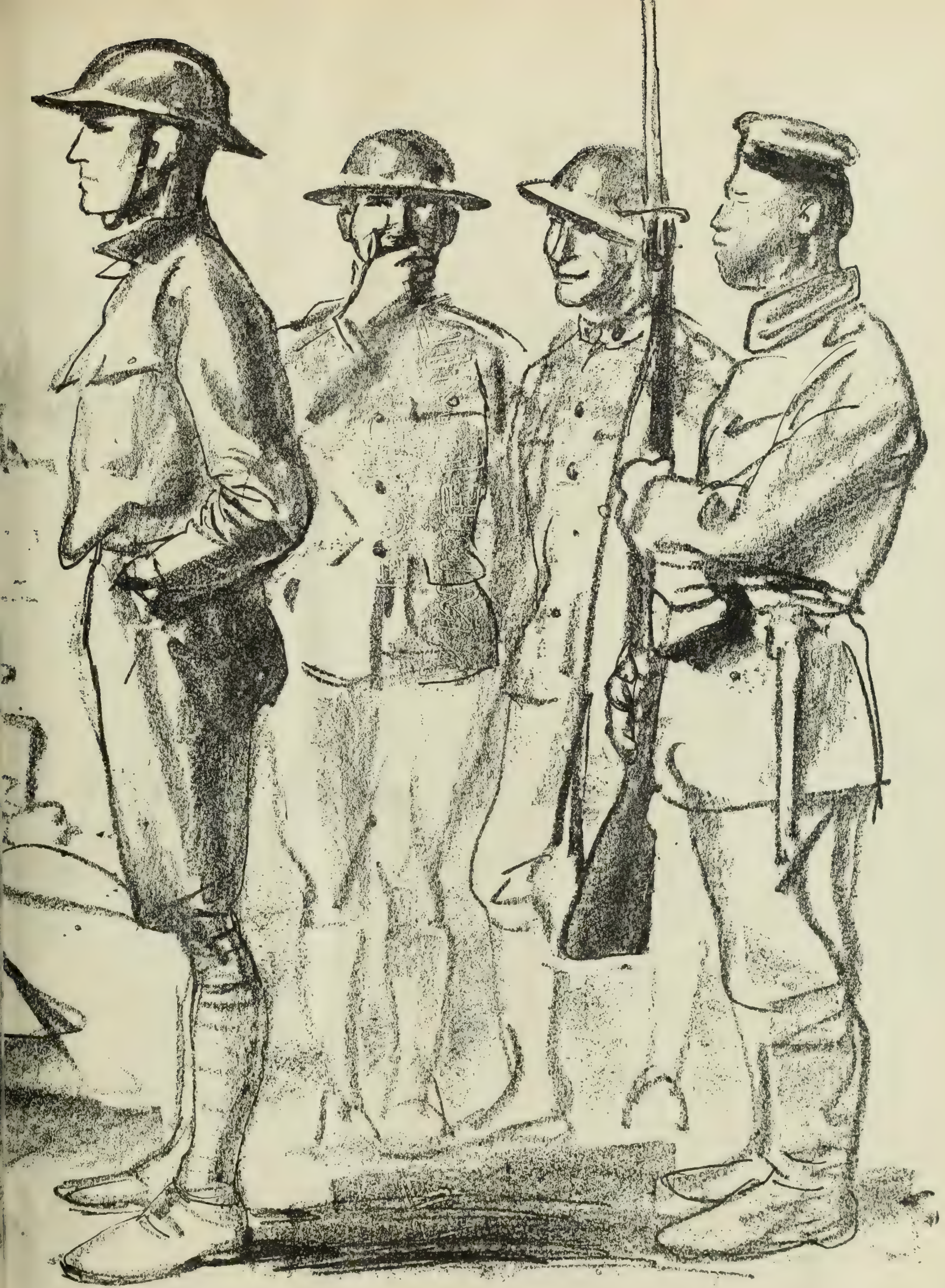
DOLLAR DINNER ON TRAINS—McADOO CUTS OUT EXPENSIVE A LA CARTE MEALS.—*Sun Headline.*

Hereafter we shall dine on wheels.



Joshing His R

The Crown Prince in an interview: "I asked an American what Alsace was, and to the question 'What is Alsace?' he said 'A



al Hun-ness

ner what they were fighting for and he answered ' For
ake.' " *(And the doughboy never cracked a smile.)*

The Week

WASHINGTON, September 12, 1918.

The date is memorable. It marks an epoch in American history. To-day, for the first time, the whole efficient manhood of America is being registered for the service of the nation. Hitherto we have seen approximately all registered for political purposes. There have also been general, but by no means universal, enrollments for purposes of taxation. To-day the completest registry ever made is made for a service which immeasurably transcends mere voting or tax-paying.

It comes at the psychological moment. The magnificent work of the Allied armies in France and Flanders has reached the crucial point. It is at this moment being decided whether the advance is to be continued, or is to be checked. Either means a great gain for the Allies. Just to have driven the Huns back to the Hindenburg line, in a fraction of the time and at a fraction of the cost which their advance beyond it required, would be great glory and cause for gratitude. To drive them beyond it, to the left bank of the Rhine, would warrant the singing of a *Te Deum*. Which it shall be, any moment may decide.

But whichever it may be, the conscription registry is timely. If now we halt, that shows that we had not enough troops at the front to maintain the advance, and that we must send more as speedily as possible. If on the contrary our advance continues, there is equal need of more levies in order that it may be maintained unchecked when greater resistance is offered, as beyond all question it will be. Indeed, it is already offered. The German retreat is slowing, and the resistance is stiffening. Whether the purpose is military or political is not yet apparent. Perhaps it is both.

It is a psychological moment, too, for the arrival of the Secretary of War near the Western front. His former visit, some months ago, fell at another crisis, of another kind. Then he saw the Germans flushed with hope of victory, and the Allies grimly standing with their backs to the wall. What effect that situation had upon him, and he upon it, has already been recorded and discussed. Now he arrives there in circumstances exactly reversed. That he will exert material influence upon the situation is scarcely to be expected. That is not what he has gone thither for. The great game is beyond a civilian's playing. That it may exert much influence upon him is possible, and is greatly to be desired.

We may hope, for example, that he will be impressed with the need of following up the fine victories which have already been won with still more strenuous efforts and with still greater man-power in our ranks. He has left General Crowder behind him, to speed up the work of conscription upon which he himself so injudiciously and regrettably put the brakes at the beginning of the summer. Perhaps that work will proceed all the more smoothly and swiftly because of his absence. At any rate, we may hope that he will be so impressed with the need of it that when he returns his reappearance in Washington will not have the slowing-down effect that it did on his former return from "over there."

The condition of the German morale is a moot point. Arthur S. Draper, in the *New York Tribune*, reports on what he considers good authority that it has been falling for some time and is now ominously low. "The soldiers seem to have lost confidence in themselves, their leaders and their cause."

Under the same date Edwin L. James writes in the *New York Times* that there is no demoralization of the German military machine, and that while the Boche does not perhaps fight as well as he did two months ago, he still fights formidably. "He has become imbued with a spirit of fatalism, acceptance of his fate, whatever it may be, and is fighting on." There are, according to this correspondent, many Prussians who say, "We will win this war or go to hell." That, obviously, is a dangerous and most formidable spirit.

All this leads us, however, to say of the question of German morale as was said by the immortal Mr. Toots of various other things, "It's of no consequence whatever." We have hitherto pointed out, and we purpose not to grow weary in repeating, that this war is to be won by our fighting, not by the Boches' shirking or flunking. We must depend upon our own exertion of force, not upon German mutiny or demoralization. If the latter comes, it will of course be welcome, and will make our victory in some respects easier. But we should be fools worthy of braying in a mortar if for one moment we waited for it or to the infinitesimalest fraction of a degree depended upon it for victory.

The news from various parts of the former Russian empire is increasingly gratifying, even in its tragic and repulsive features. Our Czecho-Slovak allies are doing wonders, and we have happily been in time to co-operate with them effectively. At one point, indeed, we are said to have saved them from disaster. If so, the score is made more nearly even. They certainly saved us from having practically all Russia go hell-bent for the Bolsheviki and Boches. If we have saved them in turn, we have merely requited their great service. And now they control the Siberian railroad nearly across the continent, and are opening up a way for us into the very heart of Great Russia itself.

At the same time, the Japanese are making progress in eastern Siberia, and Italians have joined the other Allies on the Murman Coast, and everywhere the Russians—the real Russians—are welcoming the Allied intervention and are raising their own old standards in conjunction with them, and are flocking to their support. If there has been a single act of resistance or word of protest against Allied aid, save from the Bolsheviki, we have yet to hear of it. Never, we think, was any such movement more successful, or more completely vindicated. This is a circumstance of some special gratification to us, because we were among the first to urge intervention, at a time when many well-meaning but timorous patriots were fearing that to do so would drive all Russia into the arms of Germany. To our mind the course of justice and consistency is always the course of prudence.

Our recognition of the Czecho-Slovaks is belated, but welcome and abundantly merited. There is no reason why it should not be extended to recognition not merely of belligerency, but also of independence and sovereignty. What if they have not at present possession of their own country as a habitation and seat of government? Neither have the Belgians, nor the Serbs; yet we have not ceased to recognize them as sovereign nations.

We must not forget, either, to give complete recognition to Poland. We are fully pledged to the restoration of her independence, with a free frontage on the sea, and we must keep our word.

We have said that even the bad news from Russia is good. That is to say, the tidings of the abominable doings of the Bolsheviki and Soviets and who not else all go to confirm the estimate which was long ago formed of those gentry, and to vindicate the wisdom of the Allies in having nothing to do with them. The invasion and looting of the British Embassy and the killing of one of its attaches were obviously hostile acts against Great Britain; just as hostile as would be the invasion of England and the killing of Englishmen at their own hearthstones. The threat to butcher some dozens of Englishmen in retaliation for the attack of a Russian girl upon Lenine is a piece of utter savagery. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that any Englishman had anything whatever to do with that act, and the fact that before threatening such reprisals the Bolsheviki were careful to put to death the actual assailant shows that the Reds have no proof of any such complicity.

A fresh reminder comes to hand of the relationship between the Bolshevik Dioscuri and the Huns. There are published the texts of letters from German bankers and others telling of the payment of large sums of German money to "Mr. Lenine" and "Comrade Trotzky." Some of these have been published before, but now we have the full texts of a great mass of them. These two precious scoundrels simply betrayed their country for German gold; and if later they in any way resisted the German grab, they were playing the double traitors by proving false to their employers.

Berlin and all Brandenburg have been placed "under the law relating to a state of siege." That is to prevent people from learning or talking about the true state of the war. It may be a good preparation for the actual state of siege which will come when the robber hold of the Hohenzollerns is under the Allied guns.

The recapture of Lens will prove of special value on account of the great coal mines at that place. Of course the Germans have taken pains to dismantle them, wreck the machinery, fill them with poison gas, and what not. But French energy will soon overcome those conditions and make the vast deposits of fuel available for use. That will mean much for our Allies, but we must not rely upon it to affect in any degree the fuel situation here. If every mine at Lens were to-day turning out its maximum output, there would still be need of our speeding up production to the peak, and exercising all possible economy in the use of coal.

In connection with this, we note that Mr. McAdoo expresses confidence in the ability of the railroads to do their full share in supplying the markets with coal. We have no doubt that his confidence is justified. The best obtainable information is that there are more cars waiting to be filled with coal than there is coal to fill them. In other words, the fuel problem is a problem of mining, not of transportation.

The seizure of the shipping of the "American Transatlantic Company" and the "Foreign Transport and Mercantile Corporation" is important because of the value and capacity of the vessels, which will make a fine addition to our fleet. It is still more significant because of its demonstration of the extent to which German plots and propaganda still

prevail in this country. These vessels have all along been entirely German-owned, screened by the perjuries of the German president of the company which operated them. Four other vessels of the same fleet, of the same ownership, were long ago seized by Great Britain—before we entered the war—at which, under the instigation of Bernstorff and his jackals a nation-wide attempt was made to cause a breach between America and Great Britain, on the ground that the vessels which the latter had seized were of American ownership. It is not at all strange that Bernstorff and the rest of that gang perjured themselves. That was their trade. Nor is it strange that some Americans and American papers blustered in their ignorance and prejudice against a "British outrage." But it does seem strange that our Government did not at that time so thoroughly investigate the case as to find out that the vessels were all entirely German-owned. It would be interesting to know how many more concerns are owned by Germans under a mask of perjury.

Registration Day is expected to see the enrollment of thirteen million men between the ages of 18 and 45, of whom probably about one-fifth will need to be drafted in order to fill up the army of five millions which is our present aim. That will be a big registration, but not a big draft, in proportion to the contribution of other countries to the Allied army. Great Britain has sent into the army and navy six and a quarter millions, out of a population considerably less than half as great as ours, and most of them went as volunteers. At that rate, the United States should send more than fourteen and a half million men to the front. We shall not need to send anything like that number, but until we do send at least half of it, there will be no ground for exploiting the magnitude of our sacrifice.

The closing of the breweries and beer saloons, which now seems assured, will make a greater change in social economy than almost, or perhaps, any other war measure. It will make no immediate change in the national revenue, but we shall be interested in watching for its possible effect upon subscriptions to Liberty bonds. That it will have some effect upon them is to be expected. Yet brewers can scarcely afford to let the effect become particularly apparent. It would be damning to them to have it appear that they had refused subscriptions out of sheer resentment.

Many inquiries are made as to why a stamp tax on bank checks and drafts was not inserted in the revenue bill. That was a familiar tax in the Civil War, and it was revived during the Spanish War with little if any remonstrance from the banking public. It would probably be more productive and less annoying or oppressive than some other levies which the bill now contains.

Speed, and speed, and yet again speed, must be the order of the day with the local conscription boards. General Crowder points out that the supply of men in Class 1 under the former age limits will be practically exhausted by the end of the present month. Unless, therefore, the flow of men into the camps is to be halted, which would be deplorable, men under the new registration which is being made to-day must by that time be available. That means that in a little

more than a fortnight the many millions of questionnaires must be distributed, filled out, returned and examined, the lists of serial numbers must be completed by all local boards, and the drawing must be held. Last year the similar work, though not so great in volume, required about thirty days. It will be a hardship to do it now in half that time, and the danger of errors will be increased. But this is a penalty which we must pay for the putting on of the brakes by the Secretary of War last June. All that can now be done is to make the best of it with speed, speed, speed!

Mr. Gompers has conducted himself with both courage and discretion in his mission to the British labor conference, and has probably strengthened the cause of labor solidarity for victory in the war. He was probably surprised, and certainly much disappointed, by the passage of Mr. Henderson's resolution calling for peace parleys as soon as the Huns are out of France and Belgium; which was adopted by a great majority over Mr. Wilson's counter-proposal for carrying the war on to the bitter end. On the face of it that was a most objectionable resolution. But we must decline to accept it at its face value. Indeed, the very men who put it through seem not to do so. Instead, they insist that it means that the war is to be fought out to a clean-cut victory. Such are the inscrutable subtleties of mentality in some political laborites. Mere words apart, we have full confidence in the purpose of the overwhelming majority of British workingmen to "carry on" until the Hun is completely defeated and a peace can be made that is acceptable to all the Allies. The British workingman is not an I. W. W.

That must be regarded as an incredible report which comes from Minnesota, that Mr. Lindbergh, formerly a Pacifist Representative, is likely to be appointed to an important place under the War Industries Board. Surely we have enough Pacifists in office already without adding to their number.

Eugene V. Debs, one of the most blatant and offensive agitators in the land, is on trial this week at Cleveland for alleged disloyal utterances. We assume that the only question involved is whether he actually said what he is reported to have said. If he did say it, only one ending of the case is possible.

A German newspaper calls Count von Hertling the Kaiser's grave-digger. We had supposed that William the Damned was his own grave-digger, on the Scriptural principle of a man falling into the pit which he dug for his neighbor. But this Hohenzollern deserves to be buried so deeply that perhaps two diggers are needed for the job.

Washington, Sept. 9.—In a formal report to the President on the slacker raids in New York Attorney-General Gregory will accept full responsibility for the raids and for the annoyance and inconvenience to which some were subjected. He will present data designed to show that the raids were successful and served a useful purpose, and that reports of high handed treatment or unreasonable procedure were greatly exaggerated.—*The Sun*.

This hardly jibes with previous disavowals from the Department of Justice, but we shall be glad to hear what Mr. Gregory has to say.

Draft-slackers, otherwise known as edsels, must be brought to book, of course, but there is good ground for the *World's* denunciation of the "round-up" in New York City as "a monstrous invasion of human rights" and "a shameful abuse of power." Truly, as the *World* says:

To seize tens of thousands of young men by force in this fashion and make them prisoners on the mere suspicion that they were military delinquents was an outrage. There had been no adequate warning of the raid, which might easily have been given. No provision had been made for the care of the captives. The guilty and the innocent, the strong and the weak, the law-abiding and the law-defying, were herded together promiscuously in armories and police stations, and private citizens, usurping judicial functions, passed judgment upon droves of free-born Americans kidnapped and insulted.

And as the *Tribune* remarks:

As a guarantee against the possibility of any repetition of this unfriendly and painful performance, it would occur to any one to suggest that all draft registrants be furnished with metal identification tags, suitable to be worn constantly, such as soldiers wear.

To which we have only to say that it not only would but did occur to the editor of this journal more than a year ago and if the suggestion, then put directly before the President, had been adopted, this outrageous performance would have been averted.

A JUST JUDGE

Among the prisoners arraigned in court this morning was a tall, handsome gentleman with dark eyes and an earnest expression, who carried in one hand a large typewriter and in the other a big stick, and answered to the name of George Harvey.

"Prisoner," said the court sympathetically, "you have been guilty of writing a book on tolerance and of telling some unpleasant truths about the present administration. What have you to say for yourself?"

"Your honor, it is true that I have referred to Secretary Baker as a vacillating pacifist, to Secretary Burleson as a politico-bureaucrat to George Creel as a nincompoop, and to Henry Ford as one who declared that the Flag is only something to rally around—to come down after the war is over and never to go up again. But I contend that this is genuine tolerance. Think of how mild I have been!"

"You believe that this is the best way to win the war?"

"I believe, your honor, that in a democracy there should always be criticism, but as I am, in an abject press the only conspicuous example of one who dares to tell the truth, I maintain that I ought to be decorated."

"Well, prisoner you may be entitled to your opinion. But in order to set a proper example, I sentence you to thirty days in Oyster Bay."

Joy, o joy!

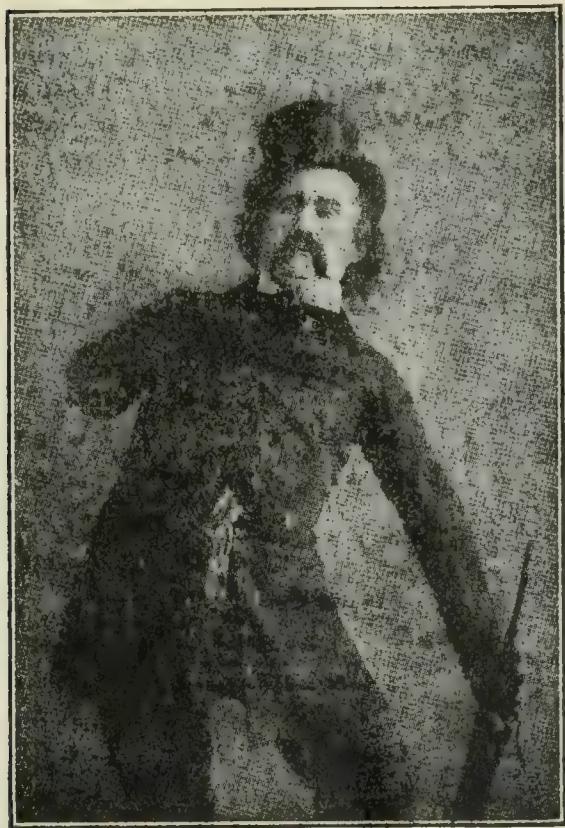
A real lesson of the Ford incident is its illustration of the weakness of the primary law—a thing that logic can defend finely and that practice demonstrates the weakness of. If democrats can select republican candidates and vice versa then there is an end to intelligent party politics, and yet this is permitted in Michigan and in other states and it was the hope of the democrats, who want Ford instead of a republican, to foist him on the republican ticket. Fortunately the scheme failed. If we are not mistaken, the vigorous exposing done by Colonel Harvey in the WAR WEEKLY helped largely to do the business.—*Hartford Courant*.

We wonder if Brother H. D. Baker also went abroad this time. If so, let us hope that, profiting from bitter experience, he took his straws with him.

What shall we do with the Kaiser when we "get" him?—*Louisville Courier-Journal*.

We suggest turning him over to the relatives of Edith Cavell or to the mothers and fathers of the "kiddies" on the *Lusitania* who were murdered by his express order.

We Hear from Mr. Creel



MR. CREEL IN HIS FAVORITE IMPERSONATION.
From a snapshot unauthorized by the Committee on
Public Information.

WE acknowledge hereby receipt of the following communication from the duly accredited spokesman of the Administration:

George Creel, Chairman,
The Secretary of State,
The Secretary of War,
The Secretary of the Navy.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 16, 1918.

MR. GEORGE HARVEY,
North American Review,
New York City, N. Y.

SIR,—I have no very deep conviction that you have any great interest in facts, but for purposes of record, in order that ignorance may not be pleaded, I mean to check up some of your most obvious misstatements in the August number, several copies of which have been sent to me.

(1) Let me say at the very beginning that no more cruel or infamous lie was ever printed than that our first transports were not attacked by submarines. They were attacked, as formally attested by the report of Admiral Gleaves. You are among the few who still persist in the circulation of this falsehood, that does not scruple to shame an Admiral and his men for the sake of a petty political advantage.

(2) You say, "It will be recalled that, immediately upon the publication of Mr. Creel's fabrication, the Associated Press in Washington received a message from one of its correspondents in England giving as the official view at the base of the United States flotilla that no such remarkable happening as he had depicted had taken place."

(3) As proved by the statement from Admiral Sims, copies of which I enclose, the correspondent did not pretend to give the official view, but simply forwarded the opinion of some people that he claimed to have met on the docks. Under examination, he could not even remember their names; and also, as you will note, insisted that his cable had not been meant for publication at all.

(4) Even in the smallest details you are grossly inaccurate, for it was not the Associated Press in Washington that received the message, but Mr. Melville Stone in New York.

(5) You say further that the report of Admiral Gleaves "has not been printed to this day." Here is another statement the absolute falsity of which could have been ascertained by any honest attempt at investigation. The report was issued in full immediately upon its receipt, and was printed quite widely in the press at the time, although somewhat inconspicuously. I enclose you a copy of it in the hope that you might decide to substitute the truth for prejudice.

(6) With regard to the quotation from the *World*, in which I am quoted as admitting my "elaboration," and also quoted as speaking continually of "nasty reports" and "nasty newspapers," down in your heart you must know that I never said a single word attributed to me, and that all of it was a bald and blackguardly fake. No man in the world ever talked that way. The style stands as a crude mind's conception of satire, and while it still enjoys some vogue among the half-baked, it came to me somewhat as a surprise that a metropolitan reporter should have recourse to such a cheap and hackneyed method.

(7) Not at any time did I admit the "elaboration." The statement of the Secretary of the Navy did not pretend to pass as a cable of Admiral Gleaves', but was frankly based upon the facts presented in that cable.

(8) Again let me call your inability to be accurate in any detail. You speak about my having been put upon an allowance of \$1,600,000 a year—the appropriation is \$1,250,000. As I have stated, I do not feel that you have any real interest in the truth, but I want to put the facts in your hands so that if you choose to persist in a lie, it will be knowingly.

Very truly,

(Signed) GEORGE CREEL, Chairman.

Passing for the moment as irrelevant, if not immaterial, the regrettable lack of deep conviction cited somewhat brusquely by Mr. Creel and numerating, for the sake of convenience, his specific allegations, we adventure the following response:

(1) Mr. Creel errs in saying that we uttered the "cruel and infamous lie" that our transports were not attacked by submarines. We have never said that they were not attacked. Nor to our knowledge has anybody else. In common with many, not "a few," we pronounced Mr. Creel's published account of the episode a gross exaggeration, unwarranted by the facts. Why this should tend to "shame an Admiral" or make for "a petty political advantage" we are quite unable to perceive. In any case, the official report of the Admiral, as presently we shall show, fully justified our contention.

(2) Yes, we said that,—upon the authority of the Washington correspondents, one of whom—the correspondent of the *World*—wrote under date of July 5:

The despatch was sent by an Associated Press correspondent at the base of the American flotilla, in British waters. It said that in official circles it was held that the statement telling of two engagements with submarines, given out in the name of Secretary Daniels, were inaccurate.

(3) Mr. Creel errs a second time in saying that he incloses "a statement from Admiral Sims"; it is from Commander Pringle. Inasmuch as it is labelled "Confidential, not for publication," we do not feel warranted in quoting from it further than to note that those with whom the correspondent talked, referred to by Mr. Creel as "some people," were officers of the United States Navy. That the cablegram was "not meant for publication at all" seems to be of less importance than the fact that apparently it contained the truth. Why, moreover, if he regarded this statement as of vital effect, Mr. Creel should have withheld it so long from publication, only to present it confidentially for our personal information at the expiration of a full year, we frankly, while thanking him for his courtesy, shall not venture to surmise.

(4) Mr. Creel seems to be unaware that Mr. Melville Stone—Mr. Melville E. Stone, to be exact—is general manager of the Associated Press of the United States. Whether he received the message in New York or in Washington does not impress us as being material.

(5) Mr. Creel errs a third time in accusing us of "absolute falsity" in saying that Admiral Gleaves's report "has not been printed to this day." In recounting the incident, we wrote, "Whereupon Mr. Creel, while forced to admit that

he had 'elaborated' the Admiral's report, which incidentally has not been printed to this day," etc. Obviously this referred to the original cablegram of June 27, which constituted the basis of Mr. Creel's vivid word picture of the battle at sea. But the report which Mr. Creel incloses for our inspection is the official report dated July 12, nine full days after Mr. Creel's stirring interpretation was published to the world. Since we cannot assume that so conscientious a purveyor of information as Mr. Creel would deliberately try to convict an unsuspecting publicist of "absolute falsity" by taking advantage of his presumed credulity or inattention, we can only attribute this really amazing inadvertence to the eccentricity of a truly extraordinary imagination. We reiterate our assertion that the original report of Admiral Gleaves, upon which Mr. Creel based his story, has never been published.

"Why not confound the author of this report by printing the text of the official announcement from Admiral Gleaves?" Mr. Creel was asked by the *World* correspondent.

"The nasty papers would even try to discredit that if we were to publish it," said Mr. Creel, his warmth waxing.

"Why do you not give out the text of the dispatch originally received from the Admiral, as has always been done?" he was asked by the *Tribune* correspondent.

"That would disclose to the Germans exactly the latitude and longitude of where the battle took place," he replied, "and would lead to a long controversy which would take away from this glorious event all the glamour it has possessed."

So the glamour of the glorious event has remained to this day, as we remarked, undimmed by the shadow of the facts from which the impressionist derived his inspiration.

(6) The quotation from the *World* to which Mr. Creel referred is the following:

"I am going over to the Navy Department and advise Secretary Daniels to pay no attention whatever to these nasty reports from this unpatriotic man," Mr. Creel said with much warmth. "Nothing that has happened since the war began has aroused the patriotism of the American people as much as this Fourth of July announcement," he continued, in referring to the version of the submarine attack written by himself. "If everything that this country does during the war is to be subjected to attack by nasty newspapers we might as well begin right here to put an end to the discussion by paying no attention to them."

We did not vouch for the accuracy of this interview; we merely chronicled its appearance in the *World*, which Mr. Creel admits. The question of veracity lies between the Chairman of the Department of Public Information and the chief Administration organ,—an exclusively family affair into which it would be most unbecoming for us to intrude. Nor would we think for a moment of passing upon Mr. Creel's accusation against the *World* of having perpetrated "a bald and blackguardly fake" further than to remark that "down in our heart," where mental activities are not noticeable, we find no such internal evidence of the *World's* depravity as Mr. Creel indicates.

(7) Again the question of veracity arises. The *World* of July 6 quotes Mr. Creel as follows:

I went to Secretary Daniels' office, where he and Admiral Benson had the report from Admiral Gleaves. It was rather cryptic. We read it over together and then I sat down and elaborated on the text of the deciphered message. I then wrote the announcement which appeared under Secretary Daniels' name. It was an elaboration of the original report from Rear Admiral Gleaves.

The *Tribune's* dispatch of the same date contained this statement as having emanated from Mr. Creel:

What happened was this: The despatch arrived at night. The Secretary, an officer of the navy and myself read it over. I then rewrote the despatch, elaborating it (exact words). The message itself was rather cryptic, as such cable messages usually are. The product was issued by the Secretary as his statement.

In the light of this and many other corroborations of the *World's* assertion and in the absence, until now, of any denial by Mr. Creel, we felt and still feel that we were warranted in accepting the report as correct.

Whether or not, in point of fact, Mr. Creel's version could be properly regarded as an "elaboration" is a matter upon which no intelligent opinion can be formed, since, as we have noted, the original cablegram has never been submitted to public scrutiny. A comparison of the interpretation of Mr. Creel with the official report subsequently made by Admiral Gleaves, however, affords an interesting indication. Here are the two versions of the happening:

MR. CREEL FOR MR. DANIELS

It is with the joy of a great relief that I announce to the people of the United States the safe arrival in France of every fighting man and every fighting ship. Now that the last vessel has reached port, it is safe to disclose the dangers that were encountered, and to tell the complete story of peril and courage. The transports bearing our troops were twice attacked by German submarines on the way across. On both occasions the U-boats were beaten off with every appearance of loss. One was certainly sunk, and there is reason to believe that the accurate fire of our gunners sent others to the bottom.

For purposes of convenience, the expedition was divided into contingents, each contingent including troopships and a naval escort designed to keep off such German raiders as might be met. An ocean rendezvous had also been arranged with the American destroyers now operating in European waters in order that the passage of the danger zone might be attended by every possible protection. The first attack took place at 10:30 on the night of June 22. What gives it peculiar and disturbing significance is that our ships were set upon at a point well this side of the rendezvous, and in that part of the Atlantic presumably free from submarines. The attack was made in force, although the night made impossible any exact count of the U-boats gathered for what they deemed a slaughter. The high seas convoy, circling with their searchlights, answered with heavy gunfire, and its accuracy stands proved by the fact that the torpedo discharge became increasingly scattered and inaccurate. It is not known how many torpedoes were launched, but five were counted as they sped by bow and stern.

ADMIRAL GLEAVES

About 10.15 P. M., June 22, the first group of the expeditionary force, of which the flagship was the leader, encountered the enemy's submarine in latitude — N., longitude — W.

Shortly before the attack the helm of the flagship had jammed, and the ship took a rank sheer to starboard; the whistle was blown to indicate this sheer. In a few minutes the ship was brought back to the course. At this time the officer of the deck and others on the bridge saw a white streak about fifty yards ahead of the ship, crossing from starboard to port, at right angles to our course. The ship was immediately run off 90° to starboard at full speed. I was asleep in the chart house at the time. I heard the officer of the deck say, "Report to the admiral a torpedo has just crossed our bow." General alarm was sounded, torpedo crews being already at their guns. When I reached the bridge the *A* and one of the transports astern had opened fire, the former's shell fitted with tracers. Other vessels of the convoy turned to the right and left, in accordance with instructions. *B* crossed our bow at full speed and turned toward the left column in the direction of the firing.

At first it was thought on board the flagship that the wake was that of a torpedo, but from subsequent reports from other ships and in the opinion of Lieut. X, who was on the bridge, it was probably the wake of the submarine boat itself. Two torpedoes passed close to the *A* from port to starboard, one about 30 yards ahead of the ship and the other under her stern, as the ship was turning to the northward. Capt. Y reports the incident thus:

"Steaming in formation on zigzag courses, with base

A second attack was launched a few days later against another contingent. The point of assault was beyond the rendezvous and our destroyers were sailing as a screen between the transports and all harm. The results of the battle were in favor of American gunnery. Not alone did the destroyers hold the U-boats at a safe distance, but their speed also resulted in the sinking of one submarine at least. Grenades were used in firing, a depth charge explosive timed to go off at a certain distance under water. In one instance oil and wreckage covered the surface of the sea after a shot from a destroyer at a periscope, and the reports make claim of sinking. Protected by our high seas convoy, by our destroyers, and by French war vessels, the contingent proceeded and joined the others in a French port.

The whole nation will rejoice that so great a peril is passed for the vanguard of the men who will fight our battles in France. No more thrilling Fourth of July celebration could have been arranged than this glad news that lifts the shadow of dread from the heart of America.

course 75° p. s. c., standard speed. At 10.25 sighted wake of a torpedo directly across our bow about 30 yards ahead of the ship. Changed course 90° to left and went to torpedo-defense stations. Fired two 1-pounder shots and one 5-inch shot from port battery in alarm in addition to six blasts from siren. Passed through two wakes, one being that from the U. S. S. C in turning to northward, the other believed to have been from the passing submarine. A second torpedo wake was reported at about 10.35 from after lookouts. After steaming in various courses at full speed, resumed course 89° p. s. c. at 11.10 for rendezvous. At 12 set course 56° p. s. c.—.

The torpedo fired at the *D* passed from *starboard to port*, about 40 yards ahead of the ship, leaving a distinct wake which was visible for about four or five hundred yards. Col. Z., United States Army, was on the starboard wing of the bridge of the *D* at the time and states: "I first first saw a white streak in the water just off the starboard bow, which moved rapidly across the bow very close aboard. When I first saw it, it looked like one very wide wake and similar to the wake of a ship, but after crossing the bow and when in line with it there appeared two distinct and separate wakes, with a streak of blue water between. In my opinion they were the wakes of two torpedoes."

The submarine which was sighted by the flagship was seen by the *B* and passed under that ship. The *B* went to quarters. When the alarm was sounded in the *B*, Lieut. W. was roused out of his sleep and went to his station, and found unmistakable evidence of the presence of a submarine. He had been there only a few seconds when the radio operator reported, "Submarine very close to us." As the submarine passed the *B* and the flagship's bow and disappeared close aboard on our port bow, between the columns, it was followed by the *B*, which ran down between the columns, and when the latter resumed her station she reported that there were strong indications of the presence of two submarines astern, which were growing fainter. The *B* was then sent to guard the rear of the convoy.

The reader can readily judge for himself the extent, if any, of the elaboration which Mr. Creel does not admit he ever made. The *World's* editorial comment of August 3 was this:

In making public the report of Rear Admiral Gleaves in reference to the German submarine attacks against the first expedition of American troops sent to France, Secretary Daniels has set the record straight.

There was no attack "in force," as Mr. Creel and the Committee on Public Information represented in the highfalutin Fourth of July statement prepared for the Navy Department. Nor was there any formal rendezvous of German U-boats "gath-

ered for what they deemed a slaughter." On two different occasions two submarines attacked the American ships. In both instances the U-boats were beaten off, and there is good reason to believe that one of them was sunk.

The simple, unelaborated narrative of Rear Admiral Gleaves is far more thrilling, in our opinion, than the 15-cent magazine rhetoric which Mr. Creel contributed to the occasion. It shows that the Navy Department did a job of which every American can well be proud, even if there was no "battle" in the sense in which that term may be properly used.

The navy has not received the credit for the work that it, did, largely because of the controversy which arose over Mr. Creel's fine language and press-agent exaggerations.

"The American people," disgustedly declared the *Times*, a near-Administration journal, "may pardon for a time the suppression of news. It is conceivable that the safety of our land and sea forces may demand certain reticences. But Americans will never pardon expanded, adorned, exaggerated, and untruthful accounts of conflicts in which our forces may be engaged. They do not want to be put in the humiliating and ridiculous position of rejoicing over great victories never achieved, of exulting over the defeat of the enemy 'in force' when the affair described is one of the ordinary incidents of the transatlantic navigation."

"It is now admitted," added the *Evening Post*, another near-cuckoo at the time, "that Mr. Creel took a somewhat 'cryptic' report by Admiral Gleaves, and 'elaborated' it. Mr. Creel knows what this process is called in newspaper offices. It is plain 'faking.' A bare cablegram of a dozen words is expanded into a half column of romantic description. This method is frowned upon by the reputable press, and it surely ought to be in official circles at Washington. Let the Government give the nation the facts, and it will attend to its own thrilling. We do not need a bureaucrat to tell us that the news is glorious."

These were representative views as expressed by the Press throughout the country.

(8) We stand corrected. We should have said that Mr. Creel expended \$1,600,000 last year and it was taken for granted that he would receive a like sum this year, but the House Committee, after questioning him at length respecting his activities, reduced the appropriation to \$1,250,000. Whether it is a matter of vital importance or whether the inadvertent error really establishes our "inability to be accurate in any detail," we do not feel called upon to discuss. We frankly concede that, in this instance, Mr. Creel was right and we were wrong, as he usually is.

Nor does it seem to be necessary to dwell at length upon the disbelief in our regard for truth so frankly avowed by Mr. Creel in his exordium and peroration. Distressing though it is, coming from a high official of the Government, to one who is under indictment for the alleged libeling by another of a sovereign State and is threatened with prosecution for plain speaking by the opulent Mr. Ford, it appears as hardly more than another feather added to the burdens of war. Our attitude toward Mr. Creel from the beginning of his tempestuous career, moreover, has been one less by far of vexation than of pity for both the country and himself. For that reason, as will be noted, we have restricted our comment sharply to the instances raised by his own indignant pen. We have not even referred to the official admissions of Secretary Baker, a member of Mr. Creel's committee and a recognized expert upon delusive statements, to the effect that Mr. Creel was prone to use "improper words," that his

assertions were "unwarranted," that "exaggeration seemed to exist," that he "overstated the perfection of the Liberty motor," that his descriptions were "misleading," that his "legends" were "out of proportion," etc.

Nor at any time have we regarded Senator Reed's depiction of Mr. Creel as a "licensed liar" as warranted. Not only is there no statute providing for the issuance of licenses to prevaricators, but we have it upon the authority of trustworthy witnesses who have seen Mr. Creel disporting upon the beach that he does not wear the customary tag inscribed with his name, breed and place to be returned if found astray.

The fact remains, however, that Mr. Creel holds a highly important post vested with great powers for good or harm, all of which he seems keen to exercise to the full. Subordinate to him are three members of the Cabinet who, in common of course with the President who appointed him and continues to stand manfully as his sponsor, share the responsibility for his varied activities. Similar positions abroad are held, in England by Lord Beaverbrook; in France by M. Bouillon, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Deputies; and in Italy by M. Gallenga-Stuart and M. Comandi; all men of distinction, noted particularly for judgment, discretion and tact.

The time may come when, by way of contrast conformably to the tenets of constructive criticism, it will seem advisable to visualize comprehensively Mr. Creel's performances, but for the present the excessive cost of pulp paper constitutes a positive deterrent. We are not unmindful of the fact, moreover, that we have not yet redeemed our pledge to present in bold relief a painstaking study of Mr. Baker as a Whole.

We regret the necessity, therefore, of informing Mr. Creel that he must await in patience his pleasurable turn. Not only does Mr. Baker still hold the right of way on the traditional single track of the Administration but we ourselves have no wish to emulate further the reprehensible example of a certain very young lady who was caught only yesterday scrubbing the cat with her toothbrush.

We would not wish our readers to think that we want the rights of Harvey or his kind to say what they want to say curtailed for a moment. We believe the only efficient answer to Harvey's abuse is achievement on the part of those whom he criticises so venomously, and that suppression in his case, as well as in all others, is a most inefficient answer to either abuse or sincere criticism.—*New York Call*.

We seldom agree with our Socialist neighbor, but in this instance it is absolutely right. Achievement is all we ask and a complete answer to any criticism which we may apply. As to "suppression," fudge!

Yet Mr. Ford has been of extraordinary service to the Government since the war began for the United States. He has done more than any other man to insure a quantity production of the Liberty motor. He is turning out submarine chasers in clouds.—*Philadelphia Telegram*.

He has done nothing of the kind; without any flare of trumpets, the Packard company has produced five times as many Liberty motors as Ford; and his "clouds of chasers" comprise precisely three, of which the first had to be put back for rebuilding when Mr. Herreshoff discovered that the engine was placed so far forward that it could not live in a rough sea. But Edsel is safe!

Speaking of Illinois, the *Tribune* said:

The nomination of Thompson would be unthinkable. In the words of Theodore Roosevelt at the Illinois capital recently: "Mayor Thompson's speeches and actions as Mayor of the great city of Chicago during the eighteen months since we broke off relations and then went to war with Germany have been such that his election to the Senate would be a calamity from the standpoint of Americanism and patriotism while this country is engaged in a foreign war, and would be misinterpreted both at home and abroad, and would give satisfaction to Germany and satisfaction to the pro-German element here."

That is all right; but what about Norris, Republican, of Nebraska? Will the *Tribune* kindly speak up?

It is greatly to his credit that, within a week after we ventured the suggestion, the President sent Mr. Ryan to Paris to urge upon our Allies the pressing need of co-ordination in aircraft production. Mr. Baker, who also went along, is a fly in the ointment, but we rely upon Mr. Ryan to get something done.

The Governor of Kentucky has an opportunity to serve his State and his Nation by appointing to the United States Senate a man whose caliber will assure the highest and best possible service with no purpose other than to work determinedly and disinterestedly for the Administration in its great war tasks. It may be that the brief interval before March 4 will prove even more momentous than the entire period of the following senatorial term. These are times when each day requires brains, loyalty, clearness of vision and lofty motive in the Senate and every other office of responsibility—ingredients which, for that matter, should be present at all times. The Governor can assure us the employment of such qualities.—*Louisville Courier-Journal*.

He can do just that—by naming for the critical interim term Colonel Henry Watterson, patriot of patriots, Democrat of Democrats, publicist of publicists, orator of orators, first citizen of Kentucky and second to none in the Union. For the first time in forty odd years the Grand Old Man is free to accept a public position commensurate with his renown. May he be sent to Washington crowned with laurels!

We cannot recall that ever before in the history of the country authentic reports of Senate proceedings and official Senate documents were suppressed by government censor. Neither do we remember that ever before deliberate misrepresentations were officially published by the Government. Really, the creel is unique.

Somebody says that Senator Jim Ham Lewis says that Clemenceau says that Newton D. Baker impressed him as a man of great resource. Was that glowing panegyric upon one of the ablest public officials the President has even known inspired by observations of a certain straw-hunting episode in the Parisian subterranean career of Brother H. D.?

"George Creel is a licensed liar."—Senator Reed.
Who licensed him?

If you want a big nickel's worth, buy a copy of Col. George Harvey's WAR WEEKLY. It is well written, full of facts, and speaks right out what's on its mind.—*New York Advertising Club*

Washington, Sept. 9.—An amendment to the espionage act designed to reach draft slackers and to punish disloyal talk was passed by the Senate to-day after brief debate and sent to the House. It fixes a maximum penalty of twenty years imprisonment or a fine of \$10,000 or both for making false reports or statements with intent to interfere with the United States military or naval success.—*The Sun*.

That is the way to do it.

Politics really was adjourned in Maine.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

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The Forthcoming Elections

TO speculate upon the probable outcome of the forthcoming elections at a time when precedents count for naught is idle, perhaps, but none the less interesting. Ordinarily, despite common acceptance of the supposition that the Democratic majority in the Senate cannot be overcome, we should expect the Republicans to carry both Houses. Let us see! Of the thirty-two Senators to be elected regularly and four to fill unexpired terms, seventeen are to be chosen in debatable States, to wit:

New Hampshire (2).	Rhode Island.	Delaware.
Illinois.	Kansas.	Colorado.
Montana.	South Dakota.	Wyoming.
Missouri.	Kentucky.	Nevada.
Nebraska.	New Mexico.	Idaho (2).

The present Democratic majority is 8. A net Republican gain of 4 would make a tie; a net Republican gain of 5 would give the Republicans a majority of 2.

Mr. Wilson won a scant majority of 56 in New Hampshire two years ago, with the aid of the naturalized French Canadians in the northern part of the State who were opposed to war. The same class in Maine also supported the President, but this year in the Congressional election they voted the Republican ticket. It is to be expected that their fellows in New Hampshire will do likewise. If so, the election of the two popular Republican candidates to succeed Mr. Gallinger, Republican, and Mr. Hollis, Democrat, may be anticipated, making a Republican gain of 1.

Senator Lewis will have the full force of the Administration's influence in Illinois, but the defeat of Mr. Wilson by Mr. Hughes in that State by more than 200,000 plurality indicated a lack of personal following generally, aside from the persistent disaffection of the Sullivan faction. The State is normally strongly Republican and Mr. McCormick, who is not likely to lose many of the former Progressives and has the vigorous support of the powerful Chicago *Tribune*, should win easily, despite the undoubted political dexterity of his adversary.

Although Mr. Wilson carried Kansas by 32,000, Mr. Capper was elected Governor simultaneously by 162,000. He

is now the Republican candidate for Senator and is practically certain to win, scoring a third Republican gain.

Representative Roberts is the Republican candidate for Senator from Nevada against Senator Henderson, who is serving as the Democratic successor of Mr. Newlands. Mr. Roberts is a pronounced disloyalist. He voted for the McLemore resolution, for the Cooper amendment forbidding American ship owners to exercise their undoubted legal rights, against the Declaration of War and against conscription. He ought to be defeated, but his great personal popularity is shown by his election to the last five successive Congresses, and he is likely to win.

Senator Borah is so strong in Idaho that he is not only sure of re-election himself but will probably carry to success his Republican running mate against Mr. Nugent, the Democrat appointed to succeed Senator Brady, a Republican, thus making another Republican gain of 1.

If the members of the quarrelsome du Pont family in the pocket borough of Delaware have really buried the hatchet, as reported, they quite likely may defeat Mr. Saulsbury, the sitting Democrat. The State gave Mr. Wilson 1200 majority, but simultaneously elected a Republican Governor by twice that number. With the du Pont feud eliminated, Delaware is normally Republican.

Here, then, are 4 practically certain, 5 probable and 6 possible gross Republican gains.

We attach little importance to Republican expectations of defeating the Democratic candidates in Kentucky, Missouri, Colorado and Montana.

Mr. Wilson carried Wyoming by nearly 7,000 in a total of 50,000 and it is altogether probable that a Democrat having his unqualified endorsement might carry the State against anybody—even Mr. Mondell—except Mr. Warren. But the venerable Republican Senator not only maintains his strong personal hold upon his State but has managed so shrewdly to keep cheek by jowl with the Administration that he can hardly be beaten.

The French Canadians pop up again in Rhode Island. They did not emulate the example of their brethren in Maine and New Hampshire in supporting Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Hughes carried the State; but they did vote as a unit for

young Mr. Gerry, Democrat, and elected him by a thumping majority, to the great surprise, we suspect, of Senator Lippitt. It was a sheer triumph of the numerically stronger class, of which a repetition may be anticipated, thus scoring a Democratic gain of 1.

The Republican disloyalist Norris of Nebraska ought to be and, we think, can be defeated by the worthy former Democratic Governor Morehead; but the wish may be father to the thought; we can feel no sense of surety until the disposition of the Republican national leaders and of Mr. Victor Rosewater of the influential Omaha *Bee* shall be made manifest.

Despite the mix-up in Oregon, where one Republican wants to be elected but promises to resign in favor of another if he should be and where a vigorous Democratic candidate frankly avows his hope that his Republican adversary will win, there is little doubt that the Republicans will hold their own. Except when Mr. Chamberlain is running, Oregon is pretty consistently Republican.

No Republican except Senator Fall probably could carry New Mexico this year, but unhappily for the Democrats Mr. Fall has finally decided to run, and his election is virtually assured.

The Democrats will make a strong effort to defeat Senator Sterling in South Dakota, but with little prospect of success unless, almost inconceivably, the Administration should back up the unpatriotic "non-partisan league."

So we perceive but 1 probable and, at the outside, 3 possible gross Democratic gains, to offset partially the 4 certain, 5 probable and 6 possible gross gains by the Republicans.

It follows inevitably that, if the trend to the Republican party should prove sufficiently strong to change the political complexion of the Senate, it cannot fail to sweep the Republicans into control of the House of Representatives, now evenly divided, by a substantial majority. Ordinarily, then, as we have remarked, we should expect the opposition to capture both branches of Congress.

The fact is that the significance of the Maine election has not been fully recognized. While the President, greatly to his credit, sturdily withstood urgent insistence that he intercede on behalf of Democratic candidates, his party associates harped incessantly upon the one note that a vote for a Republican would be a vote for the Kaiser.

"I only ask you," spoke the Democratic candidate for Senator, "to send to Wilson your vote of confidence in him and in his splendid leadership. Do not by your vote send any confidence to Germany. Defeat the Huns!"

The Democratic committee also boiled down its appeal to the following direct entreaty, which was circulated by every available means throughout the State:

Don't you suppose that the German authorities and newspapers, if the Democrats get the worst of it in the congressional elections this fall by the Republicans, in this country, will at once proclaim the news from the housetops that the American administration, which has been conducting the war so vigorously against Germany, has not been backed by the United States, but on the contrary has been rebuked, and that, if the Germans will only hold on a few months longer, America may be out of the war entirely, as evidenced by the result of the election?

Of course they will do just that thing, and thus a Republican victory in the election this fall would probably mean months longer of war, bloodshed, and terrible sacrifice and agony.

But the voters did not respond. They not only increased the Republican majority for Senator in 1916 by more than a third, but also elected every Republican candidate for Congress and, in the one district which the Democrats hoped to carry, increased the Republican majority from 500 to 2500. We suspect that the drily humorous observation of Representative White to the effect that "Mr. McGillicuddy says that my election would please the Kaiser and that his election would be a blow to the Kaiser, but to be honest about it, I don't believe the Kaiser ever heard of either Mr. McGillicuddy or myself or is ever likely to," tickled the fancy of the Yankees and contributed somewhat to the result; but in the main it seems clear that the citizens rejected the notion that one cannot stand intelligently by the country without standing blindly by the President, and endorsed the judgment that no harm can ensue from relieving Mr. Claude Kitchin and his Southern Democratic colleagues of authority over ways and means of raising and expending huge sums of money, extracted chiefly and in grossly unfair proportion from sections other than their own. In this particular, at any rate, we are convinced that "as feels—if not goes—Maine, so feels the Union."

But, because at present writing the chances seem to favor the Republicans, it does not follow necessarily that a like condition will maintain six weeks hence. Psychology and sentiment are yet to be reckoned with. The splendid performance of our First Army strengthens immeasurably the one effective Democratic appeal, "We have made mistakes, but we have made good; we are winning the war; don't stop us!"

Although we doubt greatly that this sweeping declaration, however cleverly put forward, as it surely will be by the astute leader of the Democratic party, would suffice now to overwhelm prevailing dissatisfaction and distrust, none may deny its power, and if the armies created by the Administration should continue to achieve further notable triumphs up to the week of election, the possibility of Mr. Wilson carrying the country with a whoop is apparent.

Bickerings over relative manifestations of partisanship such as have punctuated the wearisome exchange of communications, however momentous in seeming, between Mr. Tumulty and Mr. Hays, avail nothing. The Republicans are now in the van. The only question is, can they hold their position? And the answer must come in part from abroad, where the Administration is in complete control of the situation and may be relied upon to make the most, though not inevitably enough, of its opportunity.

Meanwhile, let us frankly concede both the right and the obligation of each party to do its best to win and patiently consign to the spacious limbo of political humbugs all pretense to the contrary on the part of either with respect to the other.

So Brother H. D. is a Captain, not of Horse Marines, in the Regular Army—and in France, too, we hear, with a bunch of straws. Well, well!

PRESIDENT NEUTRAL IN NEW JERSEY.—*Headline in the Sun.*

Well, there isn't much choice.

The Peace Drive Smashed

AMERICA answers Austria. That imperial harlot, speaking for her Hunnish master, cries for peace. America, speaking for the allied powers of democracy and civilization, replies that there is no peace for the world's troublers, but the sword. "There is," says the President, in words never surpassed by him for readiness, for consistency, for moral courage, for spiritual resolution, "there is only one reply. . . . The United States . . . can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position and purpose so plain." For his prompt utterance of those words, all praise and honor to Woodrow Wilson!

In the making of this peace drive the expected has happened. There has always been a peace drive when the war was going against the Huns. Just now it is going against them more than ever before. Therefore a greater peace drive than ever before is undertaken. The parallel is striking in detail as well as in general. The Huns are losing all along the line from the "Silver Streak" to the Alps, from the Alps again to the Bosphorus, from the Caucasus to the shores of the Pacific, and on the coast of the Arctic Ocean. They are losing on land, under the sea, and in the air. The revolt of Spain and the exposure of Bolshevik infamy mark their final disasters in diplomacy. Therefore they begin a peace drive at all possible points. First, Burian; second, the Kaiser; third, Payer; fourth, Hertling; and fifth, the Austro-Hungarian government. All five have spoken in succession within a week; each presenting some different phase of pacifist plausibility. All five are susceptible of a single answer:

"There is no peace, saith the Lord, for the wicked!"

Let us consider the matter calmly. By virtue of a coincidence so striking and so felicitous as to suggest Divine dispensation, the Austrian peace plea and the complete conviction of the Hun appeared at precisely the same moment of time. The former is a request for all belligerents—therefore for America and Germany—to get together and discuss terms of peace; implying necessarily that they shall meet as equals, giving each other full faith and confidence, since meeting on any other ground would be a futile and mischievous mockery. But the latter, appearing simultaneously, is an absolutely convincing demonstration of the impossibility of any such meeting on any such ground; the impossibility, that is to say, of America's giving any faith and trust to Germany, or entering into any negotiations with her. Never were bane and antidote more perfectly correlated.

"Let us talk peace!" cries perjured Austria.

"Peace cannot be discussed!" reply the official archives of the German government.

For here is documentary evidence, complete and irrefragable of German mendacity, treachery and all-embracing turpitude that makes that nation unique in the annals of crime, and that forbids any self-respecting and truth-respecting power to enter into relations with it, save such as are conducted with fire and sword. To respond pacifically to the incredibly impertinent and inept appeal would be treason to man and God. There is but one possible, one conceivable answer:

"Force; Force to the utmost; Force without stint or limit!"

It was supremely fitting that America, and that America through the lips of Woodrow Wilson, should give this answer. It is now less than two years ago that the greatest Hun peace drive before the present was undertaken. It was undertaken because of America's prospective entrance into the war, as the present is because of her actual and effective participation in it. It was answered by the President, then speaking as the head of a nominally neutral State; and his answer was, with a patience and a tolerance that amazed the world, that there must be "peace without victory."

There is no such answer now. The opportunity is being improved of demonstrating to the world the advance which America in less than two years has made in penetration and clarity of vision, in recognition of the incapacity of the German government and the German people for covenanted peace, and in inexorable resolution to prosecute the war until peace is attained with victory, peace with victory upon the terms which the President, with the earnest approval of this nation and all its loyal Allies, has declared to be the only possible terms of peace.

We shall not see the President, we shall not see the Nation, recede from that noble stand, once nobly taken and now so nobly reaffirmed. America is not to be moved from that stand by any peace drive directed by the prostituted power which made itself the strumpet of the Hun, even to the extent of letting the assassination of its heir to the throne be used as the Hun's pretext for a pre-determined war. The answer to these hypocritical bleatings from Vienna rises swiftly and fervid in every American heart. It quivers with zeal for utterance on every American lip. It has been expressed by the President with all of his official authority, his intellectual power, his moral and spiritual exaltation. As our American soldiers so greatly aided in defeating the German war-drive and turning it into a great Allied advance, so our American President has given the word for defeating this German peace-drive and for turning its back upon its confused and dismayed authors in an irresistible campaign of force without stint or limit.

The peace-drive is smashed.

The administration spikes the guns of the critics of war management by a compromise concession to the demand for an air secretary by appointing John D. Ryan second assistant secretary of war in charge of both air craft production and military aeronautics. Benedict Crowell is made director of munitions. Edward Stettinius is made special representative of the War Department in France, having heretofore held the official place now given Mr. Ryan. All these men are still subordinate to Secretary Baker. The air and munition ministries have no plenary powers. They are tubs to the whale.—W. M. Reedy in the *Mirror*.

Only technically subordinate, we imagine; so at any rate let us hope and pray.

No, Mr. George S. Coxe, Mr. Baker did not go abroad to avoid the draft; he will be 47 in December. We do not know how old, except mentally, the creel is; he is not yet a Who.

The Miracle of St. Mihiel

ANOTHER name of glory is added to the annals of our wars. If we call it the Miracle of St. Mihiel that is not to claim rivalry with the Miracle of the Marne. Even miracles may differ, like stars, in glory. Yet this later achievement is not unworthy to be ranked not far from that other whose fourth anniversary is so closely commemorated. The one was a miracle of defence, in which hastily-gathered and little-prepared troops withstood a superior force and saved Paris, France and the world from the black flood of Hunnish barbarism. The other is a superb achievement of attack, in which a well-ordered army in its first adventure drove and routed a fully equal foe from fortresses in which for four years he had been impregnably seated.

That is the first thought, filled with unspeakable gratitude and exultation, that in its first independent battle the American army has won a great, a clean-cut and overwhelming victory. The troops engaged, or most of them, a year before had been untrained, untried civilians. Never before had they been engaged in battle. Yet they captured and slew and vanquished the veterans of many years of Potsdam Kultur and the inheritors of the traditions of generations of professional militarism. There could scarcely have been a finer achievement, more typical of the American spirit at its best. It is an abundant earnest of what American participation in this war means, though flouted and scorned and derided by the arrogant enemy, and what it is going to mean to the end.

Another gratifying thought has to do with the scene of the great victory. We have hitherto expressed the satisfaction which Americans must feel at the placing of our army on the extreme right of the Allied line, there to be entrusted with the task of redeeming Alsace and Lorraine from the Hunnish brigands who have held them in captivity for nearly half a century. We might have thought that the French would wish to reserve that duty for themselves. In entrusting it to us they have paid us the highest possible compliment. Nor is that all that the position means. It means that our army is not merely at the right of the line but also in the van of the advance into German territory, and—to Berlin. Parts of our line are already upon soil which Germany claims as her own and which she has held for nearly fifty years, and almost within cannon shot of the Rhine itself; and at much the nearest point to Berlin of all the Allied lines. No wonder that the Badeners are contemplating evacuation of their menaced homes.

In another respect the advance is of enormous significance. That is, that it makes straight for that rich coal and iron region of Lorraine which was the prize for which Germany chiefly stole the provinces in 1871, and for which indeed she very largely forced that war upon France. It is still a long road and a hard road to Metz, and it may be a long and a hard task to reduce that fortress which the Germans have been strengthening and perfecting for more than forty years. But this side of Metz lies the great mineral belt from which Germany gets the coal and iron for her industries and for her arsenals and shipyards, and it will be strange if our troops are not able soon to make it untenable to the Hunnish spoilers. The loss of the mines

might well be a more serious blow to Germany than the fall of Metz. And we shall expect to see both happen.

Of the larger aspects of strategy it might be rash too confidently to speak. It is, however, obvious that with the fall of the mighty bastion of St. Mihiel the left of the German line is badly shattered, and with continuing pressure upon it at all parts clear to the Belgian coast its integrity will be gravely menaced. Much will depend upon the direction of the continued American advance. Will it be eastward, towards Metz and the Rhine; or eastward, towards, let us say, Sedan? Either course would present most interesting possibilities. Of one other aspect, however, we can speak with confidence, namely, the loss of manpower which the Huns are suffering. That is, after all, the most important thing. Hindenburg lines, Wotan lines, Bruenhilde lines, are lines upon a scrap of paper, and terrain lost in one drive may be regained in another; but a German killed is a German made good forever. Even more than the elimination of the St. Mihiel salient, therefore, we value the elimination of tens of thousands of German soldiers. For the way to win this war is to kill Huns.

It was a glorious achievement. Yet we must remember that the Miracle of the Marne, great as it was, did not end the war, which has continued for more than four years since. Neither will the Miracle of St. Mihiel end it. The supreme lesson which it offers us is the need of "carrying on"; of speeding up conscription, camp work, and transportation, until we have so many men upon the fighting line that we shall be able to have a St. Mihiel every day, in every sector of the Western front. More troops! more guns! more airplanes! and Force, to the utmost! That is the call of St. Mihiel to the American nation.

Poet-Laureate Robert Bridges sings through the London *Times*:

See England's stalwart daughter whose emprise
'Gainst her own mother, freeborn of the free;
Who slew her sons for her slaves' liberty;
See for mankind her majesty arise!
From her new world her unattainted eyes
Espy deliverance, and her bold decree
Speaks for Great Britain's wide confederacy—
The folk shall rule if only they be wise.
Ambition, hate, revenge, the secret sway
Of priest and Kingcraft shall be done away.
By faith in beauty, chivalry, and good,
One God made all, and will all wrongs forgive,
Save the hell hearts who stab men's hope to live
In mutual freedom, peace, and brotherhood.

Very good; very good, indeed; even though, as it happens, we are not fighting either priests or kingcraft as embodied in Cousin George; we are out to kill Huns.

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The Revelation of the Hun

The Hun now stands revealed. So likewise stands that assistant Hun whom we commonly call Bolshevik. It would be impossible to exaggerate the significance of the disclosures which our Government is making of the results of its agents' efficient activities in Russia. It may be that there is little that is new in them. Practically all the essential facts have been stated, and believed, before. But the important thing is that what we before saw through a glass, darkly, we now see face to face in the *ipsissima verba* of German and Russian official documents. It is such a revelation of almost every conceivable national and international vice and crime as horrified humanity has never known before. By the side of its appalling details, Marat and Robespierre seem humane and Benedict Arnold loyal and honorable.

These are what they show:

That as far back as 1887, under Moltke, Caprivi and Waldersee, a war for world-conquest by Germany was planned; so definitely that when in 1914 the war was actually begun, it was begun on the identical plans of twenty-seven years before. The war of 1914 simply executed the conspiracy of 1887.

That in the early summer of 1914, before the assassinations at Sarajevo, preparations were made for immediately beginning a great European and world-wide war; for which the quickly-following assassinations served as a convenient pretext. This throws a fearful reflection of plausibility upon the charge, which has been explicitly made by writers of information and character, that those assassinations were officially arranged for at Vienna and Berlin for the purpose which they served.

That early in the war and long before our entry into it the German Government directed the "hiring and bribing" of "anarchists and escaped criminals" and others, to cause fires, explosions, riots and other like occurrences throughout the United States; at a time when the United States was scrupulously neutral and was on friendly terms with Germany.

That the Bolshevik revolution in Russia was conceived and organized in Germany, and that "Comrade Lenine" and "Comrade Trotzky" were selected and hired to lead it, to betray Russia into deserting her allies and to compass the downfall and the German conquest and spoliation of that unhappy country.

These, we say, are some of the salient features of this doubly damning disclosure, presented with "confirmation strong as proofs of Holy Writ." They are not surprising to those who have studied the German character and have observed the tortuous and turpitudinous course of German intrigue; nor to those who unerringly discerned the utter villainess of the Bolsheviks at a time when those who should have known better were counselling sympathy, encouragement and aid for those unspeakable miscreants, and were deprecating any intervention in behalf of the respectable elements of Russia lest we should thus drive Kamerad Lenine and Kamerad Trotzky into the arms of their German employers and masters.

The really significant thing about it all is, then, not the portrayal of Hunnish and Bolshevik infamy, but the plight in which it leaves the American sympathizers with that noxious crew. Here are the followers of Scott Nearing, who

exult in calling themselves American Bolsheviks and who urge the Bolshevik system as a model for reorganization of the American Government. Here is a person called Reed, who calls himself the Bolshevik consul-general in America. Here are numerous others more or less inclined in the same direction. Are we to consider them just plain, ordinary damned fools, or have they, too, been "hired or bribed" with gold from the German Imperial Bank?

Perhaps, too, it will be worth while to consider why pacifists of the Ford type are so much inclined toward peace through negotiation with the chief author and director of these infamies. For what reason, concrete or sentimental, should American citizens wish the treachery and betrayal of Brest-Litovsk to be repeated with the United States as the victim?

It is a great and timely service which our Government is performing, in making these revelations. The published documents and reports are to be commended to the consideration of all who are weary of the war, of all who are tempted by German suggestions of peace through arrangement, of all who still cherish the delusion that Germany is entitled to a place at the council-board of the nations.

Even the faint hope that the mail service would improve when Politicalmaster General Burleson's personal attention should be diverted to telegraphs and telephones has not been realized.

The President of the United States walked to church yesterday. Did you?—*Hartford Courant*.

No, Dr. Clark; he rode behind a pair of "spanking bays." Did you?

Mr. Justice Clarke's Views

For the judgments of Mr. John H. Clarke, as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States we must have profound respect. From some of his *obiter dicta* as a volunteer diplomat we must earnestly dissent. He is quoted as saying at a recent meeting of the American Bar Association that at the end of the war the German people should be "invited to share in a just, even a generous, peace, without which the permanent peace of the world can never be secured. We must," he continued, "aim at a constructive and healing peace—not an angry and sullen truce that will lead to further war."

Now we have no doubt of Mr. Justice Clarke's impeccable loyalty, or of his perfect good faith in making those statements for what he sincerely believed to be the welfare of this nation and the world. Yet we must say that if a pro-German propagandist desired to suggest a peculiarly subtle and mischievous error, to seduce the American mind and to balk the Allied nations in their great struggle for democracy and humanity, he could scarcely do so with more pernicious effectiveness than through the use of those very words. Such sentiments might have passed muster two or three years ago, when even the President himself was talking of the necessity of "peace without victory." Their utterance

now, by a man of so distinguished and influential standing, is surprising and regrettable beyond ready expression.

It is the more surprising because Mr. Justice Clarke as a jurist should be particularly keen in recognizing the incongruity of inviting a criminal to share in a "generous" settlement of his crimes. That is certainly not the practice nor the spirit of American jurisprudence. The rule, of which Mr. Justice Clarke is an eminent exponent, is to give the criminal the benefit of all reasonable doubt and to throw the burden of proving his guilt upon the prosecution; but when once his guilt is proved, to impose upon him a sentence in the prescription of which he is not "invited to share," but which is dictated by authority without his participation or assent. If Germany, the wanton law-breaker, the plunderer, the incendiary, the ravisher, the murderer, without, as the President has said, the capacity for making and observing a covenanted peace—if Germany does not stand before the world as such a convicted criminal, then all rules of evidence are a delusion and a dream.

We are not unmindful of the fact that Mr. Justice Clarke spoke specifically of the German people, and we are ready to assume that he meant to differentiate clearly between them and their government. That differentiation, too, was widely made a few years ago, even by the President. But the time for it is past. The German people have "sinned away their day of grace," and must now be subject to the penalties of their government. That is not merely because they have given no effective demonstration of dissent from the infamies of their government, but also because they have in a positive and unmistakable manner shown their approval of them. Nor is that true of only those in Germany, who may not know the truth but are kept in the ignorance and malicious misinformation which a perjured government and its "reptile press" impose upon them. Some of the most extreme and venomous upholders of Hohenzollern crime have been and are among Germans in this country, who are not coerced by the Prussian police and who have as full knowledge of the truth as any of us. If they can thus sympathize with crime, what are we to think of those in Germany itself?

An expert jurist should appreciate the simple logic of the case. The German people either do or do not approve the criminal conduct of their government in this war. If they do approve it, they are in effect participants in those crimes. If they do not approve it, they have at any rate not made their disapproval effective, or even apparent to the world, and thus by their acquiescence they have incurred a full measure of responsibility. The man who stands by and sees a crime committed without resisting or protesting, can not expect to be held blameless. There is, moreover, a steadily increasing volume of testimony to the effect that the German people were as eager for the war as was the Kaiser, and that they heartily support him in his infernal policy. We have very recently heard such testimony, explicit and emphatic, from two widely different sources. One is Dr. Muelhon, who was formerly a director of the great Krupp works at Essen, a German of the Germans; and the other is Dr. Davis, who for many years was the Kaiser's dentist and confidential companion. Dr. Muelhon emphatically declares that the German people, even the Social Democrats, were hot for the war, for the sake of the plunder and loot which they expected to get out of it; and he adds that among the worst of all were the spiritual and intellectual leaders and

teachers of the people, the preachers and college professors. Dr. Davis's opinion, formed from long and intimate observation, is that "all Germans are militarists," and that no considerable proportion of them, even of the Socialists, would depose the Kaiser if they could.

No, we must absolutely dissent from the proposal to invite the Germans into equal conference for the making of a "generous peace." To do so would be to stultify ourselves and to sacrifice the principles for which we are fighting this war. We prefer to set against Mr. Justice Clarke's extraordinary suggestion the diametrically opposite judgment of the President, that this abominable Thing which we know as the German power must either be completely crushed or completely excluded from intercourse with the civilized world; until perhaps in the slow process of the years the German people shall outgrow the poisonous taint with which they have during the last century been so sedulously and so profoundly infected, and by bringing forth fruits meet for repentance shall have proved their fitness for a place in the council of the nations. For the present, this is no time to talk of granting a "generous peace" to Germany, or any peace save such as the victorious Allies shall prescribe, for the securing, the imposition and the maintenance of which we shall use "Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit."

After holding out for four years, the St. Mihiel salient was wiped off the map in a single day by the American army which didn't exist, which couldn't get to France if it did exist, and which couldn't fight if it did get there.

An unconfirmed rumor comes by grapevine telegraph that when he was witnessing the beginning of the great American drive at St. Mihiel, one of the very ablest public officials the President has ever known began to realize that the war was not quite three thousand miles away.

"Col. Harvey calls upon the President to save the day in the air"—but it has been some time since Col. Harvey called upon the President.—*Boston Globe*.

Not at all; scarcely a week passes in which we do not call upon him to do something or other; and, glory be, he is beginning to respond most refreshingly.

The President and the Strike

THANK goodness, the pacifist politician of the War Department was three thousand miles away. We do not say that if he had been here the President would not have taken the stand he did against the Bridgeport strikers. We have too high an opinion of the President's common sense and patriotism for that. But the fulfilment of his plain duty would have been less easy for him if Mr. Baker had been at his elbow to play politics and to try to put on the brakes.

As it is, the President's letter is so admirable in most respects that we are not greatly inclined to criticize its one or two shortcomings. Perhaps, indeed, it was as well to threaten the men with mere loss of exemption, as it would have been to threaten to send them to the colors first of all. Perhaps the latter would not have been within the power of

the President, anyway, since the "work or fight" provision was abandoned. Certainly the lot of the strikers, if they had not yielded to the President's demand, would not have been an enviable one. It would be odious at any time for men thus to repudiate a fair arbitral award. In war time, when their strike is a strike against the prosecution of the war, it should be intolerable. Such a strike, the President truly says, "is disloyalty and dishonor."

The terms of the President's reference to the Smith & Wesson case, of which we spoke last week, are somewhat surprising. The implication seems to be that the Government took possession of the plant against the company's will, because the company defiantly refused to abide by an award of the War Labor Board. But as the public was previously informed that action was taken on the initiative of the company itself, which in the very act of demurring to the award—on grounds which we thought and still think were ample—offered as a preferable alternative to turn its plant over voluntarily to the Government and to give its coöperative services to the Government for the purpose of facilitating and expediting the completion of its contracts. Between that version and that suggested by the President there is a radical difference.

However, it was well for the President to call the striking workmen's attention to the circumstance that a corporation which would not accept an award was promptly—whether voluntarily or involuntarily—taken under Government control. Certainly if such action is taken toward striking employers, no less strenuous action should be taken toward striking employes, and the employes can have no cause to complain of it. In these two cases, as a matter of fact, the Government dealt with the corporation much more drastically than with the workmen. If it had treated them alike, it would have compelled the latter to work or to fight, and would not merely have menaced them with being made slackers who would have to devise new grounds for exemption. "Having exercised a drastic remedy with recalcitrant employers," says the President with impregnable and irresistible logic, "it is my duty to use means equally well adapted to the end with lawless and faithless employes." It is to be hoped that the means he has chosen will prove effective, in admonitory and deterrent fashion, to labor generally throughout the land.

This latter is, indeed, one of the chief phases of the case; which must be earnestly commended to the consideration of Mr. Gompers and other influential labor leaders. The President is quite within bounds in saying that this Bridgeport strike is "calculated to reflect on the sincerity of national organized labor." That would certainly be the case if national organized labor countenanced or supported this strike, or indeed if it did not condemn it in the strongest possible way. Mr. Gompers, with admirable loyalty, has just been using his influence and the influence of American organized labor to confirm and encourage the loyal element in British labor and to defeat the pacifist tendencies which have been cropping up. It would be a monstrous thing, while he was thus engaged, to have American organized labor countenance treason behind his back.

Meanwhile, we are glad to record, he calls sternly to account the Bridgeport employers who broke faith by refusing to reinstate some of the workers.

Better Late than Never

SECRETARY McADOO has instructed Congress to alter the pending revenue bill and amend the existing law so that \$30,000 income from the forthcoming Liberty Loan and \$45,000 from each of the prior loans (except the first, income from which is now tax free) shall be exempt from the surtax which the law now imposes on all incomes in excess of \$5,000, from whatever source derived. This is, of course, a belated effort to enhance the stability of the Liberty bonds and promote the sale of the fourth issue.

As long ago as March 2, this WEEKLY pointed out the misgivings of bankers and financiers as to the outcome of the innovation which this Administration had instituted in making the obligations of the Government subject to taxation and predicted that the proposed increase of the interest rate would be insufficient to overcome the depreciation which had affected these securities immediately they reached the open market. It was further pointed out in these columns that people of moderate means were not sufficient in number and had not the resources to finance the Government in a period of such extraordinary demand on its financial resources and that it would be impossible to attract the capital of the wealthy unless concessions were made in the matter of income derived from Liberty bonds.

Shortly after the publication of the article referred to in THE WEEKLY, representations were made to the Secretary of the Treasury in support of a tax free, 4 per cent bond, refundable at the pleasure of the Government and which, presumably, would be refunded at a lower rate of interest in graduated stages after the war. These representations were promptly rejected and the rate of interest was raised to 4¼ per cent, but as predicted, the increase of interest did not serve to maintain the bonds at par and they have since sold at less than 94 cents on the dollar.

While the purpose of the Administration was to popularize itself by preventing those whose financial resources enable them to come to the assistance of the Government from reaping any reward therefrom, the fact is that the depression in the price of these bonds falls not on the rich but on the poor. Those with adequate resources have not been forced to part with their bonds at the low figures they recently have commanded. That class has held onto its bonds and will continue to do so until there is a better market for the securities. Those who have suffered from the depreciation are the people with limited means who, as a result of emergencies or of an enthusiasm which prompted them to buy more bonds than they could carry, have been forced to go into the open market and realize on the securities at whatever price the market would pay.

Exemption from surtaxes of a larger income derived from Liberty bonds is a step in the right direction and will undoubtedly serve in some degree to restore them to par value. Whether it goes far enough to maintain the bonds at par is still a question.

Since this country, in common with the Allies, is solemnly committed to "a decisive victory of arms," with the use of "force, force to the utmost," to accomplish that end, what do these Republicans who are pluming themselves on their support of the President mean when they insinuate that he is capable of making a selfish and infamous peace?—*The World*.

Have they done that? We hadn't noticed it.



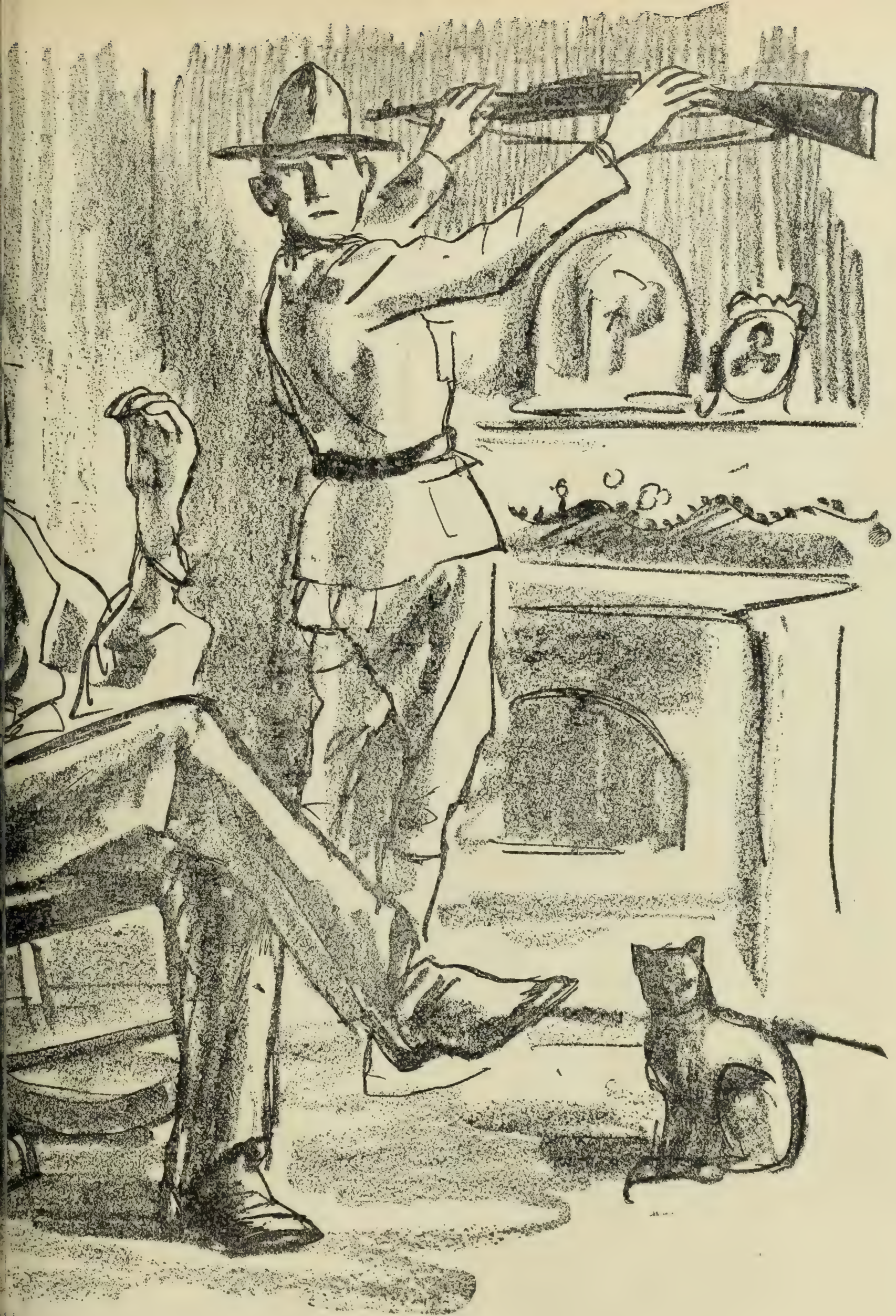
At the A

"What is it, mother?"

"That murderer is outside; he knows they are going to catch him and

"Nothing, mother. You see him, son. Tell him to go to hell!"

"Right-o! Grand old dad!"



an Fireside

ats to compromise; his hands are all bloody; what shall I tell him? ”

The Week

WASHINGTON, *September 19, 1918.*

Two marks surpassed make a gratifying record. The one was in the draft registration, in which actual enrollment exceeded expectation by something like a million men. Obviously there was little attempt at evasion; just why, is matter for conjecture. One explanation is that the recent raids upon slackers had put the fear of God into the hearts of men. That may be, but we doubt it. We prefer to think that the spirit of patriotic duty is awakening in the hearts of the American people. A year ago last June we were still new in the war, and many did not realize that we were in it at all, or likely to stay in it long. Even so, the registration was creditable, and the few actual slackers found among the many thousands of men arrested testify how generally young men then did their duty. Since then the stirring reports of achievements "over there," and the increasing lists of casualties, have profoundly moved the American heart. That is why there was so gratifying a response to the registration summons, and that we believe will be why there will be so comparatively few attempts at "Edselling" as out Detroit way they call getting unmerited exemption.

General Crowder and his aids have evidently been working like the proverbial beavers to get out questionnaires and to begin promptly the calling of men to the camps. Beside which, one of the ablest public officials the President has ever known is three thousand miles away and unable therefore to monkey with the brake wheel. We may therefore hope to see the work of conscription proceed so expeditiously and energetically as to reduce as far as possible the mischievous delay caused by the Secretary of War last June. That is well, because seldom in all the war has the need of "force without limit" been more urgent than it is now.

The other mark surpassed was in Lorraine. There the first American army in its first serious engagement went far further than it had been expected to do, and won a greater victory than a few days before would have been deemed possible. This achievement was not fortuitous. It was effected by dint of careful and prolonged preparation. For some time people had been wondering where all the American troops were, and there were surmises, even reports, that they were being held as a reserve behind the lines in Champagne or Picardy. Our readers will recall, however, that last week we warned them to watch for a big movement of Americans in Lorraine. On the very day after we wrote those lines the great drive began, and before the printed words had reached our furthest readers the deed was done. It was one of the most thorough, workmanlike and altogether satisfactory achievements of the whole war, and it reflects the highest possible credit upon our military administration, both at Washington and in the field. We say "military administration." That does not necessarily comprise the civilian pacifist portion of the War Department.

We must not forget that the great victory at St. Mihiel was won in spite of the fact that the Secretary of War was present. Had he not been there, there is no telling what might have happened.

In Siberia and elsewhere some excellent progress is being

made for the redemption of Russia from the betrayal by the Bolsheviki, which is now seen to have been sordid and venal treason so rank as to make Benedict Arnold's look quite respectable by contrast. The peasants appear to be rising against Soviet tyranny, which is a most auspicious thing, since the peasantry of Russia far exceeds the urban proletariat in numbers and in physical and moral stamina. In some places the Bolsheviki forces are reported to be fleeing in quaking terror before the Japanese; as well they may. On the other hand, there are reports of some Bolshevik gains, and there is excellent authority for saying that at some important points the Czecho-Slovaks are in most pressing need of immediate reinforcements and supplies; which we trust will reach them from Japan in time to save them from disaster.

Every day's news from Russia makes it more evident that we ran an appalling risk in so long delaying intervention. There is now ground for hoping that we did not delay until it was too late; but if not, the eleventh hour salvation of Russia is literally a case of touch and go.

The Bridgeport strikers, alarmed, as they well may be, by the President's vigorous words and resolute attitude, have decided to return to work, but declare that they do so unwillingly, grudgingly, and with much resentment. That is not a decent frame of mind for American citizens to cherish toward their Government. We trust that Government agents will keep close watch on them with a view to detecting any overt acts of disaffection which may be performed or attempted. Anything like sabotage should call for swift and severe punishment.

The contrast presented by the Smith & Wesson corporation was altogether in its favor. It was no more pleased with a decision of the War Labor Board than were the Bridgeport workmen. Frankly, we think it had good cause to demur to it. But not for a moment did it contemplate striking against the Government. Since the Government insisted on its works being managed on a socialist rather than an individualist basis, which it did not approve and would not undertake, it simply turned over its whole plant voluntarily to the Government, for the latter to manage as it pleased during the rest of the war, at the same time agreeing to remain on the job and assist the Government in every possible way. That was a manly and patriotic course, which ought to make the Bridgeport men ashamed of themselves.

Mr. Kitchin expresses confidence in being able to get his gigantic revenue bill through the House of Representatives this week. Then will come the task of getting it through the Senate. "Hic labor, hoc opus, est." We would not intimate that anybody thinks for a moment of playing politics over it; yet we have our doubts about its getting through before Election Day.

There was about as much party politics to the square inch in Maine as there ever was in any State in any election, and the result was a clean Republican sweep. But no real friend of the President and supporter of his policy has cause to lament that result. In the highest and best sense, politics was adjourned. The only question was whether

War Democrats or War Republicans should be chosen; a question in which we take little interest.

Matthias Erzberger, the German pacifist leader, urges the belligerents to stop fighting, lest the world presently be given over to Bolshevik revolutions. We doubt the danger; but if it does exist, who is responsible for it? It was Germany that invented, organized and promoted Bolshevism in Russia. It was Germany that promoted I. W. W.-ism in the United States, and "hired and bribed anarchists and escaped criminals" to raise riots and commit arson in neutral countries. If the Huns would play with fire, they must not blame us for having their fingers burned.

Herr von Payer, the German Vice-Chancellor, says that in this war the Germans are not seeking land, treasure or glory. Of course, they are incapable of getting glory out of it. But if the rest of his remark is true, this is the first Prussian war since Frederick once called the Great in which loot of land and treasure was not the prime object.

Some of the best of our recent news is that of Brazil's purpose to send a part of her navy, at least, to co-operate with the Allies in the war. The only thing better than that would be for her to send some of her army, too. It is desirable that every civilized nation in the world participate to some degree in the work of vindicating civilization and humanity against the Huns. It is especially desirable that all the American republics shall do so, since the Hunnish menace has been directed especially against them.

Thompson, of Illinois, argued that we should withhold food and munitions from the Allies; wherefore the citizens of Illinois withheld their votes from him. He argued that American soldiers should be kept at home instead of going abroad to fight the Huns; wherefore the Republicans of Illinois decided to keep him at home instead of letting him go to the United States Senate. Hardwick, of Georgia, is now in the Senate, and has gained what little notoriety he has enjoyed by constantly and wilfully opposing the President's war policy; wherefore the Democrats of that State have decided to dispense with his services at the end of his present term. Good for Illinois, and good for Georgia!

From *The World*:

With the First American Army in Lorraine, Sept. 13.—The Germans are being thrown out of the St. Mihiel sector. American troops, commanded by American Generals, led by American tanks, following a barrage laid down by American guns and covered overhead by swarms of American airplanes are doing the job.

Can this be true? Read on—in the same account on the second page:

A host of tanks, among which for the first time were included a large number piloted by Americans, rolled along with the infantry.

Supremacy in the air was assured by the greatest massing of airplanes ever held. The bulk of the aerial squadron engaged were French, but every available American flying unit was on the job.

American tanks galore! "Swarms of American airplanes," forsooth! Why on earth print such rubbish?

We Help Out a Brother

We have received the following letter from the editor of the *Alumni Register* of the University of Pennsylvania:

DEAR SIR,—I am glad to send herewith a renewal of my subscription for the WAR WEEKLY, and you will note there is a change in the address.

I do not see how you get through with much of the very excellent material you give us. Recently I wrote a very mild letter to an American friend of mine in China, in which I expressed the view that Chinese help here, particularly in agriculture would greatly assist our food supply. I added that I did not see how we could reconcile sending the Chinese to fight and die for us in France, with our denial that they should land upon our shores and have any fellowship with us.

This letter was stopped by the censor and I was called before the Government's Intelligence Bureau here to be reprimanded for indiscretion. I was also told that I offended the American Federation of Labor. If more of the time of the Government officials is similarly occupied, they are certainly wasting an awful lot of trifling private incidents, but straws show the way the wind blows,

H. M. SIBBINSON.

So you are not permitted by the vigilant and sagacious Intelligence Bureau to express in private correspondence your opinion that China, our ally, might help us to win the war. You are even reprimanded for making a suggestion that "offended the American Federation of Labor." And, being squelched, you seek an outlet for your views.

Well, you have come to the right shop. We not only say it for you, but we heartily endorse your proposition.

China, as we have said, is our ally and has sent hundreds of thousands of laborers to France to do essential work behind the battle lines, where the sons of America are fighting so gallantly for God and country. If she could be induced to send a million men here to help to till our fields and work our mines for the duration of the war, half a million at least of Americans would be released for military and industrial service, immense help would be rendered to our soldiers abroad, the war itself would be shortened and thousands of priceless American lives might be saved. It is a splendid idea.

There is no occasion for wonder at our own immunity from autocratic limitations. It is all quite simple. We speak only the truth from the rock of the Constitution of a free and independent people.

Belgium

By ROBERT McBLAIR

Lift up your heart; do not despair,—
Madonna of a maddened earth,
Whose God-invested form gave birth
To children more than passing fair.

Though bloody hands drag back your hair,
Though blackened be your ravished hearth,
And like a dream seem ancient mirth—
The wings of angels beat the air!

Who stemmed barbaric frightfulness,
Her name in hymns shall e'er be heard.

Lift up your heart! Nor think their Word
Failed when your martyred children died—
For love of man and righteousness
One time a Man was crucified.

Poisoned Scraps of Paper

OUR cherished old friend, von Hindenburg, is on deck once more, hearty, rosy-cheeked and cheerful. The last time the old gentleman died he committed suicide. That was something like four weeks ago. Prior to that he had succumbed three several times, the causes of his demise, respectively, being heart disease, apoplexy and typhoid fever. But he is back again. He is still with us. Only, on this, his latest, emergence from the tomb he is laboring under a painful affliction. Notwithstanding the assurance of the Hun correspondent who saw him that he bore outward indications of health, he is a sufferer. Probably he will die again in a few days.

Scraps of paper is the ailment which threatens to carry him off again to an untimely demise. He is suffering cruelly from scraps of paper. Ordinarily a Hun does not mind scraps of paper. If they have treaties written on them pledging those sacred words of honor which to other people are realities but which to the Hun are merely a little humor in the perjury line—on scraps of paper of this kind the Hun thrives. He tears them up and chews them up, devours them and digests them. They are a tonic to him. They brace him to set joyously off on the career of rape, murder and arson for which they open the way to him.

But that is not the kind of scraps of paper which are troubling old Mr. von Hindenburg. It is the kind which have anti-kultur propaganda on them which are undermining Mr. von Hindenburg's health. Now if there is any form of warfare against which the Hun's nicely adjusted sense of the proprieties revolts, it is that kind which endeavors to sow dissension and disheartenment among the enemy. Such practices are revolting to the very soul of the Hun. It all but makes him lose faith in the eternal characteristic of international and personal veracity itself when he finds a conscienceless enemy indulging in such practices against and among the Hun's own people.

And that is precisely what old Mr. von Hindenburg found going on when he last clambered out of the grave. He found the enemy not only conducting an armed offensive, but an offensive of printed matter. He was spreading false rumors in this way among those sacred people whom the All Highest himself had officially designated as the "Salt of the Earth." Among these chosen ones this enemy, who fights with scraps of paper, as good old Mr. von Hindenburg scorchingly characterized the Allies, were disseminating lying, insane rumors to the effect that the Hun armies in France were not sweeping on to victory; that the submarine campaign of assassination on the high seas was a failure; that France was not bled white and a lot of other stuff officially *verboden* in Hundom. In his righteous indignation the aged Hun calls these printed things "poisoned scraps of paper." Now if it had been a case of poison gas, of poisoned wells, of poisoned candy dropped from the sky that enemy children might find it and die in agony from it—if it had been any of these legitimate weapons of warfare, old Mr. von Hindenburg would not have been surprised. But poisoned scraps of paper! That was the limit! And undermining propaganda spread among an unsuspecting, sensitively truthful, and hence artless people, could human depravity sing so low as that!

The sensitive Hun soul of von Hindenburg is hurt to its utmost bounds of suffering. He is saddened and depressed

beyond words, save only a last appeal to the wronged Huns to beware of this ultimate depth of treachery of an unscrupulous enemy. After this there is nothing left for the heart-sore old Yahoo to do, save to climb back into the grave again to await another resurrection.

O Lord, here is that creel again! Well, what is it now? "Statements as false as they are reckless," "loose and inaccurate in statement wherever your prejudices are concerned," etc. Yes, yes, we have heard all that before; get on, get on! "What you did was to take the story of some correspondent." We did, we did; the correspondent is Mr. Richard Oulahan of the *New York Times*, than whom none more trustworthy lives in Washington. Has he, too, like the *World*, perpetrated "a bald and blackguardly fake?" We should have to be shown.

The Hun and the Pope

OF course one Hun lie more or less does not matter, and most Hun lies are so transparent that they carry their own refutation on their own brazen, inebile faces. Yet now and then one crops up rather persistently and perhaps succeeds in leaving its poison behind it here and there.

Such an one is that to the effect that the Pope is pro-Hun in his sympathies. Religious bigotry is the soil in which this particular falsehood best flourishes, of course, and in that soil, both in this country and in England, it has been most assiduously cultivated. It is Hun propaganda pure and simple. There are several objectives sufficiently visible. One is to sow religious dissension in allied countries. Another is an attempt to throw the mantle of the Church of Rome's highest dignitary over the unspeakable bestialities which have loaded the Huns with infamy and made the very name of Germany a stench to the nostrils among civilized nations for generations to come. Still another, but to the Hun mind an unconscious result, would be to make the Supreme Pontiff himself in some measure share this burden of obloquy.

Like most Hun lies it is false on its face and false of record. Pope Benedict XV neither by word nor deed since the war began has shown the slightest sympathy with the Hun or the Hun's piratical purposes. On the contrary, he has denounced Hun barbarities as no other neutral has ventured to denounce them. He was the one and only neutral of great or restricted world influence in official utterance to denounce the infamy of Belgium's invasion. While this Government of ours stood in the acquiescence of silence before that black outrage, the Pope of Rome protested in words of withering reproof against it. Likewise he denounced the unnameable Hun brutalities in Belgium, while our own and other then neutral Governments stood officially mute. The Pope denounced the bombing of open cities and towns. He denounced the murderous, piratical use the Hun made of the submarine. He denounced to the verge of bitterness the deportation and enslavement under Hun masters of the Belgian population. The plain fact of the matter is, in view of our own Government's official attitude while the hideous scroll of Hun horrors was being unrolled in the early days of the war, that an American cuts a pretty sorry figure before

the world when he chirps his parrot echo of the Hun propaganda lie that the Pope is pro-Hun.

But it will not go far, that particular piece of Potsdam mendacity. It will not reach to, much less survive, the end of the war. By no means not the least of the by-product blessings which the war already has brought, and every day is bringing in greater effectiveness, is the expansion of religious tolerance and the restriction of religious prejudice among the peoples of the civilized world. Indeed there is promise of the dawn of an era of tolerance in this respect among mankind such as the world has never known in all its stormy, bloody history of religious differences and dissensions. Our own country and our own army and navy are striking exemplars of the fact. The Young Men's Christian Association and the National Catholic War Council, the Salvation Army, the Catholic Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the War Camp Community Service—all sorts and shades of religious belief and non-belief are standing shoulder to shoulder in the one common cause and with the one common purpose of making the world a fit place for law-abiding, kindly-disposed, peace-loving men and nations to live in.

Surely that is a beautiful spectacle, one which every Christian of whatever shade or division or sub-division of faith, every clean-hearted, right-thinking man of whatever nation or creed, may well rejoice to behold—rejoice in its present significance and rejoice still more in the promise its post-bellum continuance so alluringly holds out to us of a kindlier, a gentler and a vastly better Hun-delivered world in the days to come.

The Troubles of Mr. Villard

WELL, sir, we never expected to live to see the day when Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard would be forbidden by the Administration of President Woodrow Wilson to send his papers through the mails. How times and customs and manners do change! It is not so many years ago, surely less than nine, when the only star of political hope that Mr. Villard could perceive in the heavens was the luminous orb then rising steadily from the classic precincts of Princeton. We cannot record truthfully that he helped to start the comet upon its glorious flight, but once it was set going none seized more avidly or clung more determinedly to its tail. How many columns of the *Evening Post*, which he then controlled, he filled with laudation of Mr. Wilson as a candidate for Governor and later for President we would not venture to estimate, but they were many and filled to the brim.

Nor did Mr. Villard stop there. He dispatched a special correspondent, at no small expense, to accompany the candidate upon his travels and to make painstaking notes of his praiseworthy doings and most felicitous sayings. In his capacity as *persona grata*, as guide, philosopher and friend, moreover, if our recollection serves us aright, he frequently visited the home and sat upon the piazza in the dusk till train time and exuded his most earnest thoughts in the firm conviction that he who listened so patiently really believed that he was sitting at the fount of wisdom.

Ah, those were happy days and, *mirabile dictu*, the dream came true and, not so long afterward, we recollect distinctly, we found ourselves speculating publicly, conformably to our

custom, upon the likelihood of Mr. Villard succeeding in ousting the worthy Colonel House from the highest place among the seats of the mighty. True, the lofty ambition came to naught, but as an episode in the lambent wash of a meteoric career we cannot doubt that it will live long in a future Biography of American History.

And now, after having parted with his splendid heritage for reasons conscientious or otherwise and deliberately confined his mental output to the ancient and previously honorable *Nation*, Mr. Villard is denied the privilege of the public carrier.

Why? We do not know; we cannot discover. Some say it was for one thing; some for another. The offending paper lies before our eyes, but naturally and discreetly we refrain from suggesting a specific expression which might have constituted the cause, lest we ourselves be ordered by the Politicalmaster General to clamber into the same boat, and if there is anything we could not abide it would be to be cast adrift in an open boat at sea with a touchy Pacifist.

Mr. Villard himself, serenely conscious of his own high aims and patriotic fervor, intimates darkly that the treasonable intent is concealed in a furtive advertisement. Whereupon we scrutinize the lightly laden columns as closely as may be, but, alas, to no certainty of revelation. We find announcements of the publication of books, new and old, by Messrs. Scribner and Dutton and Macmillan and Lippincott, but can detect therein no adequate *casus belli*. There is one shy advertisement headed "Don't Wear a Truss," which might give rise to suspicion in the mind of one suspiciously inclined, but it seems hardly credible that Mr. Villard would be denied the use of the postal service for the promulgation of so excellent advice.

By whom, too, was the order issued? Nobody seems to know. Postmaster Patten says that he heard nothing about it, although, of course, his signature might have been reproduced from a rubber stamp. Solicitor Lamar is equally explicit in his denial of complicity. Who else could have anything to do with it we cannot imagine. The darkness which envelops the mystery is seemingly impenetrable. Perhaps, however, Mr. Villard who, according to the latest reports, was prowling over the No-Man's Land of Washington, will pierce it with his eagle eye.

We hope so. While we have about as much use for a Pacifist as a jellyfish has for a porcupine, when it comes to arbitrary restriction of Freedom of the Press, we are from Missouri.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: A friend of ours who is located in Washington, D. C., visited my folks last Sunday. He informed us that Washington was filled with young men in uniform and that some of them had to work at least four (4) hours each day, except Saturdays and some other days. Also that they had to leave their valets at the hotel. This caused them to perform several duties for themselves usually falling to those menials. Please shed some light on this subject.

C. P. L.
NEW YORK, September 1.

The light of truth is that this statement is a noisome calumny. Nine-tenths at least of the men referred to are rendering hard and faithful service to their country at no little sacrifice to themselves.

The nearest approach to a Ford political organization visible to the naked eye is styled "The Henry Ford for Senator Committee. The moving spirit is John Creedon, an undertaker."—Detroit dispatch to *The World*.

Marse Emeritus

THE best editorial ever printed in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, appeared only a few days ago and it consisted of just four words. It led the editorial page and it read as follows:

Henry Watterson,
Editor Emeritus.

Now maybe it is not quite accurate to describe this editorial piece for the paper as the very best of all the long series of brilliant, scholarly, widely varied discussions that have appeared on the editorial page of the *Courier-Journal* during the long term of years Marse Henry was in full, active control of that newspaper. It would be more accurate, perhaps, to characterize it as the one editorial which brought more unqualified satisfaction to more people than any the *Courier-Journal* has ever printed. There had been more or less of sadness abroad ever since the recent change in ownership of the paper was announced. It was feared we had lost Marse Henry. For years whereof the memory of several of us runs not to the contrary, Marse Henry had been one of the overshadowing editorial figures in the country. He was—and thank Heaven he still is—a national institution, a great national asset. He was part of the country's daily thinking life. He meant to the American people that kindly humor, that sane sense of cordial good-will towards men, that incisive but never bitter satire injected into political discussion, and, if you please, that touch of the sentimental in the coloring of comment on the doings and sayings of mankind which,—we may as well admit it because it is so—is by no means inconspicuous in the American mental make-up.

Marse Henry for years had stood for all these things. For years Americans, no matter whether they agreed with him or not, were always waiting to hear what Marse Henry said about things. He flew off the handle now and then. He revolved and he whizzed. He blazed and dazzled in verbal pyrotechnics. He made people mad as hornets once in a while. But somehow the madder they got at him the more they loved him; the readier they were to fight for him if anybody save themselves pitched into him. If they happened to be "agin" him at any time, it was only in the exercise of their rights as free-born American citizens to be "agin" anybody or anything of a public nature. Nothing in the remotest degree personal about it. Bless you, no! Marse Henry belonged to the American people. He was one of them in a sense and in an intensity of identity which probably not another public man in the country could match. He thought as they thought, felt as they felt, and spoke as they would have spoken had they had his brilliant, dashing command of language.

Now this sounds like an obituary. But the rollicking, joyous fun of the thing is that it is *not* an obituary. It is a greeting—a heartfelt, rousing greeting. He isn't gone. He is here. He is right here with us. And the best of it all is that he is going to stay right here with us and remain right here with us for years and years and years to come, and then some more years after that; just as he has been with us and of us and remained with us and of us for so many years in the past.

Some of us thought he had walked out of the *Courier-Journal* sanctum and was never going back into it any more. Nothing of the sort. He hasn't left the *Courier-Journal*. He

isn't going to leave it. That is what that editorial we have quoted means. That is why that editorial brought more unqualified, heart-felt satisfaction to more American people than any editorial the *Courier-Journal* ever printed.

"Marse Emeritus." Ten to one Thomas Atkins would interpret it, "Marse, 'e merits us." And b'gosh 'e does. Meanwhile, to hell with the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs!

Fritz is now convinced that Friday the Thirteenth is an unlucky date.

Only an Episode

WHEN the wreckage of the Hun-inflicted world horror is cleared away and the individual and group tragedies isolated and told in each its own pitiful detail, few probably will be more pathetic than the story of the exiled and murdered Czar and his unhappy family. A weak but not at all a bad man at heart, rather kindly and fair-minded than otherwise, if all accounts of his personality are to be relied upon, the Czar had the misfortune to live at a time and in a country bad, exceedingly bad, for crowned heads. That is all. The Czar's and the Czar's family's dark fate is strikingly parallel with that of France's royal family when the storm of that great Revolution broke upon France which, in total, did so much for human liberty and the enlightenment, mental and physical, of mankind.

The parallel of pathos is even carried out in the fate of the little French heir to the throne and that of the little Czarevitch. At present there is even over what has befallen the Czarevitch much the same cloud of obscurity as that which for a time hovered over the death of the little Dauphin, who would have been Louis XVII had he lived to reign. Both the Dauphin and the Czarevitch appear to have been amiable enough little fellows, and in the Czarevitch's fate there is the particular sadness of the absolutely devoted, and, indeed, rather blindly devoted affection of his father and mother for him.

Dr. E. J. Dillon has contributed to the London *Daily Telegraph* some interesting particulars concerning this parental affection for the Czarevitch and concerning the little Czarevitch himself which would have a sad special interest were it possible in this season of world grief and world mourning, into which Hun greed and brutality have plunged us, to concentrate the general affliction on any one particular case. It is only as father and mother and adored little son that we see the late Emperor and Empress and the heir to the throne of All the Russias in Dr. Dillon's reminiscences. He gives us only glimpses of a loving father, a loving mother and a very genuine, mischievous, somewhat spoiled but wholly likeable real boy—the leading characters in this stupendous tragedy, whereof a possible title, "The Last of the Czars," bids fair to be fully justified by the fact.

And what a bewildering spectacle of the magnitude of the colossal world drama through which we are living is opened up by the reflection that this crash of one of the mightiest thrones of the world is only an episode, a mere passing incident in the whole enormous plot, whereof the crash of another throne, the throne of a nation of blood and lust and loot-mad savages is to be the final, the soul-satisfying climax!

Letters From Our Readers

ROOSEVELT FOR AMBASSADOR?

SIR,—So many of us feel that the appointment of Theodore Roosevelt to the Court of Saint James's would have the effect of shortening the war at least six months, that we do not understand why you leaders of public opinion do not make an issue of the saving of lives and treasure which his appointment would bring about.

If we are to subscribe for Liberty bonds in the face of reports of aircraft waste, the Administration would do well to restore confidence by the appointment of a man whom all the world regards as both able and trustworthy.

The following from the *Koran* fits the case:

A ruler who appoints any man to an office, when there is in his dominions another man better qualified for it, sins against God and against the State.

B. F. WARD.

Springfield, Mass.

[We strongly advocated long ago the sending of Mr. Roosevelt to England, in response to urgent requests from Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Northcliffe, to reassure and hearten our ally, but of course he could not go with propriety without the approval of our Government. The need now seems to have passed. While endorsing the adjuration of the *Koran* and recognizing that the appointment of an Ambassador is the most important which the President has yet been called upon to make, moreover, we frankly doubt whether one less antipathetic might not prove more serviceable.—EDITOR.]

CREEL AND CARLYLE

Sir: Although capricious fate has never been able to give the world but one Creel, he yet stands not entirely without a counterpart in the annals of History; from which fact we may draw such comfort as we can and extend our hearty sympathies to the people of other times who have suffered as we now do. See Carlyle, History of the French Revolution, Vol. III, Book V, Chapter VI, last two paragraphs, in case of the Vengeur. Compare with Creel's Submarine victory of Independence Day, 1917.

It may strike you, as well, that this same Barrère had something in common with our James Hamilton Lewis. See Vol. III, Book III, Chapter III, fifth paragraph, where Carlyle speaks of him as indispensable in the great Art of Varnish.

Guinea Mills, Virginia.

W. G. S.

NOT FOR BABES AND SUCKLINGS

Sir: Some time ago I wrote asking you for a number of copies of the WAR WEEKLY to be used on reading tables of our Y. M. C. A. buildings at the Naval Training Station. You very kindly replied offering to send us 11 copies each week and during all these weeks they have been coming regularly. I want to thank you for your courtesy and generosity in sending these copies.

At the same time, however, I am going to ask you to discontinue them. My reason I may state quite frankly. We have no objection to any paper that differs with the Administration politically, but when a paper assumes the attitude toward our governmental policy that the WAR WEEKLY is assuming, especially in a critical time like the present, it seems to me very unwise for us to put that paper into the hands of the sailors in Uncle Sam's service; and, therefore, while we appreciate your kindness we shall not be able to use this paper on our reading tables any longer.

Very truly yours,

J. LESLIE LOBINGLER,
Educational Secretary.

QUERIES

Sir: I notice you have a pat answer to all queries submitted to you, so possibly you can answer the following:

(1) On the occasion of the death of the heroic Quentin Roosevelt did the family of the deceased receive any communication of sympathy from the White House? Is it not the custom of occupant of presidential chair to extend sympathy to predecessor on some occasion of great sorrow?

(2) Has the slacker son of Pacifist Ford been induced into the service of the United States? If not, why not? Why must the owner of a small industry if of the draft age be forced to sacrifice the fruits of his industry and possibly himself, while a particular friend of the administration is exempt on the score

of being "indispensable to industry?" If young Ford is indispensable to Ford production, why is it that the king pin, Ford himself, is *commanded* to leave his indispensable war industry for a period of six years and take a position in the United States Senate where he would be as much out of place as a fish out of water?

(3) Why did your friend Baker reverse himself on the baseball situation? He made a decision not so long ago that the huskies of baseball would have to go to work in some useful industry or fight. Later he reverses himself and decides that the husky slackers of the "great American game" shall be given until September 1 to find useful employment. Are the slackers of the diamond so vitally necessary to American life that special consideration must be shown them? I notice that the man of dispensable industries had no such consideration shown him. And another thing to remember is the fact, as you know, that baseball, as soon as war was declared requested that military instructors be furnished, in order that the men may receive military instruction, which was done and men sorely needed at the training camps were donated to the baseball magnates, so that they may squeeze a few extra dollars out of the public through their "patriotic" camouflage. Why not hold the mirror up to the "great American game" and show them and their patrons just how American they are.

Washington.

L. C. COHEN.

[1. Yes. 2. No. 3. We don't know.—EDITOR.]

WILLIAM THE DOOMED

SIR,—Courage is to be commended whether it is "over there" or back here—and I know of no fighter who has gone "over the top" as often and as regularly as you have done it, these many months; and, I, for one, vote that it is time for you to receive the Grand Star of Excellent Merit (you decorated yourself with the Great Cross some years ago). You and your papers are both all right. Keep up the good work.

It is pleasant and instructive to read your observations—and at times in my own mind, I have made observations upon yours; for instance: recently, when you were commenting upon the raincoat grafters, it occurred to me that you could have referred to Mathew 24 :28:

"Whosoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together."

Is it not deplorable to realize that this great Government—where so much efficiency can be found—has actually been mulcted to the tune of over \$600,000,000 for just, common free AIR—and about all the CRAFT that went with it—was the craft which engineered and made possible that vast waste?

In conclusion may I be allowed to make just one more observation—you have been referring to "Kaiser Bill" recently as "William the Damned"—would it not be as true to say William the doomed?

HENRY HOMANS.

Washington.

LIKE A NORTH WIND

SIR,—May I not tell you the story of one through a brief attendance in the Senate last March? It was the first open discussion of the aircraft failure, and the epochal moment for me came when Senator Overman rose and said imploringly: "Silence is golden; why distress the people? Don't you know that this is a time when silence is golden?"

I was horror stricken. What kind of a democracy was this becoming when the author of the Overman bill should with such simple sincerity deplore all publicity? Up to that time my heart had gone out to the President every time southern senators spoke, with their blithe scorn of any information of the Administration measures which they were advocating. Now I had all sorts of illumination. Don't you think it amazing that the almost universal placidity is not in the least even momentarily disturbed?

But when I met the WEEKLY it was like a clean north wind after many stifling days.

Sincerely,

HELEN BURLING.

Eldora, Iowa.

"FORD ON THE FLAG"

Sir: I enclose one year's subscription to the WAR WEEKLY, and I will also subscribe *on demand* five dollars toward a fund to print and distribute to the voters of Michigan the front page of Vol. 1, No. 32 of the WAR WEEKLY, under the caption "Ford on the Flag."

Baltimore, Md.

HENRY BOGUE, JR.

Letters From Our Readers

A REQUEST FOR REPUBLICATION

SIR,—You have written many things that are really great, but the most far reaching—the most dynamic of all you have said, is contained in the *Review* for August. Thousands of patriotic Americans are breathing those words under their breaths. Print them again and again. Print them on the front and back covers; print them until the war is over, and then print them until a constitutional, sane, representative form of government is restored to the American people. The words are these:—

"It is, of course, conceivable that the advocates of the unlimited grant of Government control are in favor of perpetual Government control and ownership. That is their right. Even if the President and his Cabinet favored such a policy, that would be their right. But in that case they should have the courage of their convictions to make a direct proposal to that effect, and to make a direct issue of it. What we object to at present is the use of military necessity as a stalking-horse, behind which to secure the enactment of laws for which there is no military necessity whatever, and which would have no chance whatever of acceptance without such a screen. There may be military necessity for the Government's taking over the railroads and telegraphs, and ice-cream saloons and peanut stands, too, for all we know. But we are not willing to admit that there could be any military necessity for it after military operations had ceased and peace had been restored; and we object to the doing or the continuation of anything for the sake of military necessity when that necessity no longer exists.

"In a more general sense, our objection is to the doing of things by indirection, and of taking advantage of the war thus to do things which could not be done in time of peace on their own merits. A similar trick was tried in foisting a prohibition 'rider' upon an agricultural bill, and other such performances may be again and again repeated. They are contrary to sound policy, and might easily become pernicious and a menace to the Republic.

"What measures are necessary for the successful prosecution of the war, let us have them proposed and voted upon squarely, as war measures and nothing more."

CHARLES RICHARDSON.

Tacoma.

REFERRED TO GENERAL CROWDER

SIR,—I wonder how many of your readers know that there is no law today in existence by which a man who is of draft age and not a citizen of this country can be made to take up arms for the country in which he lives and has lived for, in some cases, five to fifteen years, in which he has made his living, in which he has enjoyed practically all the benefits of citizenship without bearing any of the attendant responsibilities of such relationship. How many know that this man cannot be touched by our Government through the Draft Boards or other organizations? How many know what Class Five stands for, in the majority of cases?

The truth is that it stands for these men as well as for those men who are physically disqualified but whose hearts are in the right place. Is it fair to these true Class Five men to permit non-citizen slackers to be classed with them? Is it fair for our Government to longer stand for this sort of alien among us when men who are native or naturalized citizens are joining the boys over there, leaving behind them their whole dear families, life's prospects and pleasures to give their all to save this country and make it a safe place in which to live? Yes, to fight for these same non-citizens, these Class Fivers who have hidden behind their legal status and are willing to let the other fellow do their fighting for them, is it fair to the boys in France?

Absolutely, the only hold we have on these men is the power of shaming them into line. Should we have to depend entirely upon this?

HENRY J. MULLIN.

Duluth.

CHIPS

SIR,—Your ability to discover the bug under the chip and always turn it over at the right time is extraordinary. The Bursleson bug under the Slayden chip is an example. What was under the Huddleston chip? Of course we know what is under the Ford chip.

I started to-day to send a bunch of the WAR WEEKLIES to my son, who is a lieutenant over there, but concluded it was not a wise thing to do, but I did send him "Aux Armes Citoyens," one of the greatest editorials that has appeared in this country since the war began, and "Henry Ford to the Bar".

Our local democratic daily copied in full the other day the former. In fact it is hard to pick up a paper of light and leading now that has not some reference to the WAR WEEKLY.

F. DUMONT SMITH.

Hutchinson, Kansas.

APPROVAL

SIR,—The thoughtful people of our country, so far as I am able to judge, are happily in enthusiastic accord with your views and while they have apparently no other public media than your writings for the expression of their just criticism and righteous indignation they obviously need no other while you continue as their spokesman. Your publications have become the sacred propaganda of a notable following!

With assurance of my profound sympathy in your great crusade for government efficiency and true patriotic service, I am,

CHAS. C. WORTHINGTON.

Shawnee, Penn.

CARS FOR COAL

Sir: It seems from the WAR WEEKLY of August 3rd that you are under the impression that coal mines are now being furnished with all of the cars which the miners will load.

The attached memorandum is respectfully submitted for your information.

Huntington, W. Va.

J. W. DAWSON.

(District Production Manager, U. S. Fuel Administration.)

Unless the car supply improves over what it has been during the past six or seven days our loss of tonnage in this District will be 200,000 or 300,000 in August as compared with July production, with coal operators and miners all keyed up to load 15 or 20 per cent more coal than was loaded in July.

We are being flooded with letters, telegrams, telephones, begging for cars and indicating the loss of labor from the industry, the result of idleness.

During the twelve months previous to June 15th, 1918, the railroad officials were constantly telling the public, and even President Wilson, that the coal shortage was caused by labor shortage and that the miners would not work, while I contended privately and publicly that the lack of transportation for coal and failure to move coal cars was the only obstacle which stood in the way of supplying this country and our allies with coal.

About June 14th, the railroads wakened up and moved coal cars and supplied the mines with enough cars to enable them to show what could be done.

Notwithstanding the demoralization of mine labor, resulting from the long period of car shortage and idleness, both operators and mine laborers got busy and proved that they could and would produce the coal if the railroads transported it; see the handsome increase of production during July, over any other previous month.

And bear in mind that July was the only month during the past year that a full car supply was furnished to the mines.

The railroad furnished the mines practically all of the cars they could load between June 15th and August 7th, which proves conclusively what I have contended for years, namely, that there are an ample number of coal cars in the country to handle the coal if cars are kept moving, and that the railroads can keep the cars moving if they would.

There are just as many cars in the country now as there were between June 15th and August 7th, and the railroads have as many, or more locomotives. The weather is favorable.

Notwithstanding these facts, the railroads have lain down, or fallen down, and are again supplying mines in this district with less than seventy-five per cent car supply, resulting in a loss of coal production which will cut the production for August below that of June or July, unless cars are supplied in greater numbers and at once, and mine labor will become still more scattered and demoralized. It will not remain at coal mines in idleness.

To me this seems criminal on the part of someone, when the shortage of coal which confronts this country and our Allies threatens to cause the death unnecessarily of thousands of our boys in France.

Something should be done and at once, to require the railroads to move coal cars, both empty and loaded. They can do it.

If this cannot be accomplished in any other way, it should be taken to the Senate and Congress, which I am willing and equipped to do, if you say the word.

When the lives of our boys in France are at stake, we should not stand on ceremony, or anything else, that blocks the way of saving them and this country, to say nothing of the suffering in the United States that confronts us this winter.

YES, INDEED

SIR,—I write to ask if there is any truth in or evidence to support the idea that the subscribers don't get your WEEKLY on schedule at any time anywhere.

H. M. RAMSDALL.

Boston.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING SEPT. 28, 1918

NO. 39

The Republican Black Sheep

WHEN the President of the United States, fulfilling the solemn obligation which he had assumed under the Constitution, appeared before the Congress and asked that war be declared against the barbaric Power which had defied our Government, insulted our flag and ruthlessly murdered our citizens, but six American Senators refused by their votes to respond to his patriotic call to arms.

Three were Democrats, of whom two have since died and one has been denied re-election. Two of the nominal Republicans were the despicable Lafollette and his drooling satellite Gronna, neither of whom unfortunately is obliged to render accounting to his constituency this year.

The third was George W. Norris of Nebraska, a man of intellectual attainments, versed in the law and at times brilliant as a public speaker.

On April 4, 1917, he rose in his place in the Senate and set forth his reasons for refusing to heed the righteous demand of the President and a vast majority of the people. He was opposed to "entangling alliances;" he recognized no distinction in the purposes of Germany and the Allies; he put upon the same plane hindrance of American trading and the taking of American lives; he excused the wanton slaughter of American women and children as purely "incidental" to legitimate warfare; he insulted the President and the Congress by declaring that their real motive was sordid and actuated by greed of the avaricious; he asserted in cold blood that the action contemplated to maintain the honor of the Nation was nothing else than "putting the dollar sign upon the American flag;" by his shocking and shameful accusations, he roused the patriotic spirit of his colleagues as it had not been stirred since the days of reconstruction.

"We are going into war," deliberately de-

clared Senator Norris, "upon the command of gold. We are going to run the risk of sacrificing millions of our countrymen's lives in order that other countrymen may coin their life blood into money."

"Mr. President," sternly rejoined Senator Reed, "that is an indictment of the President of the United States; that is an indictment of the Congress of the United States; that is an indictment of the American people; that is an indictment of truth, and it is not the truth."

"If it be not treason," hotly declared Senator Williams, "it grazes the edge of treason."

"I hope," continued Senator Reed with obvious sincerity and sadness, "that the Senator would not send to the courts of Germany and Austria a statement containing the charge that America is waging war for such base and unjustifiable purposes. But the Senator adheres to his language. I am sorry he does not withdraw it."

"I do hope," Senator Norris replied to Senator James, "that the people of Nebraska will pay attention to what I have said."

And so hope we,—and pray that they will prove their loyalty by spewing this, their unworthy representative, out of their mouths.

Nebraska must keep step with Mississippi in demonstrating her fidelity to the Union or be eternally shamed.

But it is not Nebraska alone that faces the test of patriotism. The Republican party also is in the crucible. Mr. Norris at this moment is appealing for help,—appealing to Chairman Hays, to Mr. Roosevelt, to Mr. Taft, to every leader and spokesman whom he impudently thinks he may seduce for partisan considerations into the path of treachery and betrayal. He is pleading, as an excuse, that his conscience forbade him to vote for the declaration of war but that simultaneously he promised to support to

the limit of his capacity prosecution of the war, once war was declared.

He did say that, but when he said it he lied. He gave the pledge and he broke it. He voted against the selective draft. He voted against the anti-sedition Acts. He voted against essential measures of taxation.

As a disloyalist, his record is practically flawless. He is the one black sheep in the Republican fold.

Shall it be said hereafter of the leaders of the Republican party that they belied all of their fair professions by even acquiescing in the election of the Republican Vardaman when the Democratic leader, at no small political risk to himself, openly decreed the repudiation of Vardaman, the Democrat?

Can they afford to stultify themselves in their battle against the Presidential candidate Ford by upholding his fellow disloyalist Norris?

These questions must be answered. Norris can be, as Vardaman has been and as Ford will be, beaten. He was nominated by a fluke through a division of the loyal Republican voters, who at a word from their National leaders stand ready to repudiate him at the polls.

What have these leaders to say for their party and for themselves? Down with *all* disloyalists or down only with Democratic disloyalists?

The country wants to know. There can be, there shall be no sidestepping. The fathers and mothers of the gallant sons of the Republic who are giving their lives to the great cause demand an answer.

The report that the Bavarian Crown Prince recently took a pot shot at Von Hindenburg and missed him confirms our opinion of the poor marksmanship of the German army.

Russia's Real Government

WE have not heard much of late of Mr. Kerensky, the former Prime Minister and practical Chief of State of Russia, but his emergence into public view a few days ago was most welcome because of the message which he conveyed. He was a speaker at the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in London, and he announced to that body that the Constituent Assembly of Russia was still in existence, and was meeting in secret for conference on the formation of a permanent government for that country.

That seems to us to offer perhaps the best possible prospect of Russian political rehabilitation. The Hun-Bolshevik régime is obviously nearing its end. But when it is finally overthrown, whether by the Russians themselves asserting themselves, or by the Czecho-Slovaks, or by the intervention of the Allies which the real Russian people are so heartily welcoming, it will then be necessary for Russia to have some legal government.

Some entirely new government might, of course, be arbi-

trarily set up; and it would be quite proper that it should be, if nothing better were offered. When a country is in an utterly revolutionary state, title to government may be taken by force, and vindicated by subsequent achievements in good administration. Yet it is always immeasurably preferable to establish some government having a precedent legal title, provided it is a fit government. That is what it is now proposed to do.

The Constituent Assembly has the best possible legal and moral title to exercise the government of Russia, because that title was given to it by the Russian people themselves. The government of Prince Lvoff, excellent as it was in some respects, had no such title. It was chiefly self-appointed. The same may be said of the Kerensky government which succeeded it; and of course also of the Bolsheviki. Indeed, the latter was worse still. It was not even self-appointed, but was appointed by the Huns.

Whatever were the merits and demerits of the Kerensky government, it had the one supreme merit of looking to the people for authority. It confessed itself to be merely provisional and it took prompt steps for securing a permanent régime of the most authoritative kind. So it called upon the people of Russia to elect, by free, secret, universal suffrage, a Constituent Assembly, which should represent the whole Russian people and in their name should devise a permanent form of government.

That Assembly was chosen, in that way. There has never been any serious pretense that it was not fairly chosen. But it was found to contain an anti-Bolshevik majority. The insolent Bolshevik leaders, with German gold in their pockets and a spirit of treason and of servility to Germany in their souls, gave warning in advance that if it had an anti-Bolshevik majority it would not be permitted to meet. So the people were urged, practically commanded, to elect Bolshevik delegates.

They scorned the warning. They elected a patriotic, anti-German and therefore anti-Bolshevik majority; whereupon Lenine and Trotzky made good their threat. Using military force, they dissolved and dispersed the Assembly, and in its place established their system, of which the Russian people have never approved. It is gratifying beyond measure to know, however, that the Constituent Assembly did not accept its own death warrant, but maintained its organization, meeting in secret until such time as it might meet openly and do the work for which the Russian people created it.

It would be difficult, probably impossible, at this time to elect such an assembly with any degree of fairness, because of the chaotic state of the country and the reign of terror which the Bolshevik brigands are maintaining over it. We must hark back, therefore, to this assembly which was deliberately, thoughtfully and fairly chosen while Russia was still a nation capable of making such a choice. It will be a fortunate result of the Allied and Czecho-Slovak intervention if that body is thus enabled to resume its legitimate activities in public and to do the work for which it was designed. To it and to its acts the Allies will do well to give sympathetic recognition, as the real government of Russia.

Hindenburg tells the German people to "be hard." Were they particularly soft when they ravished Belgium?

The Yankees in Lorraine

OUR troops are bombarding Metz. The news is inspiring, gratifying, significant. Hitherto practically all the war has been on French and Belgian soil. It is a refreshing change to have it extended to soil which, though it is not in fact and by right German, is claimed by Germany and has been occupied and held as hers for nearly half a century.

Not long ago we saw the remark, which was perhaps not meant as a sneer, that the American troops had been massed at the easiest and safest part of the whole Western Front, where there was least to do and least danger of getting hurt. That remark does not seem to have been repeated since St. Mihiel, and is not likely to be again. The fact is that the American section of the line now confronts the hardest problem and perhaps the most arduous task on the whole Western Front. Our army is to invest and reduce Metz, the place which for forty-seven years the Germans have been striving to make the most powerful fortress in the world. Metz is supposed to be much stronger—in fortifications and equipment for defense—than Verdun. But at Verdun the best of the Prussian army directed by the Crown Prince was unable to disprove the Frenchman's restrained assurance, "They shall not pass!" It is now for the Germans to show whether at Metz they can make good a like assurance against the advancing Americans.

Metz is, above all other places, the key to Germany. In undertaking its capture, therefore, we are taking the van of the whole Allied hosts in the advance upon Berlin. Great Britain and Belgium, without our aid, will protect the Channel Ports and will drive the invaders from Flanders, Artois and Picardy. France, with our aid, will protect Paris and will redeem Champagne and the Isle de France. It is for us, with their aid, to deal with the enemy in Lorraine and to open a road to the left bank of the Rhine. We reckon that that is the biggest job of all three. But not for that or for any other reason do we dread it or shrink from it. Rather do we welcome it and rejoice in the allotment of it to us. For three years before our intervention our Allies bore the whole weight of the war alone; a war which was even then, and from the very first, as much our war as theirs. Now let us take our turn at bearing the brunt.

It is not merely the hardest job; it is also the most important from the aggressive point of view. Of course, nothing could be more important defensively than the protection of Paris and the Channel Ports. But when from defense we turn to the offensive, incomparably the most important region in which to advance is Lorraine. Driven out of France and Belgium, the Germans would still be unbeaten. Driven out of Lorraine, their cause would be hopelessly lost.

That is not merely nor chiefly because that loss would give the Allies direct access to the Rhine, but also and chiefly because it would deprive Germany of her most important source of supplies in both peace and war. It would deprive her of the stolen possessions, the coal and iron mines, which enabled her during forty years of peace to develop her gigantic industrial and commercial systems, and which enabled and are still enabling her to provide her tremendous military equipment. It was chiefly for the sake of stealing those mines that she fought France in 1870; Bismarck's determina-

tion to bring on that war and to perpetrate that theft being made when German engineers and scientists had reported to him the results of their surreptitious observations of that region and their opinion of what the value of it would be to Germany. And a part of the purpose of the present war was to seize in like manner the rest of the Lorraine mining region, and thus to give to Germany the monopoly of one of the greatest mineral regions in the world.

Note the output of iron yearly, before the war:

In German (stolen) Lorraine.....	21,140,000 tons
In French (unstolen) Lorraine.....	18,900,000 tons
In Luxemburg and Belgium.....	8,600,000 tons
In all the rest of Germany, about...	7,500,000 tons

What wonder that the great robber nation wishes to return and steal what she left unstolen in 1871? What wonder that she strove to protect with the greatest fortress in the world the stolen possessions from which she has been drawing nearly three-fourths of her supply of the greatest essential of industry? If by dint of this war she could get the rest of the mines of Lorraine and those of Luxemburg and Belgium, she would have a yearly output of 56,140,000 tons. That is 93 per cent of the total product of the United States, and more than that of Great Britain, Russia, France, Austria and Italy, all put together. Such a monopoly would make Germany the industrial master of Europe.

These are some aspects of the task which the American army has before it in Lorraine. It is to undo one of the most monstrous wrongs ever committed by one nation against another. It is to prevent the consummation of another such wrong which would be an immeasurable and intolerable menace to the world in peace as well as in war. It is a task that is worthy of us. We shall be worthy of the task.

Germany says "Me, too!" to the Austrian peace whine. Thus does the tail wag the dachshund.

Thousands of persons have been shot without even a form of trial; ill administered prisons are filled beyond capacity and every night scores of citizens are recklessly put to death and irresponsible bands are venting their brutal passions in the daily massacre of untold innocents. . . . This Government feels that it cannot be silent or refrain from expressing its horror at this existing state of terrorism.

Strong and righteous words these, and what a pity it is they were not addressed to the Hun Government by the Government of the United States four years ago this month when the savages of William the Damned were doing things in Belgium compared with which the above described villainies are courteous consideration. But it is concerning recent Russian, and not Belgian, atrocities that we are now addressing the world in this fine protest of the President's which Mr. Lansing has sent to our representatives in all lands. They are not a whit too strong to express American sentiment now as regards the Russian orgy and, instead of being too strong, they would have been quite inadequate to express American horror at the Belgian infamies of four years ago. What a pity, what a vast pity for the honor of the American name and for the historical record of American courage that we then were noiseless, giving the acquiescence of silence to that black scoundrelism!

Another Faked Peace Drive

ANOTHER peace drive is on. Last week we recorded one, which the President promptly smashed; and we expressed the confident surmise that it would not prove to be the last. Right we were. Here comes another, crowding in goose-step fashion upon the heels of the former. It is, however, of quite a different character. It might be described as subjective rather than objective. That is to say, it consists of a movement, or an apparent movement, within Germany, among the Germans themselves, instead of an external movement toward other powers, either belligerent or neutral.

Thus there has suddenly arisen much talk of an impending political crisis. The powerful Clerical party is said to be demanding the establishment of Parliamentary government, and to be denouncing secret diplomacy and insisting upon popular participation in and control of international affairs. The Socialists also are reported to be hot for having the people rise and assert themselves against any war of conquest; so that some of their meetings have been dispersed by the police and some of their leaders have been arrested. Wherefore we are asked to believe that the German people are at the point of revolution.

Now if all that were sincere, it would be grossly insincere. That is a paradox, but it is a literal fact. We mean that if there were any such movement of the Clericals or the Socialists, or of the people generally, it would be in its inception, spirit and purpose so grossly insincere as to merit no regard but contempt. Perhaps that fact might be considered one of the chief reasons for thinking that the movements really existed, since such insincerity would be quite characteristic of the Germans of to-day.

It will be recalled that these denunciations of secret diplomacy and of wars of conquest did not arise as soon as Germany herself engaged in those practices with some prospect of success. Oh, no. They were all right then. When Germany was making secret treaties looking toward world-conquest, the German Clericals were mum, if not approving. When Germany was waging a prosperous war of conquest against Belgium and Serbia and France and Russia, and was despoiling those countries and sending home endless trainloads of plunder stolen by the Crown Prince and other Boches from private dwellings, German Socialists uttered no word against the process. The precious German People, as the most authentic witnesses now testify, were as eager for the war as were the Potsdam Junkers. It is only now, when the influx of loot is stopped, when the war of conquest is seen to be a failure, and when there is danger of that great robber nation not merely being estopped from further thefts, but also being compelled to disgorge or to pay for what it has already stolen—it is only now that the German People suddenly develops a conscience which disapproves such things.

The German popular Decalogue is thus condensed to: "Thou shalt not get found out." The German version of the Golden Rule runs: "Others should not do to you as you do to them."

This, we say, would necessarily be our estimate of this peace drive if such movements were really being undertaken in good faith by the German people. The whole business

would be revoltingly hypocritical and would be worthy of nothing but contempt. But we decline for one moment to believe that any such things are really going on, save as they are being "planted" by the government. It is simply a case of "The Devil was sick; the Devil a monk would be"; or rather he would have others think him so.

The trick has been tried before; repeatedly, long ago. More than a year ago, in a desperate effort to seduce the people of other lands into sympathizing with those of Germany, the Kaiser himself put forth a flamboyant decree that popular representative government should be granted to the Prussian people; ordering his Chancellor to "assist in obtaining fulfillment of the demands of the hour and shape our political life so as to make room for the free and joyful co-operation of all our people." That utterance was made at the very height of the great British drive at Cambrai, when German affairs in the field were in an ominous plight. It was intended as a peace offensive against the military offensive of the Allies, and nothing more; in token whereof, note that now, practically a year and a half later, that imperial decree is still unfulfilled and the Prussian franchise system remains just what it was before. So this talk about German popular discontent and impending crises and revolution, is put forward when—and because—the Allies are so vigorously smashing the German lines at almost all points on the various fronts.

It will not work. "In vain is the net spread in sight of any bird," particularly the Gallic cock or the American eagle.

Jim Ham comes home more roseate than ever with his views of the war, particularly with his cocksure confidence that German morale has gone to the demnition bow-wows. We hope that he is right, but we "hae our doots." At any rate, we don't think it would be wise to bank upon German demoralization very heavily. A German's morale may be dead when he himself is dead, but we are never quite sure of it before that "consummation devoutly to be wished." It is too apt to be like the Irishman's turtle, which still crawled about after decapitation, and which he said was "dead, but not yet conscious of it." The only positively sure way of destroying German morale is to kill the Huns.

The Austro-Hungarian government's offer is still open.
—*Official statement from Vienna.*

Who cares if it is?

"Prime Minister Lloyd George was free to say to me"—
Has the astute Welshman no fear of the nuances of the King's English?

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Germany's Forfeited Colonies

MR. BALFOUR is right. Whatever is finally done with the former colonial possessions of Germany, they must not be given back to that savage and outlaw Power. She demands them, of course. She is so insistent upon having them restored to her that she talks of using Belgium as a pawn, to exchange for them, and to be held by her until they are restored. Apart from her increasingly evident inability, from a physical and military point of view, to make good that insolent threat, the immorality of the thing is sufficiently revolting to put the maker of it out of the court of civilized nations. But it is time for Germany to understand that it is not and will not be for her to say what is to be done with any lands at the end of the war, or to have any voice whatever in the general settlements which are then made. She will be in the position of a captured, tried and convicted criminal, who must accept without effective demur whatever sentence the court may impose.

From the strictly legal point of view, of course, Germany has no valid claim to her former colonies. They have been taken from her by at least as good a right as that by which she originally acquired possession of them. She took them forcibly, by conquest; and they have been taken from her by conquest. If any Power in the world can consistently deny the right of conquest, it certainly is not Prussia, nine-tenths of whose territorial expansion has been effected in that manner.

Nor can we see that Germany has any moral title to those countries; such as a nation might conceivably acquire by humane and benevolent rule. She has grossly maladministered her African and other possessions. We are not forgetful of the fact that other nations, too, have been guilty of evil dealings with the inferior native races of their colonial possessions. We ourselves have not been free from reproach in our treatment of the Red Indians. But we know of no other Power which has compared with Germany in the moral debauchery as well as the oppression and massacres of natives. So eminent a colonial administrator as Karl Peters, philosopher, scientist and man of letters, too, was notorious for his debauchery of African women, and for the murdering of those who resented his conduct. (Incidentally, after he had been convicted of most atrocious crimes, he was honored by the Emperor with appointment as Imperial Commissioner.) Other colonial governors and administrators were guilty of similar practices.

We have heard of severe suppressions of native revolts by other Powers, but it was reserved for Germany, after driving the Hereros to revolt by attempting to rob them of their mines and lands and to reduce them to slavery, to order the extermination of the entire people. The German commander, Von Trotha, ordered that every Herero found within the limits of German Southwest Africa should be put to death; not even the women and children to be spared. And when he went home to Germany to give an accounting of his bloody stewardship, the Emperor decorated him!

As trustees for humanity and civilization, the Allies could not without self-stultification put those countries back under such rule. By her own misconduct toward them Germany has forfeited whatever title she had to them. And there are also other reasons, practical but by no means sordid. The civilized states which border upon those lands or lie in close

proximity to them, would strenuously and rightly object to their being again occupied by a lawless Power which would make them public nuisances and menaces to their neighbors. Beyond that, all the nations of the world which are interested in the maintenance of peace after this war would naturally and rightly object to re-endowing the world's troubler with rich possessions which might provide the means for another war.

It may perhaps be argued that these colonies, or at any rate the largest of them, should not be taken as spoils of war by any one Power. We do not, indeed, know that that has been contemplated. It would probably be quite practicable to establish them as independent states, under international guarantee, to be protected and administered for the benefit of their native inhabitants, or at least with full regard for their rights and welfare. But to hand them back to the ravisher of Belgium and the exterminator of the Hereros must be unthinkable.

General March reports that more than 1,750,000 American soldiers have now been sent overseas. In the words of a much-neglected national anthem, "Yankee Doodle, keep it up!"

The President Is Right

THE opinion is freely expressed in the national capital that President Wilson will soon be confronted with the bitterest fight of his administration. Mr. Wilson has indicated his purpose to order that the price of cotton be fixed by the Federal Government, precisely as has been done in the case of iron, steel, copper, fuel and numerous other essential commodities, and the wrath of the Southern Senators and Representatives knows no bounds.

These insular patriots have rent the atmosphere inveighing against profiteering in other lines. They have voted as one man for the heaviest taxes the traffic would bear, on industries located chiefly in the North. With noble self-sacrifice they have imposed on incomes found almost exclusively in the North surtaxes which are almost confiscatory. They have pronounced vehement and soul-stirring anathemas against every Republican who has voted against a measure proposed by the Executive, whether the negative vote was cast from conscientious belief that the proposed measure was contrary to the Constitution, or conviction that it was economically unsound. But now that the President, with ineluctable logic, proposes to fix the price of King Cotton, all is different.

No reasonable substitute is offered. No expedient is proposed. All the arguments thus far advanced may be reduced to the simple proposition that "It's an outrage for a Democratic President to attempt to curtail the profits of the South."

Whether the threats and fulminations which now find expression wherever two or more Southern statesmen are gathered together will prove productive of any really determined legislative opposition cannot be foretold. But the President is right. The law and the logic are all on his side. And he can count on the loyal and unanimous support of the Republicans who will stand by him in this case as they stood by him on the selective draft legislation, the expansion of the military programme and other measures vital to the successful prosecution of the war.

An Unatoned Outrage

MR. FRANCIS BANNERMAN, of New York, is seventy years of age. The fires of his American patriotism burn as hotly as those of any youth in the ranks at the front. His father was a soldier in the Union Army during the Civil War and was one of the thousands of other American patriots who died in that struggle that the country they loved so well might live.

Given these antecedents plus his own ardent American loyalty it is not surprising that the outbreak of the Hun war to impose autocracy on all the world stirred Mr. Bannerman intensely. He was one of the thousands of Americans who felt from the moment the Huns fell upon Belgium that our place was side by side with the civilized nations of the world in the defense of all that makes life worth the living of free men. He was one of the hundreds of thousands who boiled with indignation during our note-writing era when our American men, women and children were being murdered on the high seas and we were meeting those and other shameful insults with "tut! tut!" remonstrances. In that era he offered, at his own cost of \$20,000, to equip an American Line ship with guns, for he is a heavy dealer in military equipment with rather a formidable arsenal on an island he owns in the Hudson near Cornwall and which he makes his summer home. This offer the American Line Company could not see a way to accept in view of the Government's attitude as to arming merchant vessels.

When, at last, we entered the war, Mr. Bannerman placed the entire contents of his establishment at the Government's disposition. The list included 30 large guns, some of them sold to him in 1912 as obsolete by our own Navy. The only purchase the Government made of him was of 100,000 haversacks which he sold at one-third the cost of their manufacture. He was ready to meet the Government on equally liberal terms in any other purchases it might elect to make. The War Department discovered, after investigation, that the "obsolete" guns the Navy Department had sold to Mr. Bannerman were not obsolete. It was proposed to purchase a number of them. The price suggested was precisely the price the little Republic of Cuba felt itself able to pay and was offering.

And right there Mr. Bannerman's troubles began. Assuming that he had demanded a price for the guns which he had not demanded and with the entire correspondence on the subject a matter of record open to every statesman, Mr. Bannerman was assailed in Congress with a savagery of invective that would almost have been excessive if applied to the rankest traitor that ever lived. He was published abroad as a conscienceless profiteer trying to extort money from the Government under stress and duress of war.

But that was not all. Mr. Bannerman's little island summer home and storage place in the Hudson—Polopel's Island—was raided and invaded by the armed forces of the United States. Several months before the declaration of war, there had been disturbing rumors afloat. Mr. Bannerman applied to the Government at Washington for protection. He was referred to the Governor of New York. The Governor suggested that he and his guards be sworn in as Deputies by the Sheriff of Dutchess County. They were so sworn in. On the tower of his island arsenal he mounted

four machine guns to repel any pro-Hun enterprise of seizure that might be undertaken. It did not for an instant occur to this staunchly loyal American that the forces of his own Government would be the invaders. But he did not know all the intricate resources in official asininity then available. On the 1st day of April last at 12:30 p. m. a submarine chaser (S. P. 899) with an armed guard of about 15 men, in command of four officers wearing the insignia of the United States Navy, landed on the island. They demanded entrance to the arsenal. Mr. Bannerman was at his office in New York within an instant's reach by telephone. The officers were so informed and informed also that Mr. Bannerman alone could tell where to find the arsenal keys. Their reply was to batter down the arsenal door and smash open boxes containing powder and explosive shells. When the Deputy Sheriff caretakers approached they were driven off at the muzzles of revolvers. The invaders entered every arsenal building. Mr. Bannerman in his statement printed in the *Congressional Record* says that "some of the men helped themselves to cartridge belts and some took away a patent model set of leather equipment." Then they invaded his private residence. They even ransacked Mrs. Bannerman's bedrooms. Then they partially wrecked one of the machine guns, and, finally, the entire property was seized and put in charge of an armed guard with Mr. and Mrs. Bannerman virtually prisoners in their own home.

Over a month after Mr. Bannerman had sent in a complaint of this outrage to the Navy Department, he received a letter from Josephus Daniels assuring him that there was no question in either his (Josephus's) mind, or in the mind of the War Department as to Mr. Bannerman's entire loyalty. And now this much-wronged patriotic American gentleman is informed that some sort of an "investigation" is going on. In the meantime, under date of August 22d, this announcement was made, with the authorization of the War Department, through the creel concern:

Mr. Francis Bannerman has patriotically offered to the United States two 6-inch 30 caliber guns, together with \$20,000 for the purpose of furnishing the guns with modern field carriages. Upon the recommendation of the Chief of Ordnance, the Secretary of War has accepted this gift on behalf of the War Department.

P. C. MARCH,
General, Chief of Staff.

Now we submit that patriotism which can respond to treatment as infamous as that to which Mr. Bannerman has been subjected with a dredge scoop load of coals of fire such as he has dumped right on the responsible ivory heads is entitled at least to honorable mention. The *Army and Navy Register* suggests that both the Army and Navy Departments owe Mr. Bannerman an apology. The suggestion does not impress us as extravagant.

In the last two months the Allies have permanently deprived the Germans of about 600,000 fighting men. That is more than the entire class of 1920 recruits. Thus in two months Germany loses more men than she can replace in twelve months. At that rate the exhaustion of her man power looms within measurable distance.

Women messengers in the arsenal at Rock Island, Ill., have been experimenting with the use of roller skates in order to save time.—*Department of Labor Bulletin*.

It now remains for the Politicalmaster General to order his messengers to discard dime novels, adopt putty blowers and merrily roll on their own.

For A New Pan-Americanism

WE have already remarked, with grateful satisfaction, upon the prospect of Brazil's active participation in the war, at least to the extent of sending a part of her navy to co-operate with the Allied fleets in European waters. That alone will be a splendid thing. But we shall hope to see it followed by the other Latin American nations, not only with ships, but also with troops. It might not be possible for them to send numbers approximating our own, though no reason is apparent why it would not be quite practicable for them to send a sufficient force to be of important weight and service. Even a few would, however, be of some aid, while they would be of simply incalculable moral value, both to the individual States which sent them and to the general Allied cause.

Pending such an achievement it is encouraging to perceive an unmistakable and earnest inclination on the part of our southern neighbors toward more confident and intimate relations with the United States. This is seen both in official action and in individual but representative utterances. The former suspicion and distrust of this country, which we must admit to have existed, have vanished, and we are now increasingly regarded as the loyal and beneficent friend of Latin America and as not unworthy of moral leadership in the Western Hemisphere.

This gratifying change is one of the compensating results of the war. It is notorious that the ill-feeling toward this country which so many Latin Americans have cherished was largely incited and fomented by malicious German propaganda, which had for its aims the alienation of those countries from the United States, the exclusion of American commerce from their markets, and the insidious development of pro-German influences which would make German interests predominant and in time make the countries themselves the easy prey of Kultur. Now the war has ended that propaganda and has caused its author to be seen in its true light; while the United States is also beginning to be seen in its true light as a champion of the rights of nations and, as in Monroe's time, of the equal rights of even the smallest nations with the greatest.

We must confess, with some degree of humiliation, that the success of that German propaganda, so far as it did succeed, was in part our own fault. It was due to our amazingly discreditable apathy and ineptitude, during many years, in cultivating relations with those countries. That is a fault which it is now incumbent upon us to repair. We have to-day the best opportunity in ninety years to develop and confirm between our southern neighbors and ourselves relations of the greatest and mutually most beneficent intimacy and confidence, politically, economically and socially. The opportunity has come to us not by our own making, but through the progress of events; but the improvement of it must be through our own action.

A few years ago, just before and in the early part of the world war, the egregious Bryan made ducks and drakes of our Latin American diplomacy, for the benefit of politicians who had been serviceable to him in his numerous campaigns for the Presidency. Since his unlamented departure from the office which he so debased, there has been a welcome improvement in the character of that service, but it would doubt-

less be possible still further to increase its prestige and efficiency. The field is open, indeed, for the application of our very best efforts; not after the German fashion, with sordid and malicious propaganda, but the realization of Jefferson's noble ideal of "peace, commerce, and honest friendship."

We know no quarter of the globe in which there is more need of or one more worthy our most tactful and energetic diplomatic attention. This war was preceded for many years by an insidious and persistent campaign of Germany against the Pan-American ideal. It would be a fitting and a noble turn of affairs if as a result of the war there should arise an immeasurably greater and more perfect Pan-American Union.

A friend takes exception to calling them Huns, saying that the odium should fall upon them under their real name, so that they cannot escape it by saying that they are not Huns but Germans. There is something in that.

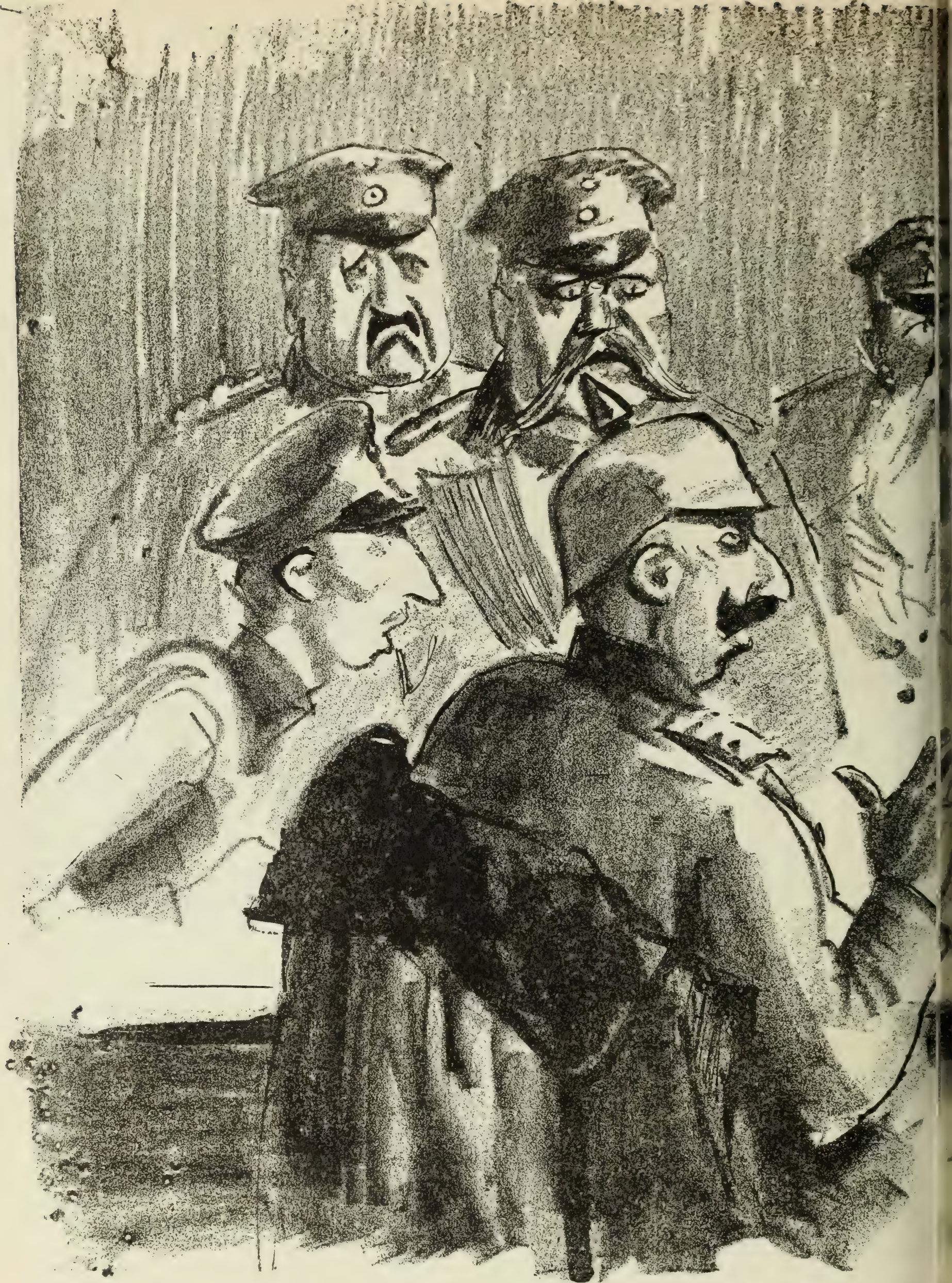
The Americans are bombarding Metz. But not the cathedral nor the hospitals, nor yet the residence quarter. They prefer the forts as targets.

Let Us Humbly Give Thanks

THE *Sun* endorses John W. Davis as the right kind of Ambassador to Great Britain on the ground that he is the kind of an Ambassador the President wants there. Mr. Baker is the kind of Secretary of War the President wants and Mr. Burleson is the kind of Politicalmaster General the President wants and the creel is the kind of a creeler the President wants. Hence, by the *Sun's* standard of fitness, Mr. Baker is the right kind of a Secretary of War, Mr. Burleson the right kind of a Politicalmaster General and the creel the right kind of a creel to do the Secretary of War's creeling. It is all right, probably. We saw it in the *Sun* and consequently it is so. As to Mr. Davis, he meets to the full the standard of qualification now adopted—nobody ever heard of him before. He has the interest of being an unheard of, unknown quantity so far as the country at large and the country to which he has been assigned are concerned.

And, when we consider that it might have happened to statesmen we know a lot about, Mr. Davis's anonymity is an asset for which we may well emit a sigh of relief. It might, for instance, have been that mental Colossus of Michigan who under august pilotage is making a flivver campaign for the United States Senate. And then again, oh ye Gods! it might have been the flaming Jim Ham, spats, kaleidoscopic waistcoats, aurora borealis whiskers and all! It might have been almost anybody, and we get off with an unknown Davis! Let us not criticize but shudderingly bear in mind the peril we may have escaped, and with humble, lowly and contrite hearts give thanks that whereas almost anything might have happened, what has happened is something we don't know anything about.

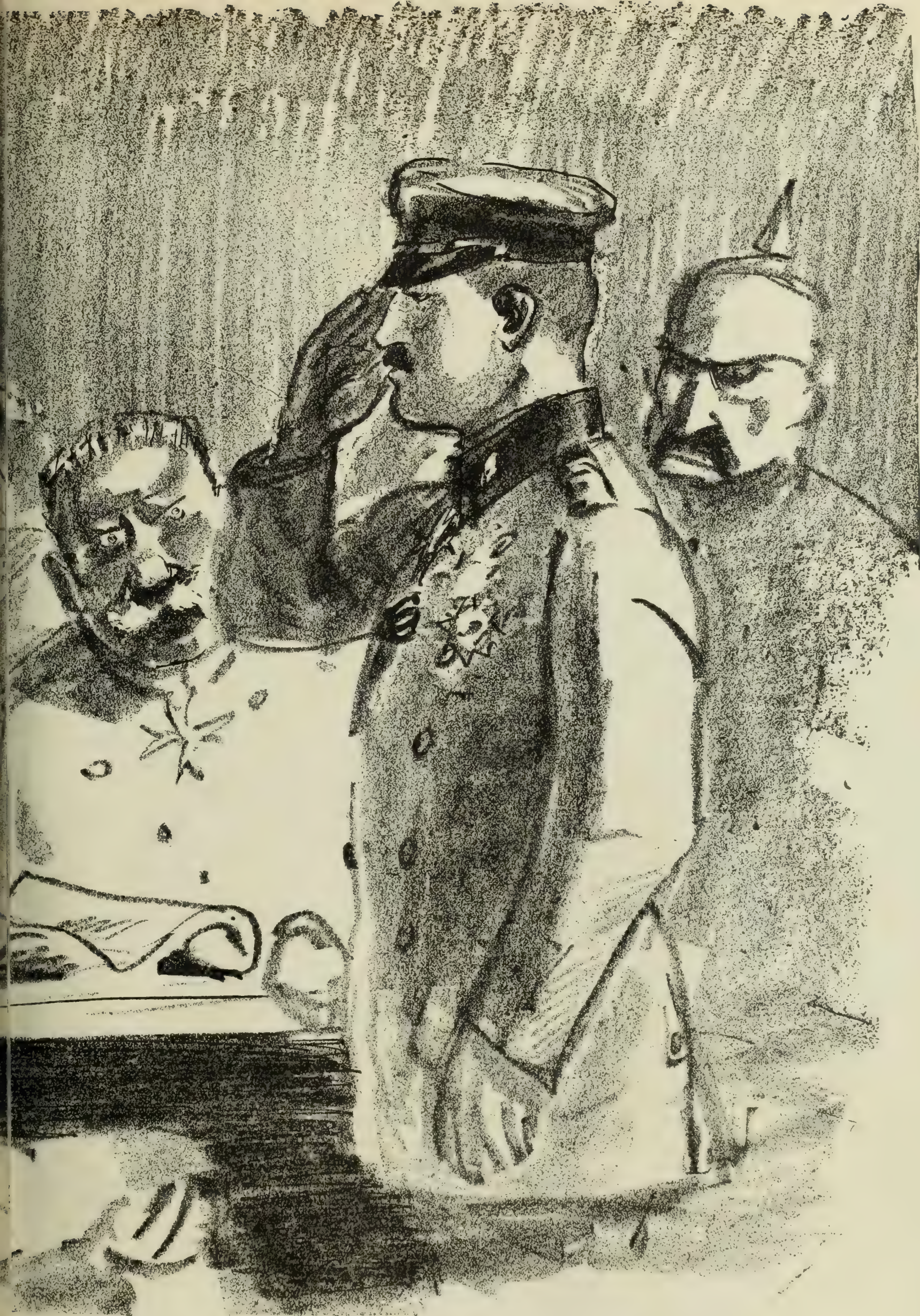
Meanwhile, like all good Americans, with hearty good will we wish Mr. John W. Davis the best of good fortune in his responsible office, and, until we know to the contrary, we are going to believe he will maintain the high traditions the country of late years has established near the Court where he is going to represent us.



After Ch t

THE KAISER: "You told me they had no ships, but they re
are here. What ship brought them?"

ADJUTANT GENERAL: "The *Lusitania*, Your Majesty."



Chierry

You told me they could not charter any ships, but they

The Week

WASHINGTON, September 26, 1918.

GAINS everywhere. That is the inspiring record. At every part of the long series of battle-fronts at which serious efforts have been made, the Allies have won. And they have been making such efforts at many points. That is the beauty of it. Shall we say that that is the beauty of Foch's policy? He "keeps the enemy guessing," and enhances the painful intensity of the process by making sure that the guessing, whether right or wrong, shall always be in vain. Of the marvelous victories of these last few weeks, some were doubtless won—or at least facilitated—by surprising the enemy. But in other cases, and not the least important of them, it was not a surprised but a fully expectant enemy that was vanquished. So the Boche finds that sometimes it is the expected and sometimes the unexpected that happens, but that always it is something bad for him; and that is about the most demoralizing experience that anybody can suffer.

The fact is that, to employ another colloquialism, the Allies have "got them going" and are keeping them going, with no end of the joyful process yet in sight. If there is a slowing up in Lorraine, there is a speeding up in Picardy or Champagne. If things are quiet for a day on the Western Front, there is an advance in Macedonia, or in Palestine. And then there are always those amazing Czecho-Slovaks, with "headquarters in the saddle" and living off the land, ready to fill up any hiatus with the seizure of a hundred miles of railroad or half a dozen towns, to the discomfiture of those Assistant Huns the Bolsheviks. All this, of course, is precisely as it should be; "for the best possible, in the best possible of campaigns," to adopt the proverbial creed of the optimist.

Without in the least minimizing the importance and the glory of the achievements, however, or dampening the exultation and confidence with which they are properly regarded, it is fitting to be reminded that if they are not all to be in vain they must be continued to their logical end in complete victory, and that if they are to be continued that must be by a pursuance of the policy which has made them possible. That is, by throwing in every ounce of our available strength in men, in ships, in guns, in food, in money, in sympathy, in every element that can make for success. That is why all these splendid victories are just so many convincing arguments for the big conscription, the big revenue bill, the big Liberty loan. "Force; Force to the utmost; Force without stint or limit!"

Another fine and profitable victory in another direction seems to have been won by the American delegates at the Inter-Allied Labor Conference at Derby, England. Their veteran leader, Mr. Gompers, directed the campaign with the skill of a Field Marshal, with the net result that the pacifists were discredited, the Brest-Litovsk "treaty" was denounced, and President Wilson's "only possible programme" of the world's peace was accepted. We might have wished for some further or some more explicit declarations; but on the whole the result is excellent. As *Mercutio* said of his wound, it was neither as deep as a well nor as

wide as a church door, but it would serve. The action at Derby will serve to keep the workingmen of the Allied countries with Democracy and against Bolshevism. There is, of course, no longer any danger of entering into conference with delegates from enemy countries. That way would treason lie.

The Hun-Bolshevik documents which Mr. Edgar Sisson secured in Russia and which the Committee on Public Information has been publishing, are passionately denounced by Mr. S. Nuorteva, the head of the Finnish Information Bureau, with much circumstance, as "brazen forgeries"; and Mr. George Creel, with his accustomed urbanity, replies that Mr. Nuorteva is a Bolshevik and that one of his chief statements is "an absolute lie." Mr. Creel is further reported in *The New York Times* as saying that he had never heard of Mr. Nuorteva or the Finnish Information Bureau; which is a pity, because it reflects unfavorably upon Mr. Creel's distinguished fitness for the place which he attempts to fill. The Chairman of the Committee on Public Information should surely have known all about so prominent a man as Mr. Nuorteva, who has been in this country for many weeks and has repeatedly filled large places in the public press; and also about every propagandist agency of a foreign Power that is publicly active in this country. Such confession of ignorance by Mr. Creel is really painful.

While for ourselves we have had no doubt of the substantial authenticity of the documents in question, or of most of them, and have treated them accordingly, we must in candor admit that Mr. Nuorteva's very positive and circumstantial denial seemed at first sight to have considerable force; not so much because of its own essence as because of the untrustworthiness of some former utterances of Mr. Creel's Committee. When we recalled that Creelian version of Admiral Gleaves's report, and those airplane stories and pictures, we could ourselves scarcely avoid exclaiming, "What! More creeling?" But the corroborative evidence of antecedent and attendant circumstances was too strong for doubt, and we accepted, and still do accept, the revelations as true; not because of, but in spite of, Mr. Creel's assurances.

Denmark has wisely and happily accepted the American proposals concerning commerce, and even those papers which were a little while ago most hostile to this country are now loud in their praise of the arrangement and of this country for making it. It is a pity that Holland still delays to make a similar arrangement, which would prove equally advantageous to her. But then, Holland has not had the bitter experience of Germany that Denmark has had; though, strangely, she seems to fear her more than does the smaller state.

We must hope that Holland will presently listen to the reasonable representations and proposals of the Allies by raising the embargo upon her shipping and thus securing for herself the supplies which she greatly needs. Her neutral neighbors at the North of Europe, the Scandinavian kingdoms, have already done so, leaving her alone in her refusal. We can appreciate the fear which Holland not unnaturally has of German reprisals, though we cannot regard the danger

as particularly serious. Germany would doubtless like to invade Holland, because the thrifty burghers have so much of value which could be stolen. But Germany knows that that would be a very different thing from the invasion of Belgium, and we cannot believe that she is eager for the military task. As for the justice of our attitude toward Holland, there can be no question of it. So long as Holland places an embargo upon her ships and will not let them go forth in neutral trade, we must maintain an embargo upon supplies to her; and we have all the more cause to do so because of the monstrous manner in which Holland not long ago abused our trade, by turning over to Germany wholesale the supplies which we sent her for her own use. We have no ill-will toward the Dutch and should hate to see them suffer. But we do not propose to feed Germany by way of Holland; nor to send Holland supplies when she will not permit us to have use of her ships.

Bulgarian troops are said to be fighting on the Western Front. Suppose, then, that they come into contact with our men. Shall we fight them? They are not technically our enemies, for we are not at war with Bulgaria. The possible complications might be exceedingly interesting to diplomatic hair-splitters; but we fancy that our soldiers wouldn't waste much time over the problem. Whoever gets in their way is likely to get hurt.

The proposal to have the ordinary highways bear, in motor traffic, much of the burden which has been thrown upon the railroads, is sound and practical. Yet it must not be forgotten that during the year automobile traffic has been increased some fifty per cent because of the overcrowded and otherwise unsatisfactory condition of the railroads, and it was in part this increase which led the Government to prescribe a series of gasless Sundays. You cannot burn your gasoline and have it too. We renew our suggestion that more effective methods be taken for the abatement of waste—not use but sheer waste—of gasoline. It amounts to millions of gallons every month.

The victory of the British in Palestine is of practical significance as great as its sentimental interest. It was the boast of Germany at the beginning of the war that if the British waged war against the Turks, the Mohammedans of India would revolt, and the most insidious and persistent German intrigues were directed to that end. Indeed, there were not a few in England and America who feared that something of the sort might happen. Now, however, what do we see? Mohammedans of India, and Arab Mohammedans, fighting side by side with Christian Britons against the Turks, to drive them out of Palestine so that a Jewish state may be re-established there! The fact is that the Ottoman Turks have long been thoroughly detested throughout the remainder of the Mohammedan world, and Indians, Arabs and Persians are glad of the chance to join in defeating and humbling them. For all of which the Turks may thank their dear friend Wilhelm Hohenzollern Pasha, who got them into this fatal scrape.

The making of a contract under which the short-line railroads will be taken back under Government control will be a

substantial act of justice, without which intolerable hardship and in some cases outright ruin would be suffered. It may be that the Government does not need most of these roads for its own transportation purposes. But that is not the sole point to be considered. The short-line roads are dependent for profitable existence upon their connections and traffic arrangements with the trunk lines, and when the Government took possession of the latter and abrogated such agreements or radically modified them, the former were placed at a grave disadvantage. If in taking them over the Government is saddled with something that it does not need nor want, that is one of the penalties which it must pay for adopting the system. The only equitable rule is, Government control of all or none.

Those who affected to fear, or who even now pretend to think, that our intervention in Russia can aid nobody but the reactionary counter-revolutionists, should note the attitude and tone of Nicholas Tschaikovsky. He is the head of the "Sovereign Government of the Northern Regions of Russia." He regards the Constituent Assembly, which Bolshevik brigands forcibly dispersed, as the only authoritative government of Russia. He declares that what is first and most needed in Russia is that the Germans shall be expelled and the Bolsheviks suppressed. He therefore welcomes American and Allied aid to that end. And, incidentally, he has for many years been deservedly known as the "Father of the Russian Revolution."

Thoroughly admirable is the tone of President Menocal's statement concerning Cuba's participation in the war. However flattering it might be to us to have that republic simply follow our lead, or seek to repay some of the services which we rendered to it twenty years ago, it is far better to have it take this momentous action on the basis of principle and a desire to "co-operate in the sacred defence of the liberty and sovereignty of the people against malignant and menacing military power." Having taken that stand, the subsequent expressions of sympathy with and gratitude toward the United States may also be welcomed. But the essential thing is for Cuba to be in the war because it is right for her to do so.

Commend to us for sheer unadulterated joyousness and pure delight that war picture of real life at Chateau-Thierry: A big black ducky soldier from Dixie, strutting along the promenade with a German officer's monocle in his eye, while the officer, lugging the ducky's camp kit on his shoulders, goose-steps before him, prodded into activity with the tip of a sharp bayonet. Quoth the ducky, exultant, to the casual passer-by: "Say, boss! Look here what this nigger done got!" Oh, Boy! And those Potsdam officers complain so of the rudeness and lack of Kultur of our American soldiers!

The Reichstag is to reopen on November 5, and it is rumored that it will quickly take up and probably adopt another set of peace resolutions, surpassing those which it formerly adopted and which the Kaiser forced it to abandon. Are we to have another case of

Remember, remember, the fifth of November,
Gunpowder, treason and plot?

Crazy, But Normal

A *TIMES* special dispatch from London quotes public opinion there as leaning towards the belief that William the Damned is so overwrought as to be on the verge of a complete nervous collapse. As confirmatory of this theory, the recent speech to the Krupp iron workers is cited. Certain passages in that strange hash of hysterics and rhapsody are indicated. Even in their censored form, the correspondent says they "hardly read like the utterances of a sane man."

This is a statement wholly free from exaggeration. They read vastly more like the ravings of a lunatic than the measured utterances of the ruler of a great nation in the full possession of his senses. All of which, if it proves anything, proves that William the Damned's state of mind is entirely normal. He has written, talked and acted so like a madman from the day he ascended the throne that it is notorious that his sanity has been seriously doubted. His Krupp speech was not by half so crazy as a dozen others he has delivered. As a matter of fact it was more coherent and less suggestive of psychopathic symptoms, save, perhaps, a latent melancholia tendency, than very many of those freaks of utterance and action which have alternately amused the world and engaged the more or less discreet attention of alienist experts of all countries, not excepting his own. His absurd simian posturings, his outbreaks of megalomaniacal semi-delirium, his silly, childish personal vanity have been so persistently in evidence as to have become practically a constant, routine quantity in his day-by-day public manifestations. Brought to trial as an ordinary criminal before any court, as on the average constituted, it may well be doubted if a plea of insanity, entered in his behalf and fortified with evidence such as the fantastic career of this curious creature so abundantly supplies, could be overcome. Scores of murderers have been sent to lunatic asylums instead of to the scaffold or the electric chair on testimony far weaker than could be adduced in the case of this man in whose bloody hands an inscrutable overruling destiny has placed the lives of millions upon millions of helpless, inoffensive and unoffending men, women and little children.

If William the Damned is on the verge of a nervous breakdown, then he has been in that plight from the moment of his entrance on the stage of world affairs. If he is crazy now, he is no crazier than he has been ever since we have known anything about him. Very likely he *is* crazy. Indeed, the chances are that a Board of Alienists, entirely unbiased and unswayed by the glamor of his rank, would unanimously agree upon that affirmative verdict. Whether he is crazy enough to be irresponsibly unconscious of the criminality and blasphemy of his acts and utterances is another matter. Perhaps even that psychopathic problem will be solved in future historical analyses of the colossal tragedy of slaughter and devastation of which he is the central, moving, and provocative figure.

Meanwhile the whole world is being ravaged and desolated by the unutterable atrocities, the deeds beyond all the vocabulary of criminal savagery to name, of a Royal Jack the Ripper at large and armed with weapons of wholesale slaughter to the forging and compounding of which the armories, the laboratories and the scientific researches of a nation of 70 millions of people have been all but exclusively

devoted for nearly half a century of deliberate, deadly preparation.

Does any sane person for a moment dream that until this frenzied gorilla with his blood-dripping fangs and claws is beaten to the dust, chained and shackled, there is any hope that rational, civilized peoples can go in security about their peaceful avocations once more? Is this monster, still loose and still a roaming arsenal and wholesale poison dispensary, a creature to be "negotiated" with save by shot and shell and cold steel?

The Socialist-Pacifist-Blatherskite Scott Nearing says that Mr. Gompers is failing in his mission to European workingmen because "he does not speak the same language that they do." False. The language of democracy and freedom is the same in all countries.

Liberty Day and Liberty Loan

IT was a characteristically felicitous thought of the President to proclaim what is usually observed as Columbus Day to be for this year Liberty Day. That is, of course, because it occurs midway in the campaign for the fourth Liberty Loan, and may therefore well be identified with that work and may mark the raising of the effort to a higher degree of efficiency. The public has been in recent years increasingly given to the observance of such special days, with generally excellent results. Anything which serves to attract the public mind to a certain enterprise, and to afford convenient opportunity for promoting it, is of benefit. We have no doubt that many people will pay attention to the Liberty Loan because of that holiday who would ignore it without such a reminder, just as many more will subscribe for bonds when personally solicited so to do, who would never do so at their own initiative and volition.

Nor can we regard the President's idea as unduly far-fetched or strained in linking the epochal achievement of more than four centuries ago with the no less epochal task which this country now has in hand. It is true that Columbus had presumably no thought of what the political and moral significance of America would be to the world. He might scarcely have been able to appreciate it if it had been intimated to him. But it is equally true that his discovery made this development possible. His achievement would still have been colossal if America had never become what it is to-day and had never engaged in its present undertaking; though it is unquestionable that these present conditions and undertakings vastly enhance the glory of his work. This latter reflection would alone be abundant warrant for the President's appointment of the day as Liberty Day.

We shall hope that in another and an intensely practical sense the appointment will be made profitable. That is, that it may be a day of the rediscovery of America. We mean that America should be discovered as it never yet has been, by Americans themselves. Because of our familiarity with them, or for other reasons, it is lamentably and discredibly true that we often have not appreciated our own resources, advantages and—to use a too often misused word—our blessings nearly as much as aliens have done; and we are quite certain that by no means all of us have as yet fairly begun to discover

or to understand what this world war means to this nation, both subjectively and objectively, and both in the present and in the illimitable future.

It will be well, therefore, to make Liberty Day a day of new discovery; a day on which America shall fully "find herself." If so, it will, indeed, be a day of great things. It has for generations been the hackneyed boast that America is the greatest country in the world. Well, now is the time to prove it. We are, indeed, doing unprecedentedly great things. We have this very month witnessed the greatest registration for conscription; in this very month we are contemplating the greatest revenue levy, and the greatest public loan the world has ever seen; and we have no doubt that on all of them we shall "make good." But what we want is for this people to be great in spirit as well as in numbers or in dollars; to appreciate fully what all these stupendous efforts and achievements are for; and thus to be able to enter into a commensurately great garnering and conservation of their results, for our own good and for the good of all mankind.

We would particularly have them recognize all these great works as imperative prescriptions of what the end must be. The greater the work, the greater the necessity that it shall not be done in vain; and if this work be not done in vain, it must reach its end not in compromise or agreement, but in absolute victory. There can be no better sentiment, no more appropriate watchword, than that for Liberty Day.

One of the strongest conceivable arguments for Government fixing of cotton prices is supplied by cotton itself in the fluctuations of its market price, according to rumors of such control. If it were standing at a legitimate price, it would scarcely fall, as it has done at prospect of price-fixing. If, on the other hand, it had been artificially run up to an extortionate profiteering figure, such a tumble for such a cause would be the most natural thing in the world.

The Need of Victory

THE necessity of "carrying the war into Africa"—with apologies to Africa for using her as a figure of speech for Germany—is again made clear and emphatic by Hindenburg himself. In his latest proclamation to the German army in the field, the Field Marshal says:

"In four victorious years of war the German army has energetically protected the homeland and proved to the enemy our invincibility."

That expresses the German view of the war. So long as the fighting is on foreign soil, Germans consider their armies victorious, and if the war were ended with the Allies still outside of Germany, nothing in the world could convince them that they had not won it.

We do not wish to treat German cities or people as the Germans have treated those of Belgium and France. But we do regard it as necessary to demonstrate to the Germans, to the German people, the fact that they are beaten, by displaying the banners of the triumphant Allies in the very heart and capital of the Empire.

If we do not secure such a moral victory over the Germans, our purely military victory will be vain.

For Pooling Aviation

THERE is encouragement in the announcement of Mr. John D. Ryan's activities in France. We are told by Mr. Charles H. Grasty in *The New York Times* that he is seeking to arrange with the French and British authorities for a pooling of the aviation resources of all the Allies. That, he believes, is the way in which the greatest possible force can be got to the front in the shortest possible time.

In that we believe he is right. There is precedent for such a course. At a critical moment last spring we pooled our army forces by brigading Americans with British and French until we had enough of them on the fighting line to form an integral army, and all the Allied forces, from whatever land, were put under a single generalissimo. We have also made similar combinations in other respects, with satisfactory results.

Moreover, there has from the outset been a sort of tentative pooling of aviation. Having no airplanes of our own, but having many competent aviators, we provided men for French machines; or the French provided machines for our men, as you please. Also, we have sent material over there for the French to work up into machines. In this way, despite the disgraceful failure of aircraft production here, we have had the satisfaction of knowing that American airmen were doing splendidly effective work along the Western Front.

It ought to have been possible for us to have had, long before this, air navies of thousands of fighting planes; comparable in the air with the fine army which we have on the ground, and with the efficient fleet which is doing its work on the sea. Some day we hope to have it; now that Mr. Ryan is at the head of that branch of service. Until then, by all means pool resources, or do whatever will most speedily and most surely give the Allies a complete and overwhelming victory in the air.

We have now reached a point where aerial fighting is of increasing importance and value. Metz is to be captured. To do so by storm would be too costly; and to do it by siege and bombardment of the usual kind would be tedious. But such a fleet of airships as we were once promised, numbered by many thousands, flying over the place day after day and dropping half-ton bombs upon it, would effect its reduction in comparatively short order. And when Metz is taken, there will be similar need of aircraft for the arduous campaign of crossing the Rhine.

Let us, then, have the pooling, or co-operation, or whatever Mr. Ryan is convinced will best repair—so far as it can be repaired—the criminal delay of which we have here been guilty in aircraft production. That will be a profitable outcome of Mr. Ryan's visit to France. But then, when he returns, we look to see him "carry on" with aircraft production here until we do in actual fact have more airplanes in service than the egregious creel has tried to delude us into thinking we already have.

There it is again, "May I not?" in his letter to Senator Beckham in favor of Governor Stanley's candidacy to succeed Ollie James. What would happen, we wonder, if some time somebody should answer, "No, you may not"?

A Belittling Misnomer

CHARLES M. SCHWAB in his recent Salmagundi Club dinner speech said that "we are about to enter, if indeed we have not already entered, a new social era for the future—one which few persons to-day ever dreamed was possible. It is an era which means that the aristocracy of the future will not be one of wealth or of birth, but of the man who does something for his fellow men and his country."

Now, the only thing wrong with this, Mr. Schwab's, new era of an aristocracy of the future is that it isn't an era and that it isn't new and that it isn't an aristocracy. There is good dictionary authority for saying that an era is a fixed point of time from which a nation or a people reckon their years. And, if that is true, then, by the same token, we are living in the era of American Independence, and that era isn't over by a long shot unless the Huns walk over our boys at the front, and nobody is losing much sleep from anxiety on that score.

No, it isn't an era we will enter upon when the war is over and the consequences, social and otherwise, begin to flow from the inevitable readjustment of things. It will only be an epoch in the era of American Independence, just as the Civil War and its attendant elimination of slavery was one epoch and the present war and its attendant elimination of Hun autocracy will be another. And if it is not an era of any kind whatever, then or a certainty it is not a new era.

All this by way of keeping our verbal bearings in sight while we steer through the lively sea of Mr. Schwab's excellent language to his non-existent new aristocracy which is to supplant a non-existent older aristocracy. For it is as sure that we never had an old aristocracy here as it is sure we shall never have a new one, so long as this our era of American Independence lasts. In the bright lexicon of American Independence there is no such word as aristocracy. That is a word current here in America only in the bogus verbal coinage of the wind-bag demagogue, the soap-box ranter, the Bolshevik I. W. W. criminal excrescences of that ilk.

What Mr. Schwab undoubtedly had in mind and meant to specify was the American Distinguished Service Order. It is as old as the country, that Order. A pretty sizable body, too, as it stands to-day, and growing prodigiously at this very moment. Its membership is increasing by leaps and bounds in these stirring times. All sorts and conditions of men belong to it. It was founded by the richest man in the country at the time of his death. G. Washington was his name. Twelve-dollar-a-week clerks and water-front stevedores are matriculating into it by the dozen every day "over there." Mr. Schwab himself became a member years ago, and he is initiating carpenters, painters, rivet drivers and what not into fellow membership by the scores as he trundles those big ships down the ways. T. Jefferson was a very rich man for his day and generation when he joined. He died a member in excellent standing. Andy Jackson was poor as a church mouse when he signed up, and if he did become pretty well-to-do in after years he was never disqualified. Thomas A. Edison is a member. So is Bill Jones who is stringing electric lines behind the armies and up to where the barrage shells are smashing there in France. Young Lafayette, who had what Mr. Schwab refers to as "birth" as well as wealth,

came over here and joined soon after that Mt. Vernon plutocrat founded the order.

No use trying to call such a roll of honor as that. No more use is there in trying to group the members by birth, wealth, poverty, or the color of their hair. It is a tremendous Democracy, this thing which Mr. Schwab inadvertently calls an "aristocracy." It is as free from any trace of aristocracy as that Berlin Royal Hog Wallow is free from decency and honor. Perhaps somebody can think of a stronger way of putting it. We can't. No, no! Mr. Schwab never meant to say we were going to have an aristocracy here. He meant that the men and women who do things, who build great industries, who open up new fields of wealth and prosperity, who by their inventions and their courage and their driving force create and put better conditions of living within the reach of millions who but for them would be without those conditions, these constitute the noblemen of purpose. Mr. Schwab means that in the future such men as they and all the countless thousands of other men who in a small or a large way make their country better for having lived and worked in it, that they are to be honored here in America. That is what Mr. Schwab means.

But there is nothing new about that. Such Americans have always been honored. They are our Roll of Honor—our only Roll of Honor. How paltry, how belittling, how altogether unworthy to degrade such as they by calling them an "aristocracy"! You did not mean it, Mr. Schwab, and that is why we forgive you.

It begins to look for all the world like "work or fight," after all; and work at Government prescribed wages at that.

For Universal Military Training

CONGRESS did well to refrain from altering the War Department's proposed age limits in the Conscription bill and from undertaking to dictate the order in which men of various ages should be called. The only thing to be done is to put on all possible speed to make up so far as possible—of course, we can never fully make up—for the time we have lost. It is gratifying to observe that General Crowder is observing due discrimination as to ages in making the draft, and is speeding up the process to the highest possible point.

Nevertheless, we wish that these young men might have a period of instruction and training between the date of registry and that of actually entering camp. It has indeed been intimated that such instruction and training will in fact be given, so far as possible, partly under private and patriotic and partly under governmental auspices. That is as it should be, and we must hope that, without for one moment interfering with or delaying the draft, such work will be done to the fullest possible extent. It is obvious that such training will be partially equivalent to actual duty in camp, though it may not take the men from their homes nor altogether separate them from their ordinary occupations. It will give them an amount of technical preparation, so that when they are actually called to camp, a few months or even a few weeks later, they will not be entire novices, but will already be so prepared as to need a shorter stay in camp than they otherwise would require before being sent abroad.

It is obvious that if all young men had for years past

been receiving military instruction and training, this latter would now be true of them all, and those drafted during the last year would not have had to remain so long in training camp before being sent abroad, and we should therefore have got our army over there much more promptly than we have done. That is a circumstance which will surely not be ignored by those who have the direction of affairs; and if they do not ignore it, but act upon it, we may hope that this proposal to train the young men below twenty-one will prove to be a sure step toward universal military training at all times for all young men and boys. Such training will materially increase their fitness and competence for the peaceful pursuits of life, if there is no more war, while if war does again come it will prepare them for it and will enable the Government to employ their services much more promptly and efficiently than it otherwise could do.

For the comfort of those thrifty souls who deplore the cost which universal training will entail upon the country, it may be observed that such cost will be more than repaid by the increased industrial efficiency of the young men; and that, anyway, it will be much less than the Government would be put to in case of war if there were no such training. That is to say, the cost of the training camps to which our men now have to be sent for months is far greater than would have been the cost of so training the boys in school that they would need no such long and costly treatment in camp.

We shall watch with interest the training that is given to the young conscripts, and shall hope to see it followed soon with a comprehensive system of uniform and universal military training in the public schools, and also in the private schools and colleges. When that is effected, we shall, indeed, have what we have not hitherto had, a "citizenry accustomed to and proficient in arms." Such a citizenry is the security of a republic.

Charles E. Hughes is "deeply gratified" at the selection of John W. Davis. Good. Now, Mr. Hughes, we're anxious to see what your report thinks of the selection of Edsel's father.

The True Preparation for Peace

THE actual achievement of peace, through victory, we may confidently leave to our men at arms. They are doing their work in France, in Russia, and elsewhere, even at the uttermost ends of the earth. But there is something which they cannot achieve for us, but which we must look after for ourselves. That is, the safeguarding and the promotion of our material interests after the war, so that the era of restored peace shall also be an era of commercial and industrial prosperity. And that is something for which it is even now high time for us to be practically and intensely concerned.

Every day affords new revelations of the widespread and insidious plans of Germany to conquer the world's trade. Not only did she make such plans as a part of her scheme of military conquest, but she is even now persisting in them as a means of palliating the defeat which now impends upon her and of transforming military disaster into commercial triumph. Only last week five officials of a big German con-

cern in this country were arrested for conspiracy in planning to rehabilitate, after the war, vast German industries in this country under the camouflage of pretended American ownership. Other schemes of the same sort are being shrewdly promoted in this country, while in neutral countries their name is legion and their progress is ominous. That is something which we cannot afford to ignore.

Other nations, even our own Allies, are busily preparing for the works of peace. Great Britain and France have great national commissions, comparable in authority and in energy with their war cabinets, devising ways and means for the promotion of their industries and foreign trade after the war. The huge manufacturing plants which have been constructed, stretching for miles over English soil, have every one of them been designed for immediate transfer to peaceful industries, the moment the need for war munitions is ended. There is no question that the return of peace will be the signal for Great Britain, France, Italy and other countries to address themselves to industry and commerce with no less zeal and energy, and with no less complete preparation, than they are now employing in war.

America alone is inactive. America alone is making no preparations for the arts of peace. We have no great national commission, studying the subject and making plans for industry and commerce. We are at this moment experiencing the greatest industrial disturbances the land has ever known, and are consciously confronting the greatest industrial and commercial contests for supremacy that the whole world has ever known, with the same reckless indifference that was shown toward the war itself while it was—as some thought—three thousand miles away. It is a spectacle which would be incredible if it were not American.

We need to remember that immediately upon the ending of the war the great nations which are now our political and military allies will become our industrial and commercial rivals. In that there will be nothing unfriendly. There will be no "tariff war" nor commercial war in a malignant sense. Great Britain and France will not assume any such attitude toward us as Germany and Austria-Hungary have been wont to assume toward nations which they were trying to crush into economic vassalage. But the rivalry will be none the less real and formidable. It will be necessary for their own sakes that they shall make every possible effort to rehabilitate their industries and trade. If in so doing they compete with us, that is our lookout.

It cannot, therefore, be too often or too earnestly urged that this nation should do as others are doing, in preparing for the return of peace. What are we going to do with our vast war industries? Are they readily convertible into peaceful enterprises? What is going to happen when two or three million soldiers return from Europe, to find their old places occupied by others? What is going to happen when our whole economic system, now geared to the necessities of war and wholly dominated by them, shall find its warlike occupation gone and be expected instantly to address itself to the tasks of peace? We know how great was the disturbance when we were turned from peace to war, and we know that it was chiefly because of our lack of preparation and of foresight. It would be incredible stupidity to let ourselves be subjected to another such disturbance in turning from war back to peace, through a repetition of insensate negligence.

Letters From Our Readers

FOR A NEW LEAGUE

SIR,—I move you the establishment under the auspices of the WAR WEEKLY of an American League of Patriotic Justice—a Grand Court of 100-per cent. American citizens who shall, after the war is won, summon before it for judgment those men, officials or otherwise, who have dealt unpatriotically with the American people in its sublime necessity of warring against the Hun.

Some of these offenders will be: the men responsible for the failure to throw our whole moral force as a Nation against the common enemy at the first breach of the Hague conventions; the men responsible for our delay in entering the war, with its consequent hideous waste of human lives—our natural Allies first, our own now; the men responsible for insufficient protection of our fighting lines with effective aircraft; the men responsible for the holding back of mail for soldiers at the front; the men responsible for disfranchising the soldiers under arms—if they dare; and others of that ilk.

That these men who have so misused the power or the influence which they alone possessed, and in so doing have betrayed the trust which the Nation reposed in them, whether as officials in special authority, or as fellow citizens in equal bonds of patriotic duty—that such men should escape the proper condemnation of the great, patient people whom they have wronged is monstrous. Bring them to the bar and hear their defense—and pass righteous judgment.

The readers of the WAR WEEKLY in that very circumstance prove themselves a sterling nucleus for such a league, and the public knowledge of the certainty of inquiry from such a body of stalwarts will stiffen into rectitude the backbone of many a wabbling conscience in and out of office with the fear of God and His righteousness.

These men and women who are finding week by week the virile reflection of their inmost convictions in the flashes of your unsheathed sword of Truth are indeed America's hope, the salt of her salubrity, the anchor of her fair posterity, and the shrine of her patriotic justice for ages to come.

Let us to our work!

RICHARD FERRIS.

New York City.

WE PLEAD GUILTY ON ONE COUNT

SIR,—Of all the publications that come to my house we enjoy your WAR WEEKLY best. I am glad there is one American who has the courage and ability to hit humbug, hypocrisy and inefficiency entrenched in high places hard and often. More power to the pen that punctures the complacent self-sufficiency of pacifists, pro-Germans, and all the brood of "non-essential" politicians who are trying to run a job that is too big for them. Some pious fool (I forget his name) said:

"Thank God for Wilson."

I am not pious, and as proof that I am not a fool I say:

"Thank God for Col. Harvey."

M. D. MASON.

New York City.

REFERRED TO MR. BURLESON

SIR,—On the assumption that the WAR WEEKLY is posted in time to be delivered to subscribers in Washington on Saturday, I have kept tab during the past six weeks of the delivery of my copy with the following result:

Only once has the WAR WEEKLY been delivered on Saturday. Three times it was delivered on Mondays, twice on Tuesdays and Saturday's. Sept. 14th issue had not, up to the last delivery today, Tuesday, 17th, been delivered, and, therefore, will not be delivered until tomorrow, Wednesday, if then.

It would appear that somebody, somewhere, is in the habit of sleeping at the switch—your knocker-up should look into this.

Washington.

F. P. GILL.

BOTH

SIR,—In the *Evening Post* of September 12 David Lawrence announces from Washington that it has just become known that Ambassador De Gama is soon to return to Brazil to take the post of Foreign Minister. Are the mails as bad as that or was Mr. Lawrence too busy to read the WAR WEEKLY of September 7?

T. GRAHAM.

Nutley, N. J.

The Issues of the Campaign

by

GEORGE
HARVEY

and

"*A Judas
Peace*"

by

WILLIAM
ROSCOE
THAYER

in

The North American
Review

for October

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VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING OCT. 5, 1918

NO. 40

The Press Must Be Free

Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.—Amendments to the Constitution, Article I.

AS our readers are aware, we did not view with much alarm the exclusion of Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard's morose *Nation* from the mails; the impossibility of justifying the arbitrary act, no less than the silliness of the whole performance, deprived the episode of importance calling for serious attention; and the correctness of our attitude is now established by the revocation of the order.

There remain, nevertheless, two phases of the happening which well deserve passing consideration. Of these the first relates to the peculiar working of the bureaucratic mind, suddenly vested with the privilege of forming and the power of enforcing a prejudice, strutting about in the guise of an opinion. It seems that the objectionable article was not, after all, as was generally suspected, that which decried the indiscriminate apprehension of citizens in New York as presumptive slackers; nor was it, as surmised by Mr. Villard himself, the gratuitous advice with respect to the use of trusses contained in an advertisement. The presumptive treason or disloyalty or comfort to the enemy or what-not was detected by the eagle eye of the Post-office Department lurking in an editorial on the prospects of Mr. Gompers's mission abroad. "Criticism of Labor," the *World* headlined it; or, as the *Times* recorded more specifically, "The fact that Gompers has led laboring men of this country to support the war solidly, it was held by Mr. Burleson, entitled him to protection from criticism." This in itself is sufficiently bewildering. If everybody who advises his fellows to uphold the war is to be held immune to criticism of any kind, where on earth is anybody to get off? Under such a ruling, not a word could be said in disapprobation of the doings of a living soul from the creel upward.

Yet more puzzling is the deduction drawn from the article itself. We have read it forward and backward, have held it to the light, have scrutinized the spaces between the lines through a magnifying glass and have applied all of the acid tests known, including that invented by the President himself, to no purpose whatever. In point of fact, incredible though it may seem—and we say this with the reluctance of one jealous of his repute for moderation in utterance—we frankly doubt if ever before, in his long professional career,

has even Mr. Villard produced anything more distinctively inane.

Be that as it may, Mr. Burleson, eager as ever to conserve his widespread popularity with labor unions, thought he thought otherwise and, without stating a cause, advancing a reason or giving a hearing, did everything within the range of his sweeping powers to wreck Mr. Villard's property,—and then Mr. Burleson himself got sat upon, very properly, emphatically and publicly sat upon, by the President.

"The matter," says the *Times* dispatch, "was taken up at the Cabinet meeting Tuesday, and the President is understood to have expressed his unconditional disapproval of the action sanctioned by Postmaster General Burleson, and directed that the order against the *Nation* be rescinded."

So far, so good. Mr. Villard can now go on about his business until some other whippersnapper in the Post-office Department discerns something in the *Nation* that he doesn't like. Why the President considered it a matter calling for grave executive monologue before an awestruck Cabinet is immaterial; possibly he wished to let the public as well as Mr. Villard understand that it is not contrary to his human nature to do a gracious act for old-time's sake; in any case, his common sense happily prevailed. With the snubbing thus publicly administered to Mr. Burleson we have no concern other than that to be found in a probably vain hope that the lesson may prove salutary.

There is, however, a second phase of this incident of more serious import. Either Mr. Villard was guilty of treasonable or seditious intent and performance or he was not. The Postmaster General arbitrarily decreed that he was and tried in effect to kill his paper; the President autocratically ruled that he was not, and, holding superior authority, gave him a chance, for which we assume the beneficiary is truly grateful, to save it. Edict reversed edict, purely as a matter of personal opinion or of personal motive, without argument for or against, or so much as a flicker of heed to the method of courts at law in determining causes and meting out justice.

This particular case hardly calls for further consideration

upon its merits. Mr. Villard himself professes to be satisfied that the stigma of disloyalty affixed to the *Nation* by the Postmaster General has been removed by the President and complacently "predicts," according to the *Tribune*, "that the incident will serve as a stimulant to the right of a free press to criticise Government policies." We are unable to perceive his warrant for either view. The stain may not be indelible, but it is still there, in the minds of thousands of casual readers, and cannot be so easily eradicated. Sooner or later, to a certainty, Mr. Villard will realize that the name *The Nation* is tarnished and that, rightly or wrongly, as the passions engendered by war mount higher, the journal will be viewed askance.

He seems, moreover, to have overlooked the vital fact that, so far from having regained his privilege as a matter of right based upon fundamental law, he has obtained it solely through the favor of the President. Instead, therefore, of vindicating the freedom of the press, his experience cannot but act as a positive deterrent, rather than as a stimulant, of legitimate criticism by a press already notably cowed. It may be that the real purpose of Mr. Burleson, in making an egregious example of the *Nation*, was to serve a general warning upon all public journals, but in view of the outcome there seems to have been in his amazing performance far less of unwonted subtlety than of characteristic stupidity.

Clearly, no blame attaches to the President for the part which he played in the transaction. He was confronted by an act, not of mere injustice but of sheer idiocy, on the part of his subordinate and there was nothing for him to do but to disavow it, as he did with commendable promptness and deserved sharpness. In any other country, a Cabinet officer thus rebuked would resign instantly as a matter of course, but, alas, no such luck can be anticipated in a land where perennial officeholders seldom die and never retire of their own volition.

The mere fact, however, that under the existing practice, a bureaucrat capable of doing a thing so wholly mad as to demand immediate repudiation by his chief, still has it within his power to degrade at will in public repute, any public journal, which in turn may or may not be reinstated, whimsically or otherwise by the President, is one which must be regarded with concern. That the Congress had no such purpose in mind when it enacted the Espionage bill is certain, but no more so than that, if it had, its statute would have been, as in fact it is, as now being executed, unconstitutional. Our fundamental law specifically guarantees the freedom of the press in time of war no less than in time of peace, and no warrant whatever can be found for a statutory method of making or breaking public journals by act of a Postmaster General or by the grace or disfavor of a President.

Even the most considerate Springfield *Republican* gags at this latest exhibition of the autocracy of ignorance, reluctantly laments that "the bureaucratic tendencies of an enthroned officialdom are peculiarly dangerous in the censorship business," derides "Mr. Burleson's staff of press tasters and editorial smellers-at-large," notes that "as matters stand, conditions seem to be growing worse," and urges the cleaning out of the whole outfit.

That is what ought to be done, of course; and the process should begin at the top, with the elimination of the Postmaster General who has capped so strikingly his practically

unbroken record of incompetencies. Recognizing, as we do, however, the exactness of Colonel House's statement that it is contrary to the President's policy to dispense with the services of one who is being attacked, rightfully or wrongfully, we sadly appreciate that this is a consummation more devoutly to be wished than likely to be realized. But, though Mr. Burleson must perforce be retained, the power of life and death which he now holds over the press and which a Postmaster General was never presumed to possess, may and should be taken from him, precisely as many like official burdens have been shifted from Mr. Baker's grisly spine.

What is needed, as the *Republican* with unprecedented fearlessness suggests, is a Board of sane, competent men, by whom representatives of public journals may, if need should arise, be summoned and before whom they may voluntarily appear, if in doubt, and be assured of a fair hearing and just treatment before, not after, their properties are wrecked and themselves discredited.

Unlike our old friend of Springfield, however, we do not vaguely fix the responsibility for reformation upon a staff of unnamed underlings. The obligation to stamp out this abuse rests squarely upon the President, at whose behest the system was adopted. He alone has the requisite authority and, if he fails to exercise it, the Congress should not hesitate to force his hand, as it can if it will whenever it sees fit. Both failing, the people must come forward in vigorous support of the chief bulwark of their liberties pledged under their own Constitution.

Once let them fully understand the present condition, the edict will go forth with irresistible force: The Press, though cowed, is still free and is going to stay free, Postmaster General or no Postmaster General, President or no President, Congress or no Congress; the Great Court still lives.

From the *Washington Star* of Sept. 14:

American Army in Lorraine, Friday, September 13.—The civilian population of St. Mihiel, almost wholly feminine because of the forcible removal of practically every male of military age, welcomed Newton D. Baker, the American Secretary of War, and Gens. Pershing and Petain, when they visited the village a few hours after it was captured.

A military band was brought up from the rear; "The Marseillaise" was played and the civilians' restraint in the presence of the visitors broke down completely. Women crowded forward, ostensibly to shake the Secretary's hand, but instead they kissed his hands and wept and then they joined in a chorus of thankfulness.

There were no speeches, but many times Secretary Baker responded briefly to expressions of gratitude, oftentimes half hysterically uttered by the women and children.

From the *Washington Post* of Sept. 15:

American Army Headquarters, September 14.—Gen. Pershing, Gen. Petain and Secretary of War Baker made their entry into St. Mihiel yesterday afternoon over a war-wrecked bridge, only a few rickety planks of which were left. A French military band had come in over the first bridge to honor the distinguished visitors and was playing in the square, about which all the remaining inhabitants had assembled. Their eyes were radiant and their bearing that of prisoners set free. They were volubly communicative, and determined to treat as a hero any one wearing an American uniform.

Gen. Petain and Gen. Pershing were given an immense reception, and if it had only been known who Secretary Baker was, he, too, would have been overwhelmed.

Now what can a poor historian say?

Hertling goes, and Hintze, too. The late Chancellor probably served the Kaiser as efficiently as anyone could have done. Certainly we can imagine no more fluent and shameless liar in the cause of Kultur than he has been.

Bulgaria Quits

BULGARIA has quit. She has entered an armistice, on the Allies' own terms. Let us assume, with caution and reserve, that she is sincere. We may do that, for the sake of argument, in spite of the fact that Bulgaria has shown herself only a little less false and treacherous than her Hunnish master. But if she is sincere, and if her peace plea is contrary to the wishes of Germany, what then?

It is gratifying. So much we may say without reserve. It indicates dissension amounting to an open breach between the Central Powers and their puppet-ally. It is proverbially gratifying to have thieves fall out, for then honest men may get their due. It is an ominous indication, too, of military weakness on the part of the Teutonic Powers. That is the only possible explanation of their failure to support and to defend Bulgaria. They cannot afford to have her drop out of the war by concluding a separate peace, or to be conquered by the Allies. If they do not save her from such a fate, it can be only because they have not the military ability to do so. It was said by General March the other day that while America was not at war with Bulgaria, it was America that had caused her to sue for peace. American pressure on the Western front made it impossible for Germany and Austria to aid their Balkan co-partner and victim. That, then, is gratifying.

The elimination of Bulgaria from the war is of immense advantage to the Allies. Even the release of Allied troops from that quarter of the war for service elsewhere would not be negligible, though it would be by no means the chief gain. A glance at the map reminds us of the enormous strategical service to us of Bulgaria's defeat. It "cuts the wasp's waist" of the Berlin-to-Bagdad empire. It seals the fate of Turkey by isolating her from the Central Powers with a barrier from the Ægean to the Euxine. (In these two respects it defeats the very purposes for which the Central Powers half-bribed and half-dragooned Bulgaria into the war.) Nor is even that all. The surrender of Bulgaria and the consequent rehabilitation of Serbia and other changes in the Balkans opens the way to an efficient attack upon Austria-Hungary from that direction, and to a rehabilitation of Roumania and her re-entry into the war.

The Bulgarian plea is, however, to be regarded not merely, as we have said, with caution and reserve, but also upon a basis of the most cold-blooded practicality. There is absolutely no room for pity, sympathy or consideration for Bulgaria herself. By her duplicity and treachery, and by her savagery in the war, she long ago forfeited all claim to such regard. Not for one moment would we listen to peace for her sake, because she is beaten and crushed and cries for mercy. Unless it were to the unmistakable advantage of the Allies, we should say that her plea should be rejected just as summarily as the President rejected that of Austria-Hungary and as he now declares all Hunnish pleas must be rejected.

There is also one other essential condition of Bulgarian peace. That is, the assent of Serbia. We should say that in any consideration of the Bulgarian plea, Serbia should first of all be consulted, and her uninfluenced voice should be decisive. We owe that to Serbia in the East just as we owe it to Belgium in the West. Serbia is the Belgium of the Balkans, and the Bulgars, who vaunt themselves on being descended from Attila's Huns, have been her ravishers. It should be unthinkable for the Allies to make any agreement

with Bulgaria or to grant her any terms of peace without the full approval of Serbia. That necessity is emphasized by the contrast between the two countries. Bulgaria blew hot and cold, played fast and loose, and finally gave herself to the Huns in almost uniquely treacherous fashion; and now, at her first serious reverses, whimpers and whines and deserts her allies. Serbia, on the other hand, never wavered or hesitated in her loyal faith; and when she was beaten and crushed she did not sue for the separate peace which she could have had for the asking and indeed without the asking, but took her army into exile in order that it might perhaps there be rehabilitated and enabled to resume its service for the Allies.

What Serbia's terms of peace for Bulgaria would be, we shall not assume to say. But we should imagine that they would include, as do the terms of the present temporary armistice, Bulgaria's complete and absolute breaking with the Huns and the granting of the use of her territory as a base of Allied action; the making of the fullest possible reparation to Serbia and Roumania for the inexpressible wrongs done to them; and the giving of hostages for her good behavior. Remembering her treachery, it would not be too much to require that an Allied force be maintained in the Bulgarian capital until the end of the war. On some such terms, if they are acceptable to Serbia and advantageous to the Allies, peace might be granted to Bulgaria; though it would be a peace with no honor to her.

General von Risberg told the Reichstag that the Germans failed in their last drive because they did not catch the Allies napping. Neither will they catch them napping with their peace drives.

The President Speaks

THE President has spoken. To use most seriously a phrase often used flippantly, he has capped the climax.

We had thought that some of his former utterances on the prosecution of the war and the terms of peace left nothing to be desired. Such seemed to be the case when he spoke of the necessity of crushing and shutting out from the friendly intercourse of the nations "this intolerable Thing . . . which we now see so clearly as the German power, a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace." So it seemed again when he categorically named the items of "the only possible programme of the world's peace." And yet once more he seemed to have reached the highest height when he declared that there was "but one response possible from us" to the German challenge, namely, "Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit."

But he has outdone himself. Last week, in opening the Liberty Loan campaign, he epigrammatically epitomized, re-asserted and re-emphasized those former splendid utterances, in words and phrases which we might wish to be henceforth a part of the mental and spiritual furnishment of every American citizen. Let us listen to him again:

We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the Central Empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend

justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We cannot "come to terms" with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we cannot accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

Admirable above all praise are those words, in tone and temper, and in substance instinct with eternal truth. Immeasurable must be our gratification at hearing them from that man of all in the world who is qualified to utter them with most authority, and who is above all others looked to by the nations to take the leadership in thus speaking. Those words are an answer, definitive and ultimate, to the present peace machinations and intrigues of the Central Powers. They are more than that—and this is perhaps their supreme virtue, and the one particular in which they go furthest beyond his former declarations: they are an answer in advance to any future peace drives which those Powers may undertake. They are a notice to all the world that the bars are up, that the way is closed, that we are no longer ready or willing to listen to peace proposals from the Huns and their allies.

That, we say, is going a little further than America or any of the Allies has ever gone before, at least in so explicit terms. But even that is not all of this Presidential declaration. The words which we have quoted set forth the President's wise and just conception of our right attitude toward Hunnish peace proposals. With equal directness and force he also defines our attitude toward that making of peace which at some time must be effected:

It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting.

What are those principles? None can know them better than he, for it was he who formulated them and stated them, as "the only possible programme of the world's peace," for which "we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved." The full restoration of Belgium, the evacuation and release of Russia, the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine to France and of Italia Irredenta to Italy, the restoration and enlargement of Serbia, the independence of Poland, the redemption of Armenia and Palestine, and autonomy for the peoples held subject by Austria-Hungary—these are the principles, or some of them, of which the President insists there shall be no compromise or abatement.

There will be none. To these words of the President the nation answers—it must answer—with one voice, one mind, one soul, one inflexible resolution. There must no longer be even so much as listening to any Hunnish proposals for peace conferences or negotiations. The refusal to listen to them is given in advance. Yet is there one exception, to which the President would doubtless unhesitatingly agree. It is suggested by a precedent of nearly three-score years ago. "The only terms I have to propose," said an American commander, "are Unconditional Surrender." We may paraphrase that victorious message to-day: "The only proposal to which we will listen is Unconditional Surrender." That is the logical purpose of the President's golden words.

The Military Commander of the Huns at Innsbruck decrees that all American aviators caught after dropping proclamations on German soil shall be hanged. If we should hang all Germans guilty of propaganda here, there would be a run on the hemp market.

Mr. Marshall at His Best

IN his speech at the dedication of the Altar of Liberty in Madison Square, New York, last week, Vice-President Marshall met to the full the highest anticipations of his friends. He does not always do this. He is not always at his best. Indeed, he is so frequently at his worst that the hosts of warm friends whom his original and very pleasing personality has won are often disturbed by pretty well-founded anxieties whenever he opens his mouth to speak a piece.

The startling suddenness with which Mr. Marshall rises or sinks to his environment is amazing. On the floor of the Senate, a few days ago, for instance, when he accepted on the part of the country the two beautiful vases presented by the French Ambassador on behalf of France, Mr. Marshall rose to a dignity of expression and a beauty of sentiment in every way worthy of the occasion. But get him in the political atmosphere of his own Indiana, or, as he so pitifully demonstrated in the Lenroot-Davis campaign, of Wisconsin, or, we fear, of any atmosphere smudged with politics, and there does not seem to be any level of claptrap and disingenuous sophistry too far down for him to take his stand upon. Likewise at public dinners and on divers other occasions, when the inspiration, perhaps, was not of a nature to make him forget the political stump speaker and the kind of cheap wit which country lawyers sometimes expend on country juries, Mr. Marshall's efforts have only too frequently caused his friends to grieve.

But the Madison Square event was one worthy of him at his best, and at his best he rose up to it. And in all his address there was nothing better than those opening words in which, with a frankness that won his audience from the start, he made the fine confession and apology of and for his early attitude towards the war. "An apology," he said, "for my attitude during almost two years and a half of that fateful conflict: an apology that a God-fearing man in the twentieth century of civilization could have dreamed that any nation, any people, or any man could be neutral when right was fighting against wrong."

Mr. Marshall was by no means alone among his countrymen in failing to grasp, during the two years and a half he mentions, the significance of the mighty struggle in which we either had to take part or abandon all that, as a nation of freemen, made life worth our living. There were many others. Perhaps here and there may still be found a blind pacifist mole or bat groping about in the fatal delusion to which Mr. Marshall confesses. But they are few, indeed, now. This country, in common with all the civilized world, now sees the light, and realizes the deadly peril with which the treacherous Hun's machinations have environed all that civilized men and women hold dear.

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A New and Deadly Enemy

IF German spies and propagandists had gained entrance to this country and to the camps and cantonments, and were killing men by hundreds and disabling them by tens of thousands and were thus compelling a cessation of conscription and of the forwarding of troops to France, we should doubtless see some prompt and strenuous action by the Government. Nothing would be regarded as too energetic or severe to defeat such doings. Anything that defeated those foes within our gates would have the hearty support and approval of the American people.

Well, something very much like that is happening at this moment, and has been happening for many days; yet nothing adequate is being done to correct the evil. An enemy in the form of pestilence has entered this country through an insufficiently guarded port, and is attacking not only the general public, but more particularly the camps and cantonments, with a disastrous ferocity which has already seriously interfered with the mobilization and forwarding of troops, and which threatens to demoralize our entire military efficiency. From a single camp scores of deaths are reported daily, while in some States the ravages of the plague among both soldiers and civilians are so great that it is difficult to supply coffins fast enough for the burying of the dead.

At any time such a catastrophe would be regarded as sufficient to warrant intervention by the Federal Government, the aid of which has indeed been invoked by at least one State in the present emergency. At this time, as a war measure, it seems to us that not only would the Government have been amply warranted in intervening on its own initiative at the beginning of the epidemic, but also that it was incumbent upon it to do so. For this outbreak is interfering with conscription and impairing our efficient prosecution of the war, far more than all the pacifists and propagandists against which the Government has so properly taken action. Something more is needed than the appropriation of money and the sending of doctors and nurses; and it is needed not next month, nor next week, nor to-morrow, but *now*, at this very moment.

We have had lightless days and heatless days and gasoline-less Sundays, for the saving of fuel, and the people have cordially acquiesced in them, at no matter what expense of pleasure or comfort. It would surely be as legitimate to adopt similar measures for the saving of lives, and particularly soldiers' lives. We are told that the plague is disseminated largely through the assemblage of people in crowds, especially indoors. Then why not stop the unnecessary crowds? If for a period of a week or ten days all the moving-picture houses and all the theatres were closed, and for a Sunday or two all the churches and Sunday schools, it is impossible to doubt that powerful aid would be given to the checking of the epidemic.

Such a course, ordered by the President as a war measure, would, we believe, be heartily approved by the public, and would be of inestimable service. It is not long since an outbreak of infantile paralysis, not nearly as menacing as the present plague, was dealt with in a manner strict almost to ruthlessness, and was thus effectively suppressed. That was for the sake of saving life and protecting health, and nothing more. The need of such action now is also for the same purpose, and for the additional purpose of enabling the Govern-

ment to continue unabated its vigorous and successful prosecution of the war. Our soldiers over there are doing their work superbly. It is for us to do as well for the soldiers in camp here, and for all the people, to protect them from the deadly enemy that is within our gates.

It is of the utmost importance that drastic action be taken *at once*. For God's sake, let us give over, if only on this occasion, our incurable national habit of locking the stable door after the horse is stolen.

Germans are still babbling about the indemnity and other spoils of war which they "must" have. Do they not know that it is an old American principle that "to the victors belong the spoils"?

Where is the Hughes Report?

FOR more than ten days the report of ex-Governor Charles E. Hughes on the failure of the aeroplane programme has been in the hands of President Wilson, but no intimation of its contents has been made public. When Judge Hughes undertook his investigation it was with the assurance that his conclusions would be given to the public, and with the implied assurance that once he had completed his investigation his report would be made public without unnecessary delay.

Those in a position to speak regarding the contents of the report declare that no good reason exists for its suppression. They say that it reflects sadly on the War Department, but such reflection was foreshadowed by the report of the Senate committee. They say that Mr. Hughes' report does not spare Secretary Baker and that it makes even more obvious than did the report of the Senate committee his responsibility for the aeroplane fiasco. But again that was made pretty clear by the Senate committee, especially to those with sufficient acumen to read between the lines. It is asserted with equal confidence that no question of military expediency can be interposed to prevent publication, because the German military authorities were keenly aware of the paucity of American aeroplanes even while the American public, assiduously misled by the Committee on Public Information, reposed in ignorance of the facts. And further, if there was any detail of the American fiasco lacking in the German Military Intelligence Corps, that detail was supplied by the report of the Senate committee.

What, then, is the occasion for the continued suppression of the Hughes report? It is charged by certain Michigan politicians that some phases of the report will bring discredit to the Administration's Senatorial candidate, Mr. Henry Ford—discredit in such measure as seriously to militate against that gentleman's chances of election. But surely the President would not be impelled by that consideration to withhold the report, because "Politics is adjourned."

In some quarters it is alleged that Secretary McAdoo has urged the President to suppress the report because its astounding disclosures of the profligate manner in which the public funds have been wasted will have a deterrent effect on the success of the Fourth Liberty Loan. That it will have such effect we do not believe. The American public are too determined to win the war. They may deplore the

character and inability of the men they have chosen to administer the affairs of their Government, but they will neither repent having entered the war nor permit their armies to pause in the march toward Berlin because they have themselves chosen their stewards unwisely. There need be no fear of the success of the Fourth Liberty Loan, regardless of the disclosures Mr. Hughes' report will make.

In military quarters it is suggested that the President does not wish to make public the report in the absence of Secretary Baker. But that proposition is hardly feasible, for Secretary Baker knew when he departed for the other side that the report would be submitted to the President before he could return, and for the President to delay its publication on that ground would be merely to substantiate the rumors that Mr. Baker's purpose in absenting himself from the War Department was largely to prevent the Hughes disclosures at this time.

Republicans generally charge that it is President Wilson's purpose to suppress the report until after the November election and that in so doing he is actuated by political considerations. To our mind such an assumption is unbelievable. From a purely practical standpoint that would be a colossal blunder. We are convinced that the voters would more bitterly resent and more severely punish the policy which kept them in the dark than the disclosures, however grave, which the Hughes report is certain to make. We would be loath to believe that the President would permit such a motive to control his course in a matter of this importance, but—

Why is the Hughes report withheld from publication?

That is what we want to know.

Prince Charles of Roumania prefers the wife of his choice to his chances of succeeding to the throne. He is a young man of excellent taste and sound judgment.

The Fourth Liberty Loan

THE terms of the Fourth Liberty Loan have been finally announced. The issue will consist of \$6,000,000,000 at 4¼ per cent, in denominations of \$50 and upwards, the loan maturing in 1938. All this is very simple, but the income tax exemptions in connection with the loan are more complicated; so much so, in fact, that the generally published statement that the income from \$30,000 of the fourth issue and \$45,000 of previous issues, together with the income from \$5,000 under the act of a year ago, will be exempt from taxation is misleading. While it is possible to obtain these exemptions, it can be done in the case of the \$45,000 from earlier issues only when the taxpayer subscribes to \$30,000 of the current loan, the law limiting the exemption on income from earlier issues to one and one-half times the amount subscribed to the fourth loan, not to exceed \$45,000. The law further provides an exemption of the income from \$30,000 from bonds of the first (3½) issue provided they are converted into a later issue, but that is largely negligible, as there is little likelihood that anyone would wish to convert bonds selling at a small premium into an issue selling around 95, even though he gained thereby a slight increase in interest. This is especially true as income from bonds of

the first Liberty Loan is already free from taxation.

The most significant feature of the new loan legislation, from a political, and hardly less from an economic, standpoint, is that for the first time during the Wilson administration the Senate, without regard to party, had the courage to defy the Secretary of the Treasury, backed, as he always is, by the influence of the President. Secretary McAdoo demanded that Congress delegate to the President the power to investigate, regulate and *prohibit* the sale of Liberty Bonds. With its customary subserviency, the House obeyed the mandate of the Administration. The Finance Committee of the Senate refused to do so. In vain did Mr. McAdoo first bluster and threaten and then plead. His chief argument was that the power to prohibit the sale of the bonds was made necessary by the operations of certain unprincipled exploiters who were inducing the unsophisticated to exchange their Liberty Bonds for worthless securities. Senators contended that this evil had been greatly exaggerated, and further, that the proposed remedy was entirely out of proportion to the evil. They were willing, however, to authorize the Executive to forbid the disposal of bonds for other than cash, or notes discountable at the Federal National Banks. Still Mr. McAdoo insisted on delegation of the power to prohibit, and then it was that the Senators became obdurate. Only when he was informed that further insistence would engender an opposition, non-partisan and so determined that the bond legislation would be indefinitely postponed, did Mr. McAdoo yield.

Of course, the facts are that the Administration, against the advice of the soundest financiers in and out of Congress, insisted upon departing from the time-honored custom of making the obligations of the United States free from taxation, as was pointed out in these columns as long ago as March 2. The consequences of which the Treasury Department had been warned resulted, and with the exception of the first issue, income from which is tax free, the bonds have rapidly depreciated at the conclusion of each loan drive to the neighborhood of 95. Various expedients were suggested to remedy this condition, none of which were entirely acceptable to the Administration because each involved in some degree an acknowledgment that the Administration had blundered, and meant a retracing of its steps. Its remedy for depreciation was to put in the hands of the President the power to prohibit the sale of Liberty Bonds. Senators who declared that they could not conscientiously follow this suggestion were urged by Mr. McAdoo to forget their convictions and follow blindly the dictation of the President, as thus only could they prove their loyalty. This they declined to do for, as has been said, the first time in the history of the Wilson administration.

In the estimation of bankers and financiers, the scheme of exemptions worked out and enacted into law is excellent and will do much to remedy the depreciation and promote the sale of the fourth issue, although whether or not the remedy goes far enough remains to be seen. In any event, bankers and financiers are disposed warmly to congratulate Senator Lodge, who drew the compromise provision, and other Senators who had the courage to oppose to the end the revolutionary proposal of the Administration.

Bulgaria has set the example: "Unconditional Surrender." Next!

Our Loans and France's

SIX billion dollars is a large sum for the Government to ask this people to lend it. We must recognize that fact. It seems all the larger, too, when we remember how much has already been provided in the former loans. They were as follows:

First, June 15, 1917.....\$2,000,000,000

Second, Nov. 15, 1917.... 3,808,766,150

Third, May 9, 1918..... 4,170,019,650

Total\$9,978,785,800

Thus within a year the nation loaned its Government nearly ten billions. The full subscription and allotment of the fourth loan will increase that sum to nearly sixteen billions in sixteen months. Prodigious!

But is it, after all, so very much that this nation is asked to do? Sixteen billion dollars means about \$160 for each member of the entire population. Now the average wealth is fully \$2,000, so that we are asked to lend to the Government only eight per cent of what we have. That isn't much, is it?

Take another view. France has already raised loans, entirely among her own people, aggregating \$19,800,000,000. Now that is a great deal more, absolutely, than what we have given and are now asked to give—or to lend. But, relatively, it is very much greater still. France, with Algeria, has less than half our population. Estimate it at 45,000,000. Then the loans already made amount to \$440 for each member of the population, or pretty nearly three times as much as we are now asked to make up.

In addition to this, it must be remembered that France has suffered losses, of property and of lives, and also of commerce and industry, immeasurably greater than ours, and that we have been making profits out of the war immeasurably greater than hers. When all this is taken into consideration, it would be unutterably disgraceful if we should fail promptly to subscribe and to oversubscribe this fourth Liberty Loan. When we have done that, we shall still have done only a fraction of what France has done. France has done it for us as well as for herself. It would be shameful if we shrank from doing the smaller task for France as well as for ourselves.

The Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest treaties must stand, says Vice-Chancellor von Payer. Very well. But so long as they do, no treaties with the Power that made them are possible.

Government Employees in Politics

THE protest of the four great railway Brotherhoods against the Director-General's order forbidding railway employees to participate in political activities brings acutely to the fore one of the most serious considerations connected with Government control of utilities and industries. Of course, so far as the immediate present is concerned, Mr. McAdoo's order, which is in entirely good faith, may be regarded, like the Government's control of the roads itself, as a necessary but temporary war measure; and as such it may well receive ungrudging acceptance. But that does not in the least diminish the importance of the subject as an inevitable phase of that permanent Government control and ownership which it

is no secret some members of the Administration favor, and to impose which upon the country, under the insincere guise of war-necessity, insidious and persistent efforts are being made.

Ever since the establishment of the Civil Service merit system there has been an increasing tendency to restrain customs and postal employees, and other Government functionaries, from political activity; though rules to that end have never been perfectly enforced. Of course, if the railroads, telegraphs and telephones, mines, and other great enterprises were taken under permanent Government control, the same rules would logically and, indeed, necessarily, apply to all men and women employed upon and in them. We should therefore presently be confronted with the spectacle of some millions of American citizens debarred from that participation in public affairs which is entirely legitimate, permissible and, indeed, commendable for all their fellow-citizens; and that, too, in a country which is based upon political freedom and equality, and in which it is recognized to be highly desirable for all citizens to take an intelligent and active interest in politics.

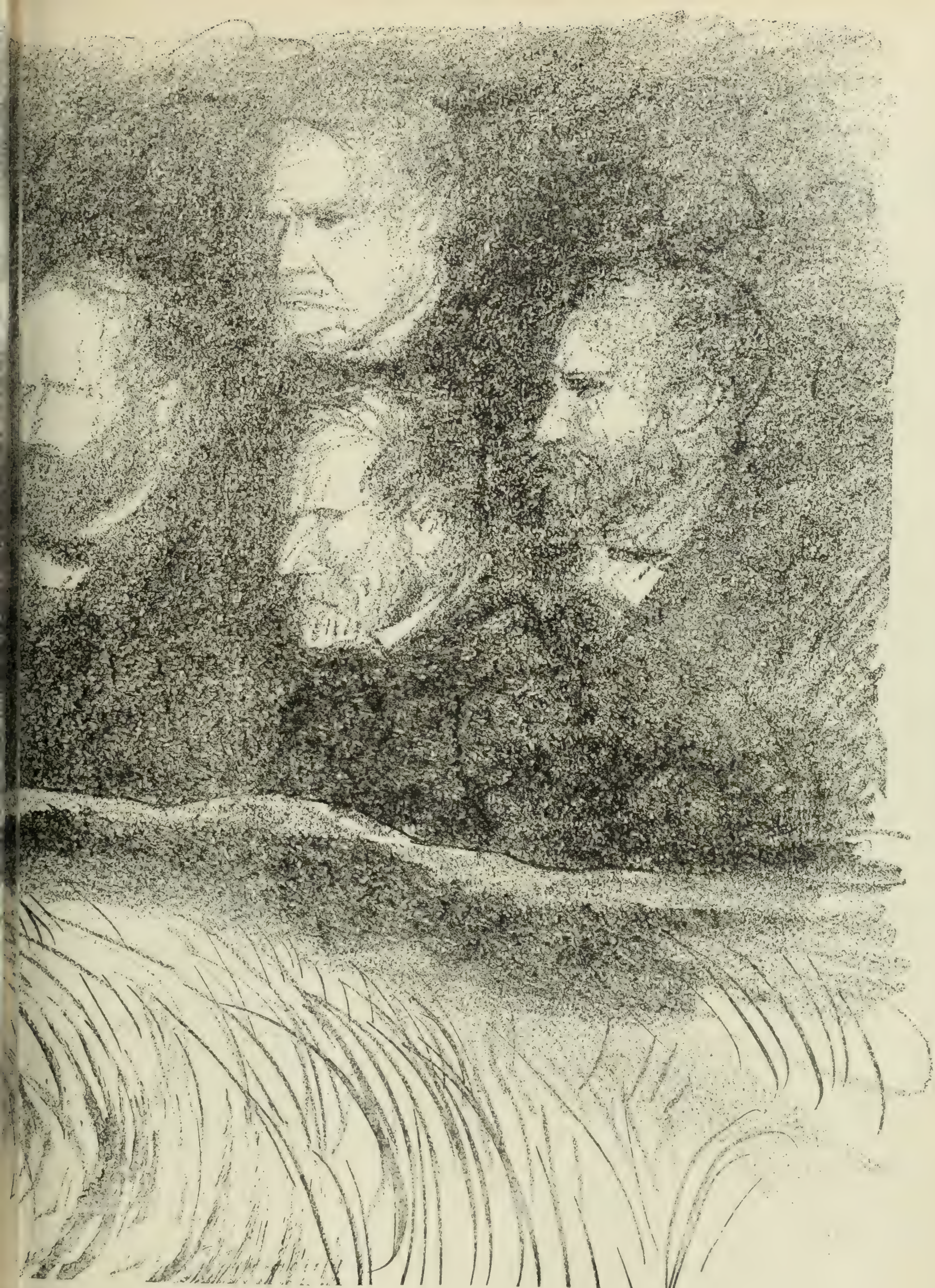
Now we submit that it would not comport with public morals or welfare to create such a class, suffering such political disability. The experiment was, we believe, made in England, many years ago, the permanent employees of the civil service actually being excluded from the electoral franchise; but it was found to be pernicious and was abandoned. The argument that men ought voluntarily to submit to such restriction of political activity in return for assured permanence of tenure in their offices or occupations, is not convincing. The rights of citizenship are too precious, and their enjoyment is too essential to a healthful state of affairs in a democracy, thus to be bartered away. It will be recalled that there is a widespread and growing prejudice against the practice of employers asking their employees to engage not to join labor unions. Indeed, only the other day the War Labor Board of our Government officially disapproved that practice and directed one of the most respectable industrial establishments in the country to abandon it. Surely, if the employees of a factory are not to be required to refrain from joining labor unions, but are to continue to enjoy freedom of organization, employees of the Government should not be inhibited from political activity, but should continue to enjoy all the rights of citizens.

We are not unmindful of the evil which menaces us at the opposite extreme, namely, that through the political activity of employees these great Government departments might become political machines for the control of the nation. We can clearly perceive, too, the evil in having Government officers and employees use the influence of their places for political and partisan ends, and neglect public duty for factional work. If it be said that the only way of avoiding these latter evils is through such prohibition of activity as that which has just been ordered, then we say that that fact is a potent and convincing argument in favor of keeping the number of Government employees as small as possible, and against adding millions more to a class of political neutrals, incapable of exercising the common rights and privileges of American citizens. It will be well for those—not merely a few doctrinaire leaders, like our Pacifist Socialist Secretary of War, but the rank and file of citizenry—who advocate Government ownership of utilities and industries, to consider how they would themselves like being denied the right of political activity, and whether the renunciation of that right would not be too high a price to pay for their whistle.



The Cyclone How

The Shades of the Patriotic Founders of the Republic in
WHAT IS THE



g Over Nebraska

Appeal to the Republican Leaders of Today.
ANSWER?

The Week

WASHINGTON, October 3, 1918.

THERE are great doings "over there" and also over here. The opening of the campaign for the Fourth Liberty Loan was effected in a quadruply auspicious manner. The President began it with one of the finest of his many fine utterances; not so much an appeal for subscriptions as a reaffirmation of the American attitude toward actual or potential peace proposals from Germany and of the objects of the war and the terms of peace for which we are fighting. This was a most timely and inspiring reminder to the nation of the purposes of this gigantic loan. The people accompanied the President's utterance with unprecedented demonstrations of interest and enthusiasm, and with a fuller organization for the work of raising the loan than has been known in any of the previous loan campaigns. The result was an initial rush of subscriptions most gratifying in volume and amount; which, after all, is the essential thing and the thing to which all these other things are merely supplementary and conducive.

The fourth auspicious feature of the occasion was "over there." From practically every part of the battle line came such tidings of Allied victories as were calculated to rouse exultation to the highest pitch and to cause a universal rush to buy bonds for the aid of a winning cause. The whole Western front, from the North Sea to the left bank of the Rhine, was the scene of intense activity. Belgians, British, French and Americans, all operating in harmony, all made material gains. The advance in Palestine was continued. The Japanese were pushing on hundreds of miles into Siberia, welcomed and aided by all loyal Russians—we mean, Russians loyal to Russia. In Northern Russia rapid and substantial advance was made by the Allies. In Bulgaria the Allied drive was so fierce and fast and penetrating as to evoke a frantic appeal for peace and entry upon an armistice on terms named by the Allies. This has, of course, caused consternation, resentment and panic in Germany, where Bulgaria was regarded as playing the traitor to the Central Powers. Powers which themselves most cynically break faith and seduce others into doing the same for their benefit are the first and loudest to protest against the deep damnation of somebody's breaking faith with them.

The week's news of the war is, like the war itself, so stupendous that it is difficult at so close range to view it in proper perspective and just proportions. What is clear is that Foch is striking the enemy's line at half a dozen different points at once, and is winning wherever he strikes. The matter of chief uncertainty is that of the reserves. It seems probable that Germany has thrown most if not all of hers into the field, save such as she may be holding for a final defensive "Wacht am Rhein." Certainly if ever she is to put forth her last ounce of strength in France and Belgium, now is the time. But has Foch swung all his reserves into line, for a drive which is to bring a military decision? No information on that point has been published, and guessing is good on either side. If the reserves are being used, the results thus far attained justify the action. If they are not, so much the better. If Foch could do what he has done without them, what will he not be able to do when he does use them?

While there have been magnificent gains practically all along the line, chief interest and chief admiration must be given to the extreme wings. At the right of the Allied line—in Europe—murdered Serbia has risen from the dead and has re-entered the fray with splendid energy, and has aided the Allies in completely breaking the enemy's line. There is a fine touch of historical justice in the fact that there, where the war began, the Hunnish Alliance has first been broken. Again, at the left, the Belgians have won one of the most astounding victories of the whole war. Their swift and irresistible rush to Roulers is comparable only with our seizure of the St. Mihiel salient; but it is even more remarkable than that fine achievement. It turns the German line at that end, and menaces the entire Hunnish hold upon the Belgian littoral. The military importance of the stroke is immense. Its indication of Belgian vitality and virility is gratifying beyond expression. "So you see, you've lost everything!" Germany was represented as saying to Belgium early in the war. "Not my soul!" was the divinely indomitable reply. Surely in this week's news the unslain and unconquered soul of Belgium shines forth triumphant and resplendent.

There is triple ground for high exultation in the victories and the advance achieved by the Allies in the Balkan Peninsula. It is gratifying to have such progress made toward the avenging of Serbia's wrongs and the rehabilitation of that loyal and gallant nation, the annihilation of which was one of the objects of this war. It is gratifying, grimly gratifying, to have such punishment inflicted upon the treacherous and savage Bulgars, who after playing fast and loose in the end let themselves be made, for the most sordid reasons, the catspaw of Germany, and then emulated the Prussian example in barbarism and crime. It is greatly encouraging, too, to have this drive so successfully made, because the failure of Germany and Austria to give their wretched Bulgarian tool support indicates that they were unable to do so, and that they realize the need of putting every ounce of their strength upon the Western front, even at the cost and risk of leaving undefended what has been described as the back door to Vienna and Berlin.

It is quite obvious that that door is now being stormed. Once let Serbia be redeemed, and the Allied forces will have access to the Central Empires at a peculiarly vulnerable point. We can imagine how cordially they would be received in the Serbian province of Bosnia, and in the Jugo-Slav provinces of Slavonia and Croatia, countries which for years have been praying for deliverance from the Teutonic yoke. From those friendly regions, the advance would be across the Hungarian plains, along the Danube and the Drave, straight toward the dual capitals; on the way flanking and causing the evacuation of Italia Irredenta.

We seem to have gone "over the top" in shipbuilding. It is officially announced that in the year ending on the morning of September 26 American shipyards built vessels of 1,956,455 gross tons. That is said to be the world's high record, surpassing the 1,932,153 tons produced by Great Britain in 1913. These figures are more gratifying when they stand alone than when they are taken in comparison with some of the promises which were made a year or more ago. If we remember aright, there was talk of five, six, seven and eight mil-

lion tons a year. Whether any such achievement would have been possible is open to question, but not the folly of making such boasts. The probability is that the actual achievements of the year are nearer to the maximum potentiality of our shipbuilding facilities than were the extravagant boasts of last year. However, with 203 shipyards in operation, and 1,020 ways in them, there is reason to hope that the next year will show a considerably larger output than the year past.

The Bulgarian appeal to the United States to use its good offices toward securing an armistice fortunately arrived here too late. The armistice had already been granted by our Allies. That circumstance saved our Government from what might have proved to be an embarrassing situation. We have never been at war with Bulgaria, though we have been and are at war with her allies, and our Allies were at war with her. Being a neutral Power, so far as Bulgaria is concerned, it might have seemed ungracious and contrary to our traditional benevolence to refuse the request. Yet it would certainly have been anomalous for us to intercede in behalf of the ally of our foe. We still believe that it would have been sound policy for this country to declare war against all of Germany's allies. But since we did not do so, we should now keep strictly out of the peace negotiations. Our Allies have whipped Bulgaria to a finish, without our aid. They will be able to dictate and enforce terms of peace upon her, without our aid.

Ferdinand the Fox has pardoned a number of his subjects. But who will pardon Ferdinand the Fox?

The Ordnance Department of the Army reports that since our entry into the war there have been produced at our arsenals and factories 146,322 machine guns, 2,437,297 rifles, and 221,801 pistols. This is either a bad or a good record, according to the interpretation of the time clause.

It is a pitifully poor showing, if we reckon the time from our entry into the war. For that means a year and a half. The report would mean, then, that if we kept on at the present rate, not until the spring of year after next would our proposed army of five millions be equipped with the necessary weapons. Indeed, it would not be adequately equipped then, for there should be not one rifle but two rifles for every soldier.

A much more favorable and hopeful view may, however, be taken. We shall be justified in regarding these figures as indicative of the output not of a year and a half, but of only half a year, since in the first year of our participation in the war the output was practically nil. In that view of the case, if the present rate is maintained, as there is every reason to expect it to be, we shall have five million rifles by about the time that we have five million men "over there."

Even that will be a minimum, not a maximum, equipment; but it will probably serve. Three hundred thousand machine guns, five million rifles, and half a million pistols, put in action on the battle front next spring, ought to decrease the adult male population of Germany at a reasonably satisfactory rate.

Germany has decided not to manufacture "tanks" on a larger scale. It will be a waste of time, money and labor for her to manufacture them at all.

The Turkish War Office reported that the recent operations in Palestine "facilitated and permitted the accomplishment of our measures on both sides of the Jordan"; the "accomplishment" culminating in the capture of half the Turkish army by the British and the destruction or dispersal of the rest. It would have been simpler and more direct to say at once, "We are getting thrashed with ease and success."

Mr. Hoover reminds us that it will not do to relax our efforts at food conservation. The larger our army abroad becomes, the more food will be needed to be sent abroad. We must ship this year more than 40 per cent more meats and fats than we did last year, more than 50 per cent more wheat and breadstuffs, and considerable increases of sugar, potatoes and feed grains. This will require continued economy and self-denial, which we ought to be glad to practice.

Secretary McAdoo declares that before we are through there will be inscribed upon the banners of the American army not only "St. Mihiel," but also "Metz" and "Berlin." That cannot be repeated too often by the highest authority.

Dispatches from Mannheim indicate that when the Kaiser goes into the cellar it is not, like the brother of an eminent American statesman, to look for a straw, but to dodge bombs.

William the Damned assures his Westphalian Huns that Germany—meaning himself (und Gott)—will "fight this enforced defensive war until a victorious end is secured." We have little doubt that he will do so, though it will be the Allies and not the Huns that secure the victorious end. What is chiefly significant in his arrogant boast is the disposition which he manifests to keep on fighting as long as there is a single sheaf of his cannon fodder left. That means that while we are fighting a winning campaign, we are also fighting a long and arduous one. All the magnificent victories of the last few weeks along the Western Front have been on French and Belgian soil. We have not yet begun beyond a nominal extent the invasion of Germany; and it is 390 miles from our advanced lines to Berlin. We shall reach Berlin, and we shall there, with our Allies, dictate peace to the crushed and conquered Huns. But much water will flow under the bridges before that end is attained. All the triumphs of our arms, therefore, call for more men, more munitions, more airplanes, more ships, more money, and more Force. We have dealt with aggressive Germany. Now we have to deal with Germany on the defensive, and it will be no holiday job.

"We carried out the movements contemplated, which the enemy was unable to prevent." Thus says the German General Staff, anent the driving of its army out of the St. Mihiel salient. It is quite true. We are not always able to prevent the Boches from retreating. Our men are fighters, rather than sprinters. Yet if we could not prevent the Hunnish flight, we could hurry it.

The rule, "They Shall Not Pass," is still in force at Verdun.

What Is the Answer?

THERE are in France today, available for the American expeditionary forces, just seventy-four ship berths—not docks, but berths. Such other docking facilities as exist are necessarily devoted to the use of the British and French forces. With every modern facility, it is impossible to unload from a single ship more than 500 tons of cargo per day. The greatest amount of cargo which it has been possible to load at Norfolk, under the most favorable conditions, has been 460 tons per day, and loading is a more rapid process. Five hundred tons is, therefore, a maximum estimate for unloading. Four years' experience of the French and British armies has demonstrated beyond all question that an army requires a minimum of 45 pounds of supplies and equipment per man, per day. The allowance for the American army is much higher. Seventy-four ships, unloading 500 tons each, per day, will unload a total of 37,000 tons, or 74,000,000 pounds, which figure, divided by 45, gives 1,645,000, the total number of men for which it is possible to land supplies and equipment for the American army. What, then, becomes of the declared purpose of Secretary Baker and the General Staff to send an army of 4,000,000 to France?

It will not do to say that many of the vessels engaged in the transport service are too large for the docks anyway and must be unloaded on lighters, for the lighters must be unloaded on the docks, and lighterage in no way increases dock capacity.

It probably will be asserted that there is now on the high seas, en route to France, material for twenty-five additional berths. But when that has arrived, the docks constructed and the unloading machinery installed, there will be added only facilities for an additional 600,000 men. Again, what becomes of the army of 4,000,000 which it is proposed to send to France?

Furthermore, the additional docks it is proposed to construct are of the future. All the summer has been wasted, and the construction of docks amid ice and snow is a slow and uncertain operation, irrespective of the expense.

Why has the long summer, with weather conditions peculiarly favorable to dock construction, been wasted? Not because the facts were not known. This situation was laid before Secretary Baker when he was in France early last Spring. Not only was it laid before him, but recommendations couched in language as emphatic as respect for the head of the War Department would permit were made to him that the engineers be authorized to begin immediately the construction of the docks, the need for which was so obvious and imperative. It was pointed out to Mr. Baker that had not Marshal Joffre succeeded in checking the German drive for the Channel ports just when he did, the existing seventy-four berths would have become the sole dependence of both the British and American armies. Why did Mr. Baker turn those recommendations down? Was it because he hoped and believed that our allies would win the war without the sending of additional American troops to France? Did he look for an early peace "without annexations and without indemnities?"

General March has declared that with an army of 4,000,000 it will be possible to break through the German lines at will. But does General March contend that this will be possible if the army is sent to the front in dribblets? Four mil-

lion gallons of water would be sufficient to extinguish a large fire—if properly applied. But if played through a one-inch hose it would be turned to steam without appreciable effect on the flames. An army of 4,000,000 men can be fed to the Boche guns so slowly as to produce no results other than increased sacrifice of American lives. Mere numbers will not defeat Germany. The numbers must arrive in volume, and so must their equipment and supplies? Why, then, does Secretary Baker forbid the steps which would make such arrival possible?

Anxious Inquirer.—No; the Democratic Senatorial candidate in New Jersey is not the same Mr. Hennessy who was Mr. Dooley's friend and interlocutor.

In the President's Own State

IF anything had been needed to demonstrate more convincingly the truth of the President's dictum, "Politics is adjourned," it would have been supplied in Secretary Tumulty's assurance, just before the New Jersey primaries, of the President's regard for Eddie Gray, who at that time was making motions at running for the Republican Senatorial nomination. That was, if we mistake not, the first time that, even thus indirectly and slightly, the President manifested a benevolent disposition toward a Republican candidate; for the father of Edselford, though reputed to be a Republican by virtue of having voted for a Republican President four years after his election, was solicited to run on the Democratic ticket. Indeed, if we did not misinterpret some recent correspondence between the President's Secretary and the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Tumulty comes pretty near to regarding it as close to disloyalty for any Republican to run for office at all. However, maybe it was with Eddie Gray as it was with Rip Van Winkle's drink: "This one don't count!"

Judging, indeed, from what happened to Eddie at the primaries, after the Tumultuous endorsement, we are inclined to think that he didn't really count. Whether it would not have been as well for Joseph to have continued to safeguard the Presidential neutrality in the Republican as well as in the Democratic campaign, is an interesting question. If he had done so, and the Presidential esteem for Eddie Gray had not been expressed, it is possible that Eddie would have been a very poor second instead of a hopelessly distanced third in the race; though the principal result would have been the same. As it is, the prospects for the New Jersey Senatorship are, in statesmanship, about as neutral as the President's attitude toward the campaign.

We may probably dismiss from practical consideration the various Democratic aspirants toward whom so fine a degree of impartiality—we would not say indifference—was maintained. For the fact is that New Jersey is a Republican State, and seems altogether likely to remain Republican on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November in the year of Our Lord nineteen hundred and eighteen. We shall therefore expect to see the Hon. Joseph S. Frelinghuysen have for his colleague for a little while the Hon. Davy Baird, the ablest statesman in any lumberyard in Camden, and then for a longer time the Hon. Walter E. Edge. The weighty leadership which New Jersey will thus be enabled to exercise in the supreme councils of the nation must be obvious to the admiring spectator.

What the Hun Needs to Learn

COUNT VON HERTLING exhibits a very sore head. He is grieved, hurt, surprised, indignant. He has, he feels, not been treated right. His good intentions have been misconstrued. His noble overtures have been slighted. For, see! Away back, on February 22 last—he modestly refrains from saying so, but doubtless he selected that date as a compliment to America—on February 22 he declared in the Reichstag his agreement in principle with the possibility of discussing peace on the basis of the four points suggested by President Wilson; but neither at that time nor ever since has President Wilson taken any notice whatever of this declaration. No wonder he has resigned.

To emphasize the gross discourtesy, not to say iniquity, of the President's indifference to his irenicism, the Chancellor exploits in eloquent terms the virtues of the Huns. "We have never concealed the fact," he says, "that all thoughts of conquests were far from our minds." Of course, all the German talk for years past of world-conquest has been mere camouflage. After trampling upon Belgium and Serbia and Roumania, Germany "favors the protection of small nations." After ravaging the unarmed neutral commerce of peaceful nations, Germany is the supreme advocate of the "freedom of the seas." After tearing up the whole system of treaties at The Hague, Germany stands strongly for international courts of arbitration. And yet, in spite of all this, President Wilson has paid no attention whatever to the Chancellor's peace overtures of February 22 last. It is all very sad.

We have no hope of impressing effectively upon Count von Hertling the obvious reply to his complaint. He is either sincere, or, more probably, insincere in making that complaint. If he is sincere, then we must regard him as too obtuse of understanding to appreciate an answer if it were given to him. If he is insincere, then we must assume that he knows full well what the answer is, and why his declaration of February 22 has been ignored, and will continue to be ignored. But we may give the answer to his complaint, perhaps, for the sake of those here, of whom there may be some, who through pacifist delusion or other causes may wonder why the President took no notice of that utterance, and why no notice is taken of any peace drives made by the Huns, save such as the President wisely, bravely and consistently made to Austria the other day.

The answer, the reason, was admirably stated, once for all, by President Wilson more than two months before that marvelous irenicism of the Hunnish Chancellor's on February 22. It was, that "this intolerable Thing . . . which we now see so clearly as the German power" is "a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace," and that it accordingly is not to be negotiated with, but "must be crushed, . . . at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations"; and that it is only "when this Thing and its power are indeed defeated" that we can discuss peace. That is the answer, which was given to the Chancellor's peace plea long before he made it. That is the President's reason for ignoring peace pleas from "a Thing without capacity for covenanted peace." That is the President's explanation of "what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms."

That ought to be plain, even to the Huns themselves. They ought to be able to learn that their peace drives are and must be in vain, because we do not intend to listen to them. We

do not intend to enter into any negotiations for peace, because we do not consider Germany fit to negotiate with. It would be self-stultification to enter into negotiations with the power that perpetrated the infamy of Brest-Litovsk. We shall not listen to nor consider any peace proposals from any source until Germany is completely beaten; and that will be only when one of two things happens: When Germany is completely crushed by force of Allied arms and her imperial capital is occupied by them; or when Germany unconditionally surrenders and permits such occupation in token of her submission. When that is done, we shall talk peace. But we shall not discuss it with Germany, any more than a judge discusses the sentence with the convicted criminal in the dock. The victorious Allies will determine the conditions of peace, and all that will be left for Germany to do will be to accept them.

That is the answer to Count von Hertling's wail of woe. That is the lesson which the Huns should learn. And that is the programme which is to be executed, as its author has said, with "Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit."

Austro-Hungarian troops are taking a glorious part in the fighting on the River Meuse.—*Austrian War Office bulletin.*

Does that mean that they are outrunning the Prussians in trying to keep ahead of American bayonets?

The Faithful Lackey

GERMANY'S reply to the peace conference proposal she sent to herself and the rest of the world by her lackey and errand boy, that ridiculously "Royal Imperial" Government of Austria, has been delivered to herself through the same abjectly obedient servant. Rather a lumbering and roundabout road from the original point of departure back again to the place of origin, but, for some occult reason fathomable only by the Hun mind, there seems to have been an abiding faith in Potsdam that this clumsy absurdity would impose on somebody. So, after divers planings and conferences and journeyings to and fro between Vienna and those migratory headquarters in the safety zone at the rear of the firing lines where the All Highest and his litter of sons are ever to be found, the Hun writes a ponderously complex letter to himself asking himself if he will consent to do that which he has been covertly sneaking and whining to do ever since it dawned on him that he could not get any more loot out of his present brigandage raid, and that he might even have to drop some of his accumulated stolen goods unless he got back to his lair and organized for another banditti onslaught.

Having composed this proposition to himself, he had it formally delivered to himself by his Austrian lackey in that absurd regal livery he wears.

And now, having given a week's serious and conscientious study of his own proposition to himself, he reaches the conclusion that he has proposed nothing to himself which does not meet his own views and approval. He frankly accepts, therefore, his own offer to meet himself and his enemies in a peace conference. He conveys this acceptance to himself by handing it to a lackey in the livery of an Ambassador who in turn hands it to another lackey in the

livery of an Emperor, and thus around the stately circle to the Potsdam point of original departure.

All of which goes to show how immeasurably superior are the ways of a Hun Autocracy over those of a Yankee, British, or French Democracy. President Wilson did not take as many minutes in replying to the bungling, stupid communication as the Hun took weeks in preparing it, starting it on its roundabout journey back to himself, answering it and sending the answer around the return loop. So far as speed and gesture went, the President threw the note in the brazen face of the smug lackey who conveyed it and told him to tell his Hun master to go to the devil. Mr. Balfour, with somewhat more circumlocution, did the same. From Clemenceau there came an angry roar more suggestive of an enraged lion than of the tiger his compatriots love to call him. From the Italian, the English, the French, the American peoples arose simultaneously an echoing roar of enthusiastic applause. Germany alone has accepted Germany's proposal for an "exchange of ideas." At that peace conference banquet the Hun alone will sit in solitary majesty with the Austrian and the Turk in their respective grotesque liveries of Royal and Imperial millinery, standing as waiters with napkins over arms ready to serve their brutal master with more human sacrifices. But the crescendo roar of Foch's guns will supply an ominous accompaniment.

Gabriele d'Annunzio has flown from Turin to Chalons, over the Alps, without alighting. The distance is 290 miles. It is only 390 miles from our lines to Berlin.

The Quicker the Better

A HUN officer captured by Pershing's rude young men at the front was despondent, but frank. "Germany is defeated," he said. "The quicker she recognizes the fact the better."

Quite so. And the way she will have to recognize it so that the recognition will be recognized is precisely the way Bulgaria has recognized it. First of all, the Hun must stop fighting, get back within his own borders on all fronts, lay down his arms and ask for terms. What he asks for and what he gets are two different things. They generally are in human affairs, national and individual. But the captured Hun officer was talking sound common sense when he said, in substance, that the quicker Germany saw things as they are, instead of as she thinks they ought to be, or as she thinks she may bluff the Allies into thinking they ought to be, the better it will be for Germany.

In that way, and in that way only, can she avert ultimate invasion by armies not in the least inspired to gentleness in methods by Germany's own example. To go on with the war to its now inevitable conclusion, be that conclusion this year or next year, or the year after next, means German bankruptcy and utter financial ruin, for one thing. For another, it means such devastation of German cities, towns, and smiling countryside as is not pleasant to contemplate, for Huns at least, with however much resignation the armies and peoples of tortured and ravished France and Belgium might

view the spectacle. When Germany has evacuated France and Belgium, and, above all, restored to their owners the Alsace and Lorraine she stole forty-eight years ago, then, perhaps, the Allies might refrain from actual invasion of Germany, provided full securities are given for ample restitution and reparation for the thieving and wreckage systematically carried on for four years in the Hun-invaded provinces, and provided all pledges and covenants made on the part of Germany are made by persons other than the perjured political scoundrels now in control of German affairs, who are the criminals solely responsible for the world horrors and slaughter of the past four years.

Under such conditions Germany might possibly escape invasion. It is not certain she would. There are still many who fully believe that not until war horrors are brought across the Hun threshold and made an impressive personal experience of the Hun himself—that not until he has had his dose thrust down his own throat at the point of the bayonet, will it definitely penetrate his mind that brigandage warfare as a national industry does not pay.

Perhaps speedy and complete surrender might avert this. That would largely depend on the expedition with which defeat was acknowledged. At all events, every day of prolonged warfare diminishes the chances of this escape and adds to the fearful penalties which Germany in the end must meet. As the captured Hun officer put it, the quicker Germany sees this and acts upon it the better. But will she see it? Never, so long as the gang now in control can keep cannon fodder in the field, for, to them, the inevitable end spells not merely ruin but dynastic and political extermination.

The German nation will live, but they must go. They know this, and that they will delay the departure to the last possible moment is a certainty.

Let us conserve ink by leaving "Esq." off addresses. It signifies nothing anyway.

The President and the Pacifist

WE shall not, we trust, be chided for referring to politics during the drive for the Liberty Loan,—when it is agreed that politics shall be held in abeyance,—in calling attention to the persistently extraordinary conduct of the Father of Edsel Ford. Indeed, in advance of any such reproach we shall plead not guilty, on the very highest authority. For the matter to which we refer is the recent repetition, by the eminent founder of the National Order of Dependent Fathers, of the declaration that he is a candidate for the United States Senate solely because the President wishes him to be. Now he attributes the expression of that Presidential desire to a date subsequent to the well-authenticated Presidential announcement that "Politics is adjourned." It follows, therefore, that if the President had asked the Deft Designer of Jitneys to be a Senatorial candidate at a time when according to his own declaration political activity was non-existent, it would inevitably follow that there could be no politics in that candidacy; and we cannot be charged with talking politics in discussing it.

Which, as Professor Euclid occasionally observed, was to be demonstrated.

Let us make it clear, however, that we have been speaking hypothetically in referring to the alleged expression of Presidential desire. We have employed a mode and tense indicative of our entire disbelief of any such story. Despite the more or less categorical statement made to the Michigan Democratic Convention, it seems to us intrinsically impossible that the President should have sought to wish the Progenitor of Edsel upon the Senate by way of Michigan. For the President is loyal. The President would keep the Flag flying, in war and in peace. It is simply inconceivable that he should wish a seat in the Senate of the United States to be filled by a man who holds opposite or divergent views.

We could not accept this extraordinary and scandalous reflection upon the President, even on the theory that Edsel's Father as a Democratic Senator from Michigan would counterbalance the Republican Norris from Nebraska. We might say of them, "Arcades ambo." But that would imply not that they would counterbalance each other but rather that they together would form a double makeweight on the one side. For there is no more politics in unpatriotism than in patriotism. If Democrats and Republicans unite loyally, regardless of party, in supporting the President and the prosecution of the war, so would pacifists and slackers and assistant Huns unite to embarrass and oppose him, no matter which parties they disgraced by claiming membership in them.

It is easy to understand the President's commendable reluctance to be drawn publicly into such a matter. Yet it is also seriously to be considered whether it would not be a public service as well as a personal vindication for him, with his customary directness and emphasis of diction, to repudiate once and for all time this flivvering aspersion, and to make it clear to the Democrats of Michigan that he has, and has had, no desire to see them stultify themselves and discredit their party and their State by voting for the greatest living Promoter of Peace Pilgrimages for United States Senator. It is true that under that Avatar of Insanity known as the Michigan election law it would be difficult at this time to get rid of his nominal candidacy. He is forbidden, under penalty, to resign or withdraw, and could have his name removed from the ticket only by exiling himself from the State, by getting into a condition of physical or mental incompetence, or by becoming defunct; and we cannot expect him voluntarily to adopt any of these courses.

Still, we do not understand that even the Michigan election law requires, under penalty, men to vote for a candidate against their own wish and will.

Hunnish disregard for treaties when they stand in the way of military operations has become notorious. But the gentle Germans have an equal contempt for "scraps of paper" when they stand in the way of pecuniary gain. Herr S. Herzog, the eminent German commercial propagandist, in his book, *The Future of German Industrial Exports*, says bluntly:

The par value of treaties has reached nil and will not immediately recover from its slump—using this word in both a material and ethical sense. The most recent past teaches that he who would keep treaties does not need them; and he who chances them—takes his chances. . . . Sentimental considerations have

no place in the hard world of business. Commercial treaties will come again like other international agreements, and will probably also be broken again.

We commend these characteristically Hunnish sentiments and opinions to those who are planning the establishment of commercial relations with Germany after the war.

Disquieting Symptoms

THE action of the President in making John D. Ryan second assistant Secretary of War in charge of aeronautics is admitted to be sadly discouraging to those members of Congress who have been investigating the failure of the aeroplane programme. It is so because, while it seems, superficially, to meet the recommendation of the committee that a single head be placed in charge of this service and be given cabinet rank, it fails completely to correct the most serious defect of the present system. It leaves the Director of Aeronautics under the direction of Secretary Baker, instead of making him an independent official responsible directly to the President.

The Senate Military Committee long ago developed the dire need of a director of munitions. The Administration, unwilling to adopt wholeheartedly the finding and recommendation of the committee, has made first Assistant Secretary Benedict Crowell Director of Munitions, also under the direction of Secretary Baker.

In the former case it is the belief of those who know Mr. Ryan that he will find himself continually hampered by his relations with Mr. Baker, while, as heretofore, responsibility for any failure which may occur will be divided. Those familiar with the War Department are convinced that Mr. Crowell, on the other hand, will fail to acquit himself with credit of the onerous responsibilities of his new office, but here again the responsibility will be divided between Mr. Baker and his assistant.

In the case of the Shipping Board, responsibility is divided between Mr. Hurley and Mr. Schwab, with a consequent impossibility of fixing responsibility for errors, or even failure. For instance, it is a well known secret that Mr. Schwab believes it is a grave mistake to build wooden ships, just as General Goethals did before him. But the political considerations which controlled Mr. Denman seem now to control Mr. Hurley, and Mr. Schwab is powerless to combat them. He must either acquiesce or resign, with the stigma of being branded a quitter. Consequently, with a capacity for building steel ships of proved worth far in excess of the country's ability to equip them with motive power, a considerable portion of that ability is being devoted to constructing engines for wooden ships of experimental or even doubtful value.

To those who have the winning of the war genuinely at heart and who are in a position accurately to gauge the activities of the Administration, the discouraging feature of all this is the seeming unwillingness of the President to adopt the modern practice of single and undivided responsibility, and his determination in so far as possible to continue under the blighting direction of Newton D. Baker those functions of the military establishment which are so essential to successful prosecution.

Oh for one thorough job!

Letters From Our Readers

HOW FOLKS FEEL

SIR,—We approve wholly of you and your splendid work. Indeed, your name has been a household word with us for years, long before you passed *Harper's Weekly* on to Mr. Hapgood. But we are getting warm under the collar at the prolonged retention, in places of power, of such inefficients as Baker and Burleson, and the obstinate persistence of the President in setting up his own opinion as the sufficient guide of our great nation in this world crisis, consulting only such men as Mr. Brandeis and Col. House, both his creatures, when he might easily find a score of men, known in the councils of the world, whom he would profitably consult.

Then, too, our patience is wearing thin at so much talk over "loyalty to my Administration," as if *that* were synonymous with "patriotism," and at the impudent interference of the Administration with matters belonging to the States. We should also gladly forego many of the letters, appeals and addresses issued with so much frequency if thereby we might hope for a little closer scrutiny of the acts of the heads of departments, for which and whom the Commander-in-Chief is responsible.

Meanwhile we are doing all we can in every way to push on the war till the unspeakable Hun has been destroyed. So that what I said above need not be construed as a complaint, but may be taken as an indication of the storm brewing among "folks" because men are allowed to continue to commit crimes against the nation with impunity. Perhaps, when politics is "resumed" again in November, —! Besides, we can afford to bide our time.

ISAAC THOMAS.

Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven, Conn.

RECOGNITION FOR PATRIOTISM

Sir: I am fully in accord with the idea of issuing a badge or button to all honorably discharged men, but make the suggestion that this matter go further. There are many men who have volunteered for either the Navy or Army, and for physical disabilities have been turned down, who, feeling that they want to become directly connected with the war, have taken certain Governmental positions. I know of cases of this kind where men, after having failed to be accepted by the Army or Navy, have given up lucrative positions and offered their services to the Government—as, for instance, Navy or Army Material Inspectors. Many of these men I know work from twelve to fifteen or more hours per day, yet they are from time to time stopped by authorities and others and asked if they are slackers. I know they feel this keenly. It could be obviated if they were supplied with some badge or button showing that they are in Government service.

J. P. WALKER.

Chicago.

"HUMOROUS AND STIMULATING PESSIMISM."

SIR,—Here is my check for a year of both REVIEW and WEEKLY. I heartily approve of Mr. Donnelley's action, taking me off the "free list." There is no reason why I should receive so much entertainment for nothing, and I ought to have anticipated Mr. Donnelley in doing you the justice of this check.

I am certain that nowhere on earth will \$5.00 buy so much of humorous and stimulating pessimism.

GEORGE C. HIRST.

Montclair, New Jersey.

"SPOOFING"

SIR,—Your ability to express my ideas so exactly in the WAR WEEKLY leads me to respectfully call your attention to what to my mind is the ultimate syllable in "spoofing." I refer to the article on Henry Ford in the current issue of *World's Work*. Evidently Mr. Stockbridge has not been reading the WAR WEEKLY recently. I consider his article dangerous propaganda. What do you think?

J. E. COLLINS.

ALMA, MICH.

[It does not alarm us.—EDITOR.]

ADVERTISING

SIR,—Have you read in the current *World's Work* "Why Henry Ford Wants to Be Senator," by Henry Ford? Six pages, three paragraphs at the beginning giving his reasons, the other five pages advertising Henry Ford and his machines. "It pays to advertise."

J. J. S.

WILMINGTON.

[We read part of it.—EDITOR.]

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The Yellow Streak

*And he—he turns! he flies! shame on those cruel eyes
That bore to look on torture, and dare not look on war!*

THE expected has happened. The Hun shows the yellow streak. We were recently discussing the probable psychology of the defeated Hun; which was an unknown quantity, seeing that for a century the Hun had known no defeat, but an unbroken succession of victories. It occurred to us then that he would probably turn coward, though we were willing to consider the possibility that he would fight with the proverbial though futile fury of a cornered rat. In that concession we did the Beast unmerited honor. There is no fight in him in defeat. He turns yellow, all the way through.

Remember that the Allies never thought of peace, not one of them—unless little Montenegro, in exceptional circumstances; best now forgotten. Belgium never flinched, when threatened or when overwhelmed by the flood of thieving, lecherous, murderous Boches. Serbia made no plea for peace when her whole territory was overrun and her army and people were exiles. Russia did not think of stopping fighting, amid all her woes, until traitors were bribed with German gold. France forgot that there was such a word as "surrender," even when the Hunnish armies were at the gates of Paris and her Government was exiled from the capital. Great Britain never whimpered nor thought of peace when her "contemptible little army" was all but annihilated and her island home was for the first time in centuries invaded by a foreign foe. To every one of these defeat and threatened disaster meant nothing but the need of stronger efforts on their part for victory. They did not blab and blat "Gott mit Uns!" and boast of the certainty of victory. They simply gritted their teeth, made greater sacrifices and greater efforts, and kept on fighting in defeat

as indomitably as they have in victory. They

Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dream'd, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

But there is not a trace of that in the Hun. He was strong for fighting, as long as the fighting went his way. It was glorious to invade and to ravage other lands; destroying through sheer wanton deviltry and hatred of the beautiful the most priceless works of art and the most precious historical monuments. The piteous cries of murdered babes were music to his ears. "Gott mit Uns!" he yelled amid the weeping and the lamentations of ravished womanhood. "Forward with Gott!" was his war cry as he pushed on in the most criminal campaigns the world has ever known. But the moment the tide turns his tone changes, his disposition turns. To have the Fatherland in its turn invaded, that would be too horrible! To bear up bravely beneath defeat, to be serene and indomitable in the presence of danger, that is not the nature of the Beast. At the gleam of a million American bayonets coming through the passes of the Vosges, encircling Metz, and approaching the Rhine, he drops his tail between his legs and runs and yelps and whines for peace.

It is not pleasant thus to regard even a foe. It would be immeasurably more agreeable to testify that he had been a "foeman worthy of our steel" and that though beaten he had at the end gone down in dignity and honor. But it is impossible.

We have long known that we were fighting an enemy that was without sense of honor or justice. We now know that we are fighting one that has no true heroism. He is as cowardly as he is cruel; and if he had the chance he would again be as ruthless as he is cowardly.

Princes should remember that wars are begun at the will of others, but are not terminated at the will of others.—N. Machiavelli to W. Hohenzollern.

He who, blinded by ambition, rises to a place from which he cannot rise any higher, necessarily prepares for a most disastrous fall.—Thoughts of a Statesman.

The President at Politics

MR. WILSON had occupied the White House less than a year when a delegation of three hundred workingwomen waited upon him and sought his support for a proposed amendment to the Constitution granting universal suffrage. After listening courteously to five short appeals, he declined the invitation upon the ground that he was no longer free to express his views upon subjects which had not received "the organic consideration of those for whom I am spokesman." He had set himself "this very strict rule when Governor of New Jersey," had "followed it as President" and should "continue to follow it as President." For that reason, he added, he was "shut out by my own principles" from voicing his convictions. He had no doubt, however, that the visit would "make a profound impression" upon the country.

Ordinarily so gallant a remark from a Chief Magistrate would have served its purpose of closing a somewhat trying incident, but the leader of the delegation, Mrs. Glendower Evans of Boston, could not refrain from recalling to the President's mind a certain conversation which she had had with him at Sea Girt while he was a candidate.

"I thought from what you said that you were in favor of our cause," Mrs. Evans declared with no little spirit, and, after a slight pause, added bluntly with a slight tinge of bitterness, "You were gunning for votes then."

"I was much freer to express my opinion then than I am now," the President rejoined, still affably though rather lamely, and the incident was closed, indeed, with a sharp click.

Since then, the Democratic party having given "organic consideration" to the question and having consigned it to the *States* for decision, the President has regained his freedom to demand *Federal* action, and again, as in 1912, in the words of Mrs. Evans, he is "gunning for votes."

Because that is what the spectacular appearance and speech in the Senate chamber meant; a grandstand play for women's votes in the coming elections; nothing else in the world.

They were strong words, those uttered by the President on that occasion, the strongest he has used since we entered the war.

"I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the Constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war," he began; and, "I tell you plainly, as the Commander-in-Chief of our armies and of the gallant men in our fleets that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war," he concluded.

A more grave, a more solemn, adjuration cannot be imagined. Washington in his depths of despair, or Lincoln in his darkest days, never uttered a warning so fully charged with portent of certain disaster.

And it was all humbug.

If not, if the amazing augury presented with his utmost impressiveness by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and the Navy is grounded in fact and reason, then our mighty nation, the whole battling world, all civilization, all humanity, all Christianity, are doomed.

But is it true, is it rational, is it possible? We may not question the sincerity of the President, but clearly nobody else thinks so. Surely not the Senate, which promptly re-

jected the proposal; nor the twenty Democratic Senators who voted against it; nor the press, including the *World*, which derided it as a "war measure"; nor the suffragists themselves, not one of whom has ever hinted such a thought; nor, to a certainty, our soldiers and the soldiers of our Allies now pushing eagerly forward from triumph to triumph; nor, of course, our Allies themselves, intent upon and sure at last of victory.

Germany? Perhaps. If so, let her grasp at the straw ere she sinks into the bottomless pit of her own digging; but meanwhile let the busybodies of our own Administration pause in their mad menacing of patriotic masters of public servants for giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy.

There can be, in truth, but one explanation of this extraordinary performance. It was a dashing, if not a desperate, attempt, by means of what the *World* calls "a bold and startling assertion," to gain votes for Democratic candidates for Congress. And daring, too, daring to a degree; in this respect, we cannot recall its equal. True, it might have succeeded; there was reason in the hope; never before had a number of partisan followers sufficient to defeat a measure failed to belie their convictions in response to a peremptory demand from their leader; and a shrewd confusing of subservience to the President with fidelity to the country has blasted many political aspirations.

But it failed,—failed not only technically, but in its transparent purpose; failed to advance the legitimate cause of equal suffrage; failed to win public approbation even of its intent; failed to enhance the prestige of its originator; failed utterly, pitifully.

And yet we are told by the commonly recognized interpreter of White House opinion that defeat is not conceded. "The fight," writes Mr. Lawrence, "is not over. It has just begun. The President will not stay beaten." Already, with a view to reprisals, he has "examined the list of the twenty Democrats who declined to follow his leadership," even after he had "privately urged them" to vote as he wished, on the ground that if they should refuse he would "not thereafter be able to say that they supported his war measures." Now, we are informed by the same authority, "if the strength of the President can be judged by what he did in Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia, it will not be long before many of the twenty Democrats who voted against President Wilson's war measure will not be seen in the Senate again." It is against these Senators, at whose rebellion he feels "particularly chagrined," that the President, according to Mr. Lawrence, will direct the full force of his tremendous powers.

We hope that Mr. Lawrence is mistaken. The President was wrong and must now realize that he was wrong, in what he said, in what he tried to do, and in the way he tried to do it. That he should feel chagrined at his first rebuff from a co-ordinate branch of authority is but natural. But this is not a one-man government. He needed a lesson, he deserved it, and he got it.

We pray that he may accept and heed it manfully and wisely, and hereafter avoid all false and extraneous issues, forsake coercive measures, waive partisanship, spurn the dictates of personal pride and greatly and generously help us all to forget, as we gladly would, this most painful episode, and unite wholeheartedly under his inspiring leadership, to the exclusion of all other considerations, in concentrated determination to win the war and save the world.

A Correction

THE statement which appeared in this journal last week to the effect that the report of Mr. Hughes was in the hands of the President came to us from a trustworthy correspondent who never before has erred; but it was not a fact. We regret exceedingly that it was published and withdraw the comment which we based upon the supposition that it was correct.

The Wilful Twenty

The names of the Democratic Senators whom, according to Mr. David Lawrence, the President is resolved to defeat for re-election because of their refusal to vote as he demanded on the suffrage amendment and the dates upon which their terms expire are as follows:

1919—Bankhead, Ala.	1921—Smith, Ga.
Benet, S. C.	Smith, Md.
Guion, La.	Smith, S. C.
Hardwick, Ga.	Underwood, Ala.
Martin, Va.	1923—Hitchcock, Neb.
Saulsbury, Del.	Pomerene, Ohio.
Shields, Tenn.	Reed, Missouri.
Simmons, N. C.	Trammell, Fla.
1921—Fletcher, Fla.	Williams, Miss.
Overman, N. C.	Wolcott, Del.

Nothing can be done to the class of 1919, as the primary nominations have already been made, unless the President should throw his influence in Delaware to the Republican candidate against Mr. Saulsbury. Whether he will go to that extreme Mr. Lawrence does not intimate. The first real test will come in 1920, when much will depend upon the attitude of the Presidential candidate, whoever he may be. Meanwhile, however, Mr. Wilson can wield his power of patronage most effectively in pursuance of his indicated purpose to discredit and weaken Senators Fletcher, Overman, Underwood and the three Smiths of Georgia, Maryland and South Carolina. We shall watch the process and study the results of its application with zestful interest.

Light From Nebraska

EVIDENCES multiply that the patriotic citizens of Nebraska have resolved that the fair banner of their commonwealth shall not be stained with the blot of dishonor. Cheering words to that effect come to us daily in personal communications from all parts of the State without discrimination as to the partisan proclivities of the writers. Most significant of all, perhaps, is the bolt of the influential *Aurora Republican*, a rockribbed Republican journal whose editor, Mr. Clark Perkins, writes to us that he “denounced Norris publicly on the day war was declared for his statement about ‘putting the dollar mark on the flag’ and can find nothing in his subsequent course to warrant a change of judgment.” This opinion, he adds, “is shared by thousands of loyal Republicans who deeply feel the humiliation to which they have been subjected.” Nor does this faithful publicist shed his light under a bushel. He speaks up manfully in the *Republican*:

Senator Norris has never given the slightest evidence of repentance for that mistake. He added insult to the injury done his constituents in voting against the war resolution by referring to it as “putting the dollar mark on the flag.” He has opposed

the army bill, the revenue bill, the espionage bill, and practically every other measure calculated to strengthen our armed forces on land and sea. In announcing his candidacy for re-election last winter he issued a long statement on the subject of peace which clearly indicates that he is still thinking more of peace than of war, and that he will be a dangerous man to have in the United States senate when active German propaganda for inconclusive peace is launched.

Norris attempted no defense of his record of opposition to the war, because it cannot be defended.

The plain truth of the matter is that Norris is not the choice of his party, and his nomination was made possible only by multiplicity of candidates.

Colonel Harvey is wrong in assuming, because a few ambitious Republicans permitted themselves to be flattered into dividing the anti-Norris vote, that the Huns are in the saddle.

This assertion, we are happy to note, is confirmed by Mr. L. D. Richards of Fremont, who directs our attention to the fact that Nebraska has furnished 45,277 soldiers and sailors and has made these handsome financial contributions:

	Quota	Subscribed
First Liberty Loan.....	\$18,000,000	\$19,035,700
Second Liberty Loan	29,640,000	33,317,200
Third Liberty Loan	31,942,800	50,684,850
War Savings Stamps	25,940,120	32,000,000
Y. M. C. A.	250,000	560,302
First Red Cross Fund	700,000	1,020,812
Second Red Cross Fund	800,000	2,300,000
Knights of Columbus	40,000	240,000
Armenian Relief	250,000	265,000
Smileage Book Campaign	10,000	12,350
Y. W. C. A.	No Quota	58,505
Total	\$107,572,920	\$139,494,719

“Eighty per cent of our German-born,” Mr. Richards adds, “are thoroughly loyal, Pershing’s casualty lists showing more than one-half of killed and wounded to have been of foreign extraction,”—a most gratifying reassurance.

Meanwhile, the Norris press begins to whimper and tries to divert attention from the disloyalty of its candidate. Driven apparently to desperation by the Republican disaffection, the *Lincoln State Journal* appeals to the opposition for help. “Do the Nebraska Democrats,” it demands, “want to set Harvey up as an authority on the war achievements of the Administration? They do that when they set him up as an authority on Senator Norris. Do they want to be so understood? Is Harvey authority when he speaks of Administration management of airplanes as a ‘welter of incompetence, waste of hundreds of millions of dollars and months of precious time, wanton sacrifice of precious lives, intrigues without number,’ etc.? If so, they are entitled to use Harvey as a witness against Norris. Otherwise, not.” And then, in puerile fashion, it calls Democrats to the rescue because, forsooth, we oppose Ford upon precisely the same grounds as we oppose Norris. But not a word in extenuation of the repeated offenses of Norris himself, who, after all, is the candidate, for the quite obvious reason, as stated by Mr. Perkins, that his record is indefensible. A lot of Republican votes will be held and Democratic votes gained by such importunities, we think not.

The one ground upon which Mr. Norris hopes to win is that his re-election might give control of the Senate to the Republicans. That is the purely partisan consideration which he is advancing in his plea for moral and material support from Republican national leaders. To what extent his quest has prospered is not yet apparent. Thus far he seems to have won over only the so-called Republican Publicity Association of Washington conducted by ex-Senator Jonathan Bourne, which has sent out the following “news letter”:

Word comes from Nebraska that the people are behind Senator Norris of that state, and will see to it that he is returned

to the Senate. The attempt has been made by certain patrioteers in Nebraska to discredit Mr. Norris because of certain votes he cast *before the United States entered the war*. But the voters of the state want their representative in the senate to be a man of convictions and the courage to express them. Those qualities Senator Norris has to a marked degree. *His votes have been for the successful prosecution of the war*, and the efforts of his enemies to cast aspersions on his record in that respect are meeting with no success.

We dislike to suppose that Mr. Bourne is personally responsible for this declaration, because Mr. Bourne surely must be aware that it is utterly false. Mr. Norris's record is public. Not only before but, contrary to his solemn pledge, since war was declared his votes have been against measures proposed for its successful prosecution. The slurring reference to his opponents as "patrioteers" may be regarded proudly, we should say, by the loyal citizens of Nebraska as evidence of the supremacy of their patriotism over their partisanship. Whether or not, as the *Aurora Republican* indignantly insists, it is incumbent upon Chairman Hays to disclaim responsibility for the utterances of Mr. Bourne's concern is a matter for Mr. Hays himself to determine. The big point is that, if Mr. Norris fails to obtain the outside aid which he seeks and the voters go to the polls influenced only by their own convictions, the likelihood is growing stronger daily that Nebraska will repudiate with thumping scorn her disloyal misrepresentative.

So again we say: Hands off, gentlemen!

"The Only Possible Answer"

THE Hunnish peace drive was answered in advance, with "the only possible answer." The President had repeatedly made it since our entry into the war. He made it again, with reduplicated directness and emphasis, a fortnight ago, in words which we only last week rejoiced to comment upon and to commend to the earnest attention and acceptance of the nation. Let us recall them for present application:

There can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the governments of the Central Empires. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We cannot "come to terms" with them. They have made it impossible. We cannot accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement. . . . No peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting.

It should not be necessary to add anything to those brave and unmistakable words, though if we were so inclined we could quote many more utterances of the President to the same effect. He described the German Government in unforgettable words as "a thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace." He described his own statement of fourteen items as "the only possible programme of the world's peace." He said in answer to a formal proposal and request for peace negotiations that "the United States can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position so plain." It is enough. Since the memorable utterance of January 8 last, to which the Huns now refer, his policy has been absolutely consistent, and so distinct and explicit that to ask for an interpretation of it or to seek to debate it would be as superfluous as to seek to demonstrate an axiom.

That was the answer, given in advance. A somewhat captious critic of the President was heard to express the opinion that the splendid declaration in his Liberty Loan

speech, which we have quoted, was intended for Germany more than for America. If true at all, that was true only in the sense that Germany needed to be told those things more than America did, because the President himself had already made America abundantly familiar with them. Certainly the President never would say anything just for effect in Germany which he did not fully and sincerely mean for home consumption as well. The egregious Bryan once intimated that the President had thus talked "for Buncombe," but that was a falsehood. The President in his Liberty Loan speech meant to make Germany understand that we could not and would not enter into negotiations with her present Government, over peace terms. He equally meant to reassure the American nation that we should not do so, and that he as our diplomatic head would not do so. In the words of the caption of the cartoon with which we recently strove to depict the American attitude toward the murderer who comes with blood-stained hands knocking at our door: "Tell him to go to hell!" And take down the rifle.

This, then, is the "only possible answer" to any German or Austro-Hungarian suggestion, proposal or prayer for a conference or for peace negotiations: we will not confer upon a matter upon which our principles have been made so plain. We will not compromise those principles. We cannot accept the word of the Huns, and it would therefore be worse than futile for us to enter into negotiations in which we should be asked to accept their word, and into which, indeed, we could enter only on the basis of such acceptance. It would be an anomaly for parties to enter into negotiations if each was not ready to accept the word of the other.

But are we thus shutting the door against any possible peace, by rejecting peace overtures? By no means. On the contrary, we are opening it wider and facilitating the conclusion of peace at the earliest possible moment—at a much earlier moment than would be possible under any arrangement of conference or negotiations. It would be possible to have peace, complete and lasting peace, before sunset tomorrow, in the only way in which peace can be had now or at any time. That is, through Unconditional Surrender. Let Germany throw down her arms and stop fighting. Then we will march our army into Berlin and tell her what is going to happen to her.

No compromise! No negotiations! No "conference" save of the Allied Powers among themselves! No bargaining with woman-ravishing, baby-murdering Huns! It is for us to dictate, and for them to accept. And however harsh and hard our terms may seem, it is for the Huns to thank God—not their Old German Gott, but God—for the great mercy which he puts into our hearts to grant them, in permitting so much as one of them to remain alive and free. That is the answer to the peace drive, and must be the only possible answer to every peace drive they may ever make.

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What Our Terms Mean

WHILE the Huns pretend a readiness to accept our terms of peace as set forth by the President, they clamor for negotiations and conferences, and hell-broth "Congresses of the Powers" such as Metternich and Bismarck and those of their kidney used to delight in for the jockeying and bamboozling of the nations. Well, we are not going to have any such performance. But seeing that the Huns have the impertinence to suggest some of the points which they would want to discuss at such a conclave, and even the way in which they think our peace terms ought to be interpreted, it may be worth while to recall precisely what those terms are in relation to these points of special Hunnish interest.

Thus we are told that the conference would be expected to discuss a "Federal Austria." Our terms are that "The peoples of Austria-Hungary should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development." The Czecho-Slovaks and the Poles have already interpreted that, and we have accepted their interpretation as our own. On that point there is nothing more to be said.

"The right of self-determination for Russian frontier States." We recognize no such things as "Russian frontier States," nor any such abortion as the Brest-Litovsk treaty which pretended to have created them. Our sixth term of peace demands "the evacuation of all Russian territory"; which means the Baltic Provinces as much as Holy Moscow itself. We shall not discuss with Germany any partition of Russia.

The plenipotentiaries are to be empowered to discuss "the restoration and indemnification of Belgium"; with a hint that the indemnification should be effected through a sort of international pool in which all should participate. Our *sine qua non* is that "Belgium must be evacuated and restored," and the restoration must be done by or at the expense of the criminal Power that did the damage to her. That is not matter for discussion; and the achievement of the first part, the evacuation of Belgium, must precede any cessation of our military activities on any plea or ground whatever. There can be no more discussion of that with Germany in a Congress of the Powers than there could be a discussion of the validity of the Rule of Three. To ask it is waste of breath.

The Hunnish thief of 1871 is graciously pleased to intimate his willingness to consider the granting of autonomy to Alsace-Lorraine, provided that such status is demanded by a plebiscite taken after Germany has murdered or expelled all the loyal citizens of those Provinces and has colonized them with Huns. Our attitude on that question is unmistakable. "The wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 should be righted." The Provinces must be restored to France. There can be no dispute of that.

"The return of the German colonies." Are you there, old Truepenny? It was certain that the Hun would raise that point; and it is equally certain that America is not going to be led into a false position on it. Germany regards it as her chief asset for causing dissension between us and some of our Allies. For some of them, while not coveting the colonies for themselves, are unalterably opposed—as they should be—to the return of them to Germany, while we have

declared ourselves in favor of adjusting Germany's claims to her former colonies on the basis of giving equal weight to "the interests of the populations concerned with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined." Well, we don't think that her trick will work. We shall doubtless stand by our principle, but we shall not therefore quarrel with or disagree with our Allies. For in the first place it is only the "equitable" claims of Germany that we have agreed to consider; and we are not at all sure that she has any. And, in the second place, that consideration is to be given to them not by Germany, who has absolutely nothing to say about it, nor by a Congress of the Powers with Germany in it, which is not going to be held, but by the Allies themselves and nobody else. It is for America and England and France and Belgium and Japan and the rest to determine whether it comports with the interests of the natives of the colonies to thrust them back under German despotism; whether, for example, Germany has an "equitable claim" to Damaraland stronger than the reluctance of the Hottentots to be again ruled by the beasts who formerly governed them by robbing and enslaving the men, forcibly debauching the women, and murdering the children. Really, we do not look for much hesitation over that, or for any violent disagreement between America and her Allies.

We think, therefore, that it is already sufficiently plain what our terms of peace are and what they mean, without any Hunnish talk-fest or other pow-wow. We know that it is a common practice of traders and diplomats to hold a "palaver" with savage chiefs, as a necessary preliminary to doing business. But that practice will not obtain in this case. The trader and the chieftain of Borrioboola Gha meet and "palaver" as equals, giving faith and credence to each other and accepting each other's word. But we do not and cannot regard Germany as our equal, nor accept nor believe her word; and there is no particular business to discuss, for we ourselves have already determined it all in advance.

Is the New York *World* for Ford?

Is the New York *Tribune* for Norris?

Or doesn't either of them dare say boo?

Absent But Not Forgotten

Now that Secretary Baker is out of the country again, Col. George Harvey and others who think the War Department is much better off without his presence may breathe more freely.—*Birmingham Age-Herald*.

Right you are! Now note one instance of marked advantage which has sprung from voluntary or enforced absence: Last Spring the training schools for officers were consolidated and reorganized with a view to essential recruitment from both the army and civil life, but the work had barely got under way when Mr. Baker got back and closed the doors to civilians. It was an idiotic performance and we said so, setting forth the reasons at length, but to no purpose. Mr. Baker continued smilingly obdurate, with the inevitable result of a serious diminution in the number of those undergoing training in August.

Now in his absence the order has been reissued, and though, as the Boston *Transcript* remarks, "the time of course cannot be made up and the shortage of officers which

now exists must continue for some time to come," the way at least is cleared,—which moves the *Transcript* to add that "the President is entitled to nothing but praise for again divorcing the Secretary from the War Department; the longer he stays overseas, experience proves, the more the Department will be able to do by way of pushing preparations for the 1919 campaign."

We were rebuked for saying, when Mr. Baker returned before, that he "descended upon Washington like a cloud of poison gas," but the subsequent slowing down so fully justified the remark that, in common with the officers in charge, we actually dread the effect of his resumption of meddling authority.

Where is the most efficient public official ever known anyhow? He went up to "see the big show" as soon as he arrived, but probably did not stay very long for fear of getting lost or of somebody inadvertently stepping on him. The last we heard, he was inspecting hospitals, huts, etc., somewhere in England, and talking so softly and happily in his sleep, for publication, that maybe the President will either let or make him stay. But we trow not.

"Is there no hope? the sick man said;
The silent Doctor shook his head."

A correspondent of the New Haven *Union* asks that paper if it is not disrespectful to refer to Woodrow Wilson as "Wilson." Should he be so familiarly treated by a respecting people?—*Hartford Courant*.

It is not necessarily disrespectful, but it is contrary to the best usage. "Mr." should prefix the name of one living and be omitted only when he has found his final place in history. Roosevelt is the exception who proves the rule.

Chancellor Von Camouflage

CHANCELLOR VON CAMOUFLAGE is now in office on the Wilhelmstrasse.

Nominally, Count von Hertling has been succeeded by Prince Maximilian, of Baden, heir presumptive to the Grand Ducal throne of that country. This person appears to have impressed our recent Ambassador to Berlin, Mr. Gerard, as much more nearly human than the average Hun, and that estimate of him tallies with all that we have heard of him from other sources. He has long ranked as a Liberal in German politics, whatever that may amount to. (According to Milton, there are different parties and factions in Hell.) Moreover, he has opposed all ideas of conquest in this war, which is partly in his favor and partly against him. It is very well to oppose iniquitous conquests, but to do that and yet to support a war which had such conquests as its chief aim indicates a contradictoriness of character amounting almost to unsoundness of mind. Perhaps, however, such inconsistency is congruous with the German mind.

It is not for a moment to be supposed, however, that his Liberal and anti-conquest views are the reason for the Kaiser's selection of him as Chancellor, though his reputation of possessing them may have been. One of the most obvious reasons for selecting him was doubtless the same as that for selecting his predecessor, namely, that he is a South German. Hertling is from Bavaria, and Maximilian is from Baden. Now the Germans of those two states loathe the Prussians and the Hohenzollerns, and remain in the Empire under protest. More than once, years before the

war, they very seriously considered withdrawing from the Empire. They have long and very close and strong sympathy with Austria, and would doubtless be much inclined to stand with her in seeking peace. For these reasons, the Prussian Kaiser has deemed it politic to appease South German disaffection and to seek to bind the South German States more closely to Prussia, by selecting his Chancellor from that region.

There is perhaps another geographical reason. Baden lies along the Rhine, at the part nearest to the battle line. Several of its cities have been razed, with disastrous effect, by Allied aviators, and it is quite likely to suffer still more in that way. We have heard of panicky and strenuous peace clamor on the part of the populace, when bombs have fallen upon the railroad stations and munitions works of Baden. The Kaiser's best answer to such demonstrations is to be able to remind the Badeners that their own Prince is Chancellor of the empire and is thus responsible for the conduct of the war.

The chief reason, however, is probably that at which we have already hinted, namely, Prince Maximilian's reputation as a Liberal. That fact will be touted all over Germany, and exploited before the eyes and in the ears of the world. We shall be—we are being—told that Junkerism has been retired and that Liberalism is now at the fore. A Liberal Chancellor, an anti-conquest Chancellor, a non-Prussian Chancellor—is he not proof of Germany's sincere change of heart? Does not his appointment appeal irresistibly to the sympathy and the confidence of Liberals all over the world?

To which we answer, Piffle! Maximilian is not Chancellor, any more than was Hertling, or Bethmann-Hollweg, or anyone else since William "dropped the pilot." To whatever extent he is Chancellor, or is meant to be, or will be permitted to be, he is simply Chancellor von Camouflage. He is put into office, with his personal respectability and his reputation of Liberalism, as a mask for Potsdam Junkerism. The real Chancellor, the only real Chancellor, is William the Damned. He has said that he is the supreme master, "unter Gott," and that there is only one will in the empire and that is his; and we have no record and no report of his having ever recanted it. Maximilians may come, and Hertlings go, but the Hohenzollern remains.

That is the consideration which is paramount, and which makes this "Chancellorship crisis" a negligible trifle. We are not dealing with underlings. We do not care who is Chancellor, any more than we care who cleans the Kaiser's boots. The one job is comparable with the other. The sole consideration of moment and significance is this, that above and behind all Chancellors and Foreign Ministers and Field Marshals and High Admirals stands the sinister figure of the Hohenzollern Hun. All else is camouflage.

Anyhow, "child labor, the food situation and the barge canal" are not adjourned, since, according to the inspired Washington dispatches, those are the things that Mr. Al Smith, incidentally Democratic candidate for Governor of New York, went to see the President about.

We shall impatiently await the next issue of Col. Harvey's WEEKLY to ascertain whether Secretary Baker's brother went with him on this trip, also—*Sioux City Journal*.

Oh, yes; he's there!

After the War at Home

ONE highly important suggestion, not merely of the German peace drive but also of the whole military situation abroad, is that the war is inevitably drawing to a close and that therefore it is time for us very promptly and earnestly to consider ways and means of readjustment of our affairs, fiscal, industrial, commercial, and what not, after the return of peace. The other nations, our Allies, have already taken practical steps in that direction, and now are pretty well prepared for peace and for the radical changes in their affairs which it will bring. The United States has not done so. It is to-day as unprepared for peace as it was a year ago for war, and it is still delaying and haggling over the step that is to be taken.

A little while ago, seeing that the Administration and its party in Congress made no move in that direction, Senator Weeks introduced a bill providing for the creation of a commission to take the matter in hand. Senator Weeks is a Republican, but there was no perceptible tinge of politics in his bill, and it would doubtless have received the support of Democrats as well as Republicans. But the Administration, which had itself not only neglected but, when urgently requested, had refused to take the initiative in the matter, was cold toward it, with a coldness increasing to actual hostility. And last week Senator Overman, a Democrat, serving in his familiar rôle as spokesman of the Administration, introduced a substitute measure, supposed to embody the wishes of the President; thus injecting political controversy into a matter on which action should be as harmonious and as non-partisan as on the war itself.

The chief difference between the two measures is this, that Senator Weeks's would place the work of reorganization after the war in the hands of Congress, or under its direction, while Senator Overman's would place it in the hands of the President. That, we must frankly say, is a potent and convincing reason for preferring the former to the latter measure. The work of national readjustment is properly a work for the representatives of the people. During the war we have acquiesced loyally in the establishment of perhaps the most extreme and autocratic Presidential dictatorship that this or any republic has ever known. It was desirable, perhaps necessary, that such a system should prevail during the war; for war is an abnormal occasion and calls for abnormal measures. But that is no reason whatever for continuing the dictatorship in time of peace. The Constitution makes the President commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and invests him with the power of conducting any war which Congress may declare. But it does not make him administrator-in-chief of the business of the country in time of peace.

The President long ago set forth his conception of the Presidency, as he thought it originally was and should be, as the real centre of the Government and source of authority, and deplored the usurpation of its powers by Congress. That was his academic view of the case, before he became President, and there is no reason to suppose that it has been changed by his practical experience in the office, unless in the direction of confirming and intensifying it. Nevertheless it is equally legitimate for others to hold a contrary view, and unless we are vastly mistaken, most Americans do hold a contrary view, and regard Congress as the appropriate source of legislation. They think, then, that the

readjustment of our affairs, so far as any is needed, should be effected through Congressional legislation and not through Presidential decree. For that reason they would prefer the Weeks to the Overman bill.

The rumor that the British Government, by way of return of courtesy, was about to appoint the Rt. Hon. E. Hobbs, Solicitor for the Under Secretary for the Home Department, to succeed Lord Reading as Ambassador to the United States, seems to be effectually disposed of by the resignation of His Lordship as Chief Justice.

FORD AN AMERICAN ACE.—"Times" headline.

An un-American ass, rather; but this may be another Ford; not Edsel, though; we should think not.

We acknowledge receipt of the following communication from Richard W. Hale, Esq., secretary of the Bar Association of the City of Boston:

SIR,—As Secretary of the Bar Association of the City of Boston, I recently had occasion to address a notice to an honorary member, whose name is Oliver Wendell Holmes and who occupies a high judicial position at a place called the Supreme Court of the United States in Washington, D. C. If the Politicalmaster General had caused this to be returned to me for want of a better address, I think a technical case might be made out upon the envelope, which I enclose herewith. But as he reported that Oliver Wendell Holmes was unknown in Washington, D. C., the matter may perhaps be worthy of your comment.

RICHARD W. HALE.

Truly, as Mr. Hale declares, the envelope is addressed plainly and is stamped emphatically in red ink "UNKNOWN." The non-delivery may be accounted for upon one of two assumptions: First, that the contents were suspected of being seditious in purport and were consequently returned automatically under the Espionage Act, or, secondly, that it was handled by the Postmaster General in *persona grata*. . . . We have forwarded the communication in a fresh envelope addressed with great particularity in disguised handwriting and hope for the best.

Coal

THE burden of proof of lack of responsibility for shortage in coal seems to have shifted again from Dr. Garfield to Director General McAdoo. Such, at any rate, appears to be the plain inference of the United States Geological Survey, which reports that the production of coal from January 1 to August 24, inclusive, totalled 384,000,000 tons; that the mines that produced this coal were capable of producing 522,000,000 tons under full time output; and that the losses were occasioned as follows:

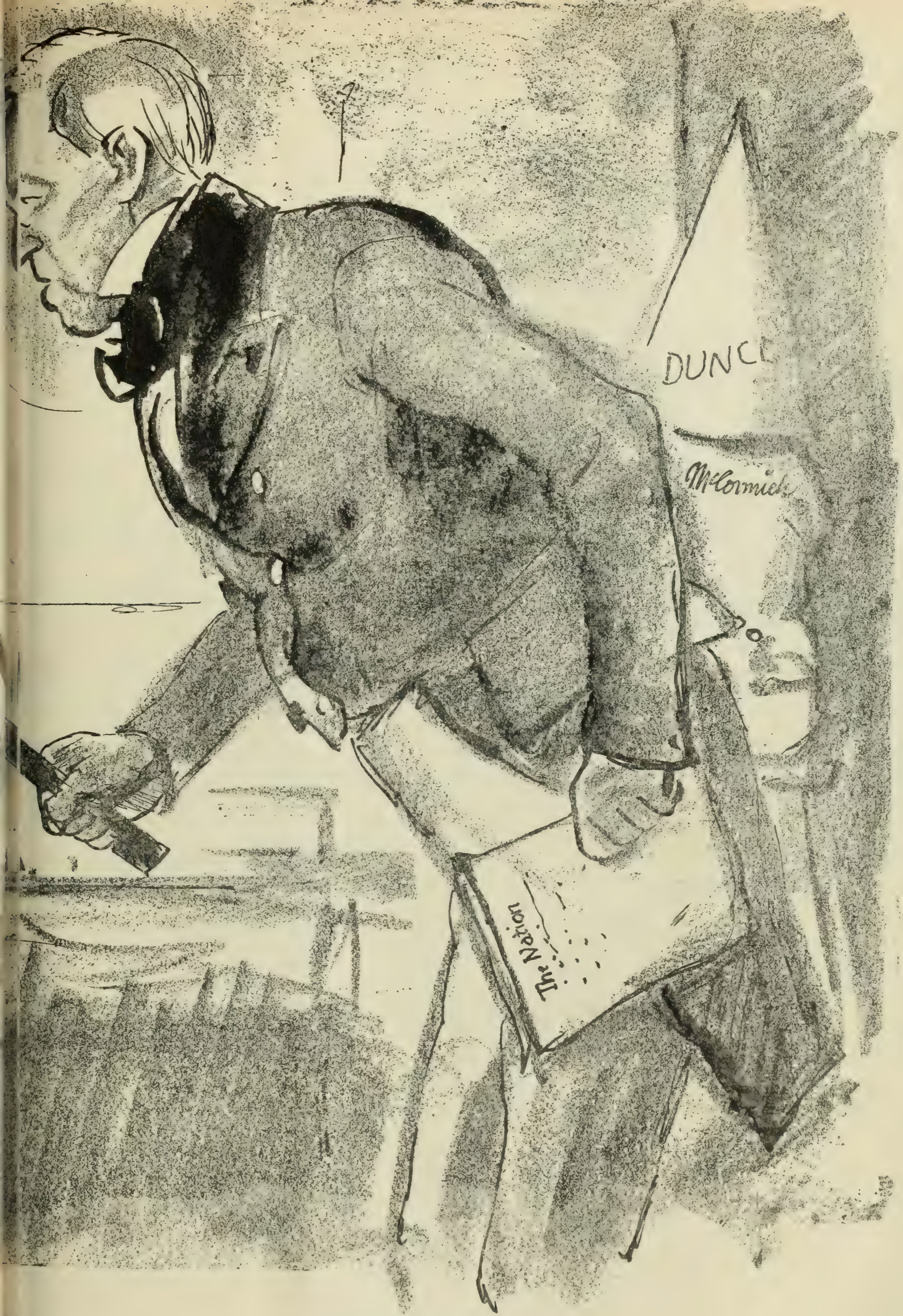
Because of car shortage.....	82,000,000 tons
Because of labor shortage and strikes.....	22,750,000 tons
Because of mechanical disabilities.....	19,750,000 tons
Because of no market.....	4,000,000 tons
Because of other causes.....	9,500,000 tons

Surely this is not a good showing for the railroad management. Neither is the specific situation in the Kanawha district, as depicted by Chairman Thomas in a telegram of August 23 addressed to the Director General, to which we take the liberty of calling Mr. McAdoo's personal attention.

What with selling billions of bonds, drawing huge revenue bills and struggling with financiers of the Kitchin stripe, Mr. McAdoo has much to do, too much to our mind; but that is no fault of the people who are not likely to shiver through another winter without execrating somebody for delinquencies which ought not to be.



In the Cla



DUNC

McCormick

The Nation

Foom

The Week

WASHINGTON, October 10, 1918.

THE first thought aroused by the week's news is one of exultation; a triple exultation. One ground is, that the right is to triumph and that the would-be destroyer of all that makes the world worth living in is itself to be destroyed. International law is to be vindicated. Treaties are to be something more than scraps of paper. The rights of nations are to be vindicated. The world is to be made safe for democracy. That is the meaning of the week's news, and that is the supreme ground for exultation and thanksgiving. The second ground is that the awful burden and scourge which men call war is approaching within measurable distance of its abatement. It will cost us much more, in treasure and in life; but the end has begun. And the third ground for exultation, marked with a degree of national pride, is that we ourselves, the United States of America, have had a large part in achieving this consummation. The brunt of the war has been borne by our Allies, but it was our participation in it that turned the scale.

The second thought, which must run *pari passu* with the first, is that of caution. Said Browning, "My first thought was, he lied in every word." That might well have been our first thought in this case. Or, to paraphrase the words of a very wise man of old, *Timeo Teutones, et pacem ferentes*. It is so characteristic of the Hohenzollern Huns to lie, and there would be so much to gain by lying now, if only the lies could prevail. Observe: We are engaged in raising a gigantic Liberty Loan. Now if only by a tremendous peace drive the Huns could delude Americans into thinking that there was no need of raising all that money, and thus could make the loan a failure through popular apathy, it would be a tremendous triumph for "Kultur." Again, we are just entering upon the most gigantic conscription ever undertaken by a nation. If we could be fooled into postponing it, or at least delaying our plans, it would be a great gain for the Huns.

The obvious moral is, then, that not only in spite of but also because of this peace drive of the Huns we should redouble our zeal in purchasing bonds for the Liberty Loan, and in speeding up the conscription. We shall need the money and we shall need the men, no matter what the character of the peace drive may really be. If it is sincere, it does not yet bring peace so near that we can afford to slacken our efforts for victory. If it is not sincere, we need the money and the men for the continued prosecution of the war.

From the Hunnish point of view the peace drive is most timely. Foch has been pressing the Boches so hard all along the line that they have had no breathing space for weeks. A respite, even though brief, would be of immense value to them; particularly if it came in the form of an armistice, in which the Allies would scrupulously observe the prohibition against military movements, while the Huns, with their habitual treachery, would "improve the opportunity" to better their situation and to prepare themselves for stiffer action. Then, too, there is the German loan, which is contemporaneous with ours, and which is said to be lagging almost hopelessly. The prospect of a German peace might stimulate it and make it a success.

There need be little wonderment or doubt as to the Kaiser's motive in directing his camouflaged Chancellor to make this extraordinary peace drive. It was a double motive: To "save his face", and a counsel of despair. In respect to the former: If by any possibility America should give a favorable response,—in the phrase of the street, should "fall for" his drive, and should make peace without an invasion of Germany, he would be able to boast to the people that while he had been defeated in his invasion and attempted conquest of foreign lands, he had defended the Fatherland against a world in arms and had protected it from the actual ravages of war; and that would so mollify them that they would permit him to retain his throne. On the other hand, if the American reply were unfavorable, as he must have anticipated it would be, he would at any rate be no worse off. So much for his desire to "save his face."

As a counsel of despair, his motive was perhaps equally strong. If the drive was favorably received, Germany would be saved from invasion and the resultant peace would be largely a German peace. If it was rejected, he would have the strongest conceivable plea with which to rally the Germans to a final desperate effort for defensive warfare. He could say to them: "I have greatly enriched the Fatherland with the loot of invaded lands. And now I have sincerely tried to make peace, even offering to do so on our enemies' own terms. But they would not do it. They have repudiated their own terms and principles in their passion for destroying us. Now let us rally as one man to defend ourselves and the Fatherland against a hostile world."

We can imagine that such a plea would have a strong effect; and we expect that precisely that plea will be made, and as a result there will be a revival of German morale for a defensive war on or near the German frontier. The line may be drawn from Antwerp through Brussels to Namur and thence up the Meuse to the French frontier, and so to Metz, and Strasburg. That would be a strong line, strategically. Yet—*absit omen!*—it passes through Sedan.

There is much exulting and explaining in Administration circles over the debacle of Bulgaria without this country's having declared war against her; and we are told with preternatural solemnity that that was just what the President was driving at from the first, and that it was just because we had not declared war against her that Bulgaria surrendered; which is quite as clear as mud, or at least pea soup. However, the fact that our Allies have walloped Bulgaria into unconditional surrender without our aid does not in the least debar us from now going in and helping them with the vastly greater job to which this achievement opens the way. That is, to strike the Central Powers in their most vulnerable southeastern flank. While the armistice with Bulgaria prevails the Allies, ourselves included, have the free use of her territory and transport facilities for an advance into Wallachia for the redemption of Roumania and the cutting off of all supplies for the Huns from that country and, by way of it, from the Ukraine provinces of Russia. That would be a tremendous blow to the Huns. Then, partly by way of Bulgaria and Wallachia and partly through Serbia, Allied forces could be poured into the great plains of Southern Hungary, watered by the Drave, the Danube and the Theiss. Those plains are one of the chief granaries of Europe, and the loss of their supplies would wreak irretrievable woe upon

the Central Powers. The effect of such a movement in rousing the Slavs of Bosnia, Slavonia and Croatia against their German despots would also doubtless be very great. And from those plains to Budapest and Vienna is not nearly as far as from the Rhine to Berlin.

We must believe, therefore, that it would be the wisest of strategy while not in the least relaxing our pressure on the western front to drive with tremendous force up from the southeast. The other Allies are hot for it; Italy especially, she realizing that the easiest way to regain Italia Irredenta is to turn the flank through Bosnia and Croatia. They await only our participation, and that we are now able to give. Hitherto we have not been able to participate in the Balkan war, because we were at peace with Bulgaria. But now that obstacle is removed and the way is open for us to go in.

Signs simply multiply that the Huns are abandoning the Belgian coast. They are reported to have burned the wharves and warehouses at Bruges and to have destroyed their buildings at Knocke, to have stopped all work at Zeebrugge, to have withdrawn their garrison from Moerkerke, and to have removed their stores from Ghent. This looks like a retirement to the Antwerp-Brussels-Namur line. If so, the greatest gain for the Allies in the whole war will have been achieved. All that has been gained elsewhere, and it is very great, will seem insignificant compared with the redemption of the Belgian coast. That will immensely facilitate our intercourse with Belgium and with the northwestern seat of war, and it will be the beginning of the end of the U-boat campaign. The nearest U-boat base to the Channel and English coast will then be hundreds of miles further away, at the mouth of the Ems.

The German retreat in Champagne as elsewhere is marked with wholesale burning and other destruction of towns and all property that cannot be stolen and carried away as loot. There is, of course, not the slightest military necessity for such vandalism, nor any warrant for it in international law. It is sheer criminality, done through malevolence and spite, and should be thus regarded and dealt with. Indemnity or reprisals should be the inexorable order of the day. Either we should exact from Germany full cash payment for every place thus destroyed, even to the extent of "bleeding her white", or we should retaliate by destroying an equal amount of German property. In advocating that policy we are not proposing to place ourselves on the level of the Huns. We would not steal spoons and tapestries, as the Crown Prince and his thievish followers have done. We would not ravish German women nor bayonet German babies in their cradles nor massacre German civilians, as German troops have done wholesale, both voluntarily and under orders from the All Highest, in Belgium and France. But for every French or Belgian town wantonly destroyed we would take a German town, remove the inhabitants, and then, with the deliberation and gravity of the execution of a judicial sentence, commit the place to consuming flames. That would not be savagery. That would not be revenge. That would be justice.

In every peace drive, Germany insinuates something about getting her colonies returned to her. We are unalterably

opposed to letting her have a single rood of any of them, for many reasons. Two may be specified. One is, that Germany has never administered a single colony with so much as ordinary decency. She has robbed and enslaved the men and outraged the native women and exploited the country for her own selfish gain without the least regard to the welfare of the people. We do not think, therefore, that they should be put back beneath her barbarous yoke. The other is, that it will be physically impossible for Germany to pay anything like the indemnity which she ought to pay for the damage she has done in Europe, and that, therefore, her colonies ought to be sequestered as a part of the indemnity which is to be exacted from her.

The President is said to be somewhat worried and anxious over excessive optimism in this country. Perhaps he has ground for such feelings. It would certainly be disastrous for the American people to get into their heads the notion that the war is "all over except the shouting" and that therefore all our efforts may be relaxed. In combating such an error we assure the President of our earnest co-operation; as witness the correspondent who the other day credited us with "stimulating pessimism."

If the Hun wants to talk peace, let him talk while he is running. We can say all we want to say to him while we are charging bayonets at the double quick.

The West Coast of the United States has now completed its first million tons of shipping, pretty nearly equalling the record of the Atlantic, Gulf and Lake coasts all put together. There is a reason for this supremacy of the Pacific shipyards. They can devote themselves and all the constructive energy of that region to the task of building, unhampered by the gigantic tasks of transportation which weigh so heavily upon the eastern ports. Still, we should like to see the Atlantic ports do as well as the Pacific, and we shall be disappointed if they do not do so with the next million tons.

It is outrageous that the influenza plague was permitted to gain such headway. At its very first appearance strenuous measures should have been employed for its suppression. The country would have backed the Administration in anything needed for that purpose. As it is, we can only hope for an early turning of the tide, and let us hope that no hot gossip in the Administration ranks will attempt to prove that it was a part of an ineffably wise policy, conceived by the President, to let the plague rage for a time.

When *Vorwaerts* called upon Ambassador Francis to withdraw from Russia and Uncle David remarked inquiringly that he was from Missouri, not a German soul knew what he meant.

Germany plunged the world into war when she was ready for it. We shall restore peace when we are ready for it.

As we were saying, On to Berlin!

The Creel's True Mission

"George, criticism of the Committee on Public Information must cease. If this cruel persecution of you and your committee does not stop, I will take the matter in hand and make myself your own lawyer."

This statement was made recently by President Wilson to George Creel, according to Mr. Creel, and the President made good his assurance, for not only did he advise members of Congress who demurred at appropriating further funds for its maintenance that the Committee was essential to the successful prosecution of the war, but he added: "I have had very close personal connections with the work of the Committee and have watched its development and activities with particular care, feeling a special responsibility." On the President's insistence Congress appropriated \$1,250,000 for the continuation of the Committee's work, and he is still, no doubt, watching its work "with particular care."

The Committee has come in for much abuse. The American Newspaper Publishers' Association has reviled it and demanded the elimination of its "incompetent and disloyal" head, and the creel has himself testified to the fact that the newspapers refuse to print much of the misleading and even false "news" which emanates from it, saying: "The fundamentally important news of the war for the enlightenment of Americans [referring to the matter issued by his committee] has been available, but not one paper in a hundred has had the brains to print it."

All this is most unjust. The creel and his committee are doing efficient work, and should be commended for their assiduity, even though the over-scrupulous may condemn them for their mendacity. The fact is that the creel and his committee are sadly misunderstood. Neither editors nor public have understood their purpose, have apprehended their function, nor grasped the herculean task which confronts them, for it is their mission to mould public opinion and to shape history.

President Wilson's declaration that the American people is "too proud to fight" must be blotted out by his laudable declaration in favor of "Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit." Mr. Wilson's message to Congress, delivered after Belgium had been ravished and the European nations were fighting our battle, that he refused to be disturbed by "the hysteria for preparedness," must be forgotten in the light of his prompt and forceful rejection of the Austrian peace proposal. His advocacy of a "peace without annexations and without indemnities" must be obscured by the strong white light of the magnificent, the actually spiritual, pronouncements with which he opened the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign. The loss of American (to say nothing of Allied) lives which has resulted from the year wasted in playing politics with the Shipping Board and the collapse of the aeroplane programme must be erased by the achievements of Pershing. The disgraceful treatment of Leonard Wood and Theodore Roosevelt must be concealed behind the glorious records of the American soldiers in Picardy and Flanders and the Champagne. And finally, the halting, balking, unreasoning pacifism which constituted the chief characteristic of the earlier days of the Wilson Administration must be made to resemble the patient statesmanship of Lincoln, even though that involves maligning the American people with the calumny that while their President was eager and anxious to plunge into the fray, to fight for

the principles of democracy "when right was fighting against wrong," he dared not move until the American people were "enlightened" regarding the real issues of the war and converted to the necessity of employing force.

The lesson which it is the duty of Mr. Creel and his committee to inculcate in the minds of the voters of this generation and of the historians of the next is clearly and succinctly stated in an editorial in the newspaper owned by Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy. Says the Daniels organ:

Had we declared war in 1915 we would have done so with a people utterly unprepared for war. America might have gone all to pieces with a declaration at that time. But by waiting we have succeeded in making a successful entrance into the war—a nation united, the people morally reassured that our cause is just, and everybody, everything, every institution working to win.

The conception entertained by those benighted among us, of Woodrow Wilson lagging far behind popular sentiment until the patience of the American people was well-nigh exhausted, of his entering the war only because he could no longer stem the tide of popular indignation—and then rushing to the head of the procession and seeking to create the impression that he had been there all the time—that must be corrected. In a word, the conviction of those among us who see in Mr. Wilson an opportunist of the first magnitude must be dispelled by the hallucination that he is a statesman of like proportions, and this is the task of the creel and his committee. Who shall say that it is not a stupendous one? Who shall deny that he is not laboring valiantly, and almost effectively, to achieve that end?

Something has been accomplished, of course, but how little in comparison to what would have been accomplished had the administration taken Colonel Harvey's advice, and especially if Secretary Baker had been cast into outer darkness as temperamentally unfit for his high office!—*Birmingham Age-Herald*.

Bitter truth in patent sarcasm!

Mr. Lawrence Explains

MR. DAVID LAWRENCE, the versatile Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, objects to a statement in this journal of September 14 to the effect that, when he set forth to examine the various airplane factories some time ago, he "bore a letter from Colonel E. A. Deeds, which proved an open sesame to all aircraft doors." He had no letter, he informs us, to anybody in Dayton, but went on the invitation of a personal friend. While in Dayton, however, he happened to meet Colonel Deeds and obtained from him a letter to somebody in Buffalo, which as it happened he did not present, as the person to whom it was addressed was absent. When he reached Elizabeth, some doubt was expressed as to whether he was really David Lawrence and he exhibited the letter written by Colonel Deeds to somebody in Buffalo for purposes of identification, but Mr. Mingle, in charge, declined to furnish any information without instructions from Washington, as stated in the article referred to. Mr. Lawrence tried to obtain the requisite authority by telephone from Mr. Ryan, but the request evoked an unfavorable response from someone in Mr. Ryan's outer office, whose name Mr. Lawrence was unable to obtain. From Elizabeth Mr. Lawrence proceeded to Detroit. We make these corrections most willingly, in the interest of accuracy and in furtherance of whatever purpose of exculpation of either himself or Colonel Deeds Mr. Lawrence may have in mind.

The Back Door Ajar

PROFESSOR ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, of Harvard University, argues with much force, in an article in the *New York Times*, in favor of the speedy landing of an American army in the Balkans. The technicality that we are not at war with Bulgaria is eliminated with the elimination of Bulgaria herself as a combatant. Her territory is open to our peaceful penetration. America is the one country of the Western Allies about whose disinterestedness in the Balkans there could be not even the remotest suspicion. Our interest there would be absolutely identified with the best interests of the various Balkan national groups. Our advent, Professor Hart believes, would be welcomed by Herzegovinians, Bosnians, Dalmatians, Roumanians, Greeks, the Bulgarian population—by all the heterogeneous peoples who occupy the territory from the Danube to the Aegean. And it is from personal knowledge of these peoples and of the territories they occupy that Professor Hart speaks. He knows the country well. He was actually present in Sofia at the outbreak of the second Balkan war in 1913. He believes that Allied armies, with a large contingent of Americans, would find the peoples of all the different nations concerned rallying to their support. He would have a strong offensive and defensive line quickly created along the Danube. Then there would be nobody on guard at the back door of the war save the harassed and more or less demoralized Austrian forces. Their presence would mean the evacuation of the portion of Venetia they occupy. It would mean another Italian invasion from that quarter. It would mean such changes in the Polish and South Russian situation as would cancel all Germany's hopes of recruiting her diminished man power from that quarter. No danger of German armies coming to the rescue. Events on the Western front are now and are destined in the future to be of a nature to engage the full Hun attention to the last man she can put in front of Foch's lightning-change attacks and steady steam-roller advance.

That the collapse of Austria-Hungary under such conditions would not be long delayed is more than probable. The Turk would soon go down, once the railroad link between him and Berlin were definitely severed and an army were threatening Constantinople from the north, while the British Mesopotamia and Palestine armies were squeezing him from the south. With Austria, the Balkans and Turkey gone, the Hun would stand alone in his brute beastliness to be dealt with, not at a peace conference chicanery table, but by victorious armies on the Hun's own soil.

The back door of the war is widely ajar. It needs only quick, strong action to smash it wide open. American forces, Professor Hart argues, could be soon on the scene. The way through Saloniki is open. Soon a shorter route across Italy and the Adriatic into Albania would be available. It is the short cut to the Hun's rear, and with Foch's armies thundering on his Western front, who shall say that midsummer of next year will not see the Beast of Berlin cornered?

Mr. Grasty cables to the *Times*:

PARIS, September 18.

After spending several days at aviation headquarters of the American front, John D. Ryan is back in Paris, working with the British and French on aviation plans. He and Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill spent yesterday together and there is close co-ordination

between them and the French. Ryan's effort is in the direction of pooling resources and getting the greatest possible force to the front in the shortest possible time. Allied representatives are meeting him in the same spirit and they are getting results. Ryan was much pleased with the showing made by the American air service in the recent offensive, which he had the opportunity of observing.

From which it would appear that the President acted promptly and insistently upon the earnest appeal of this journal of August 31. Looking to next Summer's operations, it is the best news yet.

From the very first number of the WAR WEEKLY published on January 5:

Old Clo' is unobtrusive. As a war baby it does not make a noise like steel. Failure to buy wool when it was available not only cost the country \$150,000,000, but created an opportunity for Old Clo'. This opportunity was improved by Secretary Baker's singular arrangement which made an outsider, perhaps an old clo' man himself, quartermaster general of the Army. So completely was this the case that Mr. Eisenman dealt through Col. Zalinsky or Col. Hirsch, of the Quartermaster's Bureau and only copies of executed contracts came to Quartermaster General Sharpe. The part the old clo' man played in uniforming the army sounds like fiction, but it was fact. Perhaps that part was philanthropy.

Nine months later—i. e., on October 15—Col. Hirsch was arrested on an indictment charging "conspiracy to defraud the Government by passing defective garments intended for American soldiers in France." Slowly, indeed, grind the mills of the tin-gods of this Administration.

Incidentally, at this very moment, 2,500,000 uniforms for American soldiers fighting in France are being manufactured in England, under the very eyes of the traveling Secretary of War who is responsible for the whole business.

The public knows that a large number of the so-called great papers have entered into an agreement to ignore Mr. Bryan as far as possible and avoid giving publicity to the work he is doing.

So says the Clay Centre *Economist* [sic], and we infer from the republication of the remark in the *Commoner* that Brother Bryan feels aggrieved thereat. Incidentally the *Sun*, tacitly assuming to be one of the so-called great papers, solemnly denies the hard impeachment. But what is "the work he is doing"? That is what we should like to know. Talking for gate receipts, we suppose. Even so, if the *Economist* will paint the picture, we will print it; the Capitalist Press may be cowed, but we are not afraid,—not yet.

We suppose the *Sun* realizes that the country cannot "Get Rid of Kitchin" without getting rid of a Democratic Congress. Can that be what it really means? Hey, Burleson!

It was a noteworthy circumstance that Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, speaking for the Liberty Loan from the steps of the Sub-Treasury, should have been the one to remark upon the tendency of rats to desert a sinking ship.

What has become of Duncie McCormick?

THE PRESIDENT CONFIDENT—FEELS THE NATION IS BEHIND HIM.—"*Times*" headline.

A mistake! No need to look back! Eyes front! The country is ahead of him and has been for a long time.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER—THE ONLY WAY—GOD WILLS—MAKE IT SO—VITE, VITE!

—NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for August, 1917.

As it was then, is now, and ever shall be. Amen!

Hungarians Not Huns

COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI'S address to his constituents may have no immediate effect upon the troubled politics of the Dual Realm, but it must be regarded as indicative of a highly important sentiment in the Transleithan kingdom, and as significant of what may happen when an internal as well as external readjustment of affairs comes at the end of the war. Briefly stated, this leader of the Hungarian Independent Party repudiates all hope of military victory in the war, renounces imperialism in favor of democracy, condemns the German alliance and the Mitteleuropa scheme, and advocates seeking peace on the basis of President Wilson's proposals.

That he should take this ground is not surprising. He and his followers are true Magyars, inheritors of the spirit and the ideals of Kossuth. That means that they are implacably hostile to Austria and to the German connection to which Austria is now subservient. The fundamental principle of their political creed and programme is, that Hungary should be made entirely independent of her mongrel German partner, either under a constitutional king of her own or as a republic. Hitherto that aspiration has generally been regarded as visionary. But in the event of the impending defeat of the Central Powers in the war, it may well gain formidable and indeed triumphant strength. An Austria which, because of its German alliance, has been beaten, and compelled to relinquish its Italian, Bohemian and Polish provinces, will scarcely be able to hold Hungary to the union, or to inspire in any considerable portion of the Hungarian people a desire or a willingness for that union's maintenance.

It will be observed that President Wilson's programme of peace, which this Magyar leader recommends for acceptance, at least as a basis for negotiations, very clearly prescribes the self-determination of the various peoples now comprised in the Dual Realm. If then the Italians are to be free to return to Italy, and if the Poles and the Czechs are to regain their independence at will, Hungary must be permitted without demur to resume her independent status. We do not say that we should intervene to compel such an arrangement, but we certainly should regard it with favor and in the prescription of terms of peace should doubtless sanction Hungary's demand for it. Of all the lands and peoples comprised in the Teutonic alliance, Hungary and the Magyars most strongly appeal to American sympathy. We have not forgotten Kossuth, nor Webster's famous Huelsemann letter, some parts of which, by the way, would make good reading at the present time. We have regretted to see the Magyars dragged as subjects at the wheels of the Hohenzollern war chariot, and though they are now our enemies and must be treated as such throughout the war, we cannot help wishing them well, and especially wishing them rid of their incongruous Teutonic connection.

The Hungarians, we must remember, are not Huns. There is no indication that they have any relationship whatever to the followers of Attila, or to any of the three other peoples who have been known as Huns. Indeed, it is most probable that they are not thus related. The only European people who do seem to be descended, at least in part, from Attila's horde, are the Bulgars; and they show it. We mean, of course, physical descent and relationship. Spiritually, the direct descendants of Attila and his Huns are William the

Damned and his Germans. It was he who named one of his sons after Attila, and it was he who exhorted his troops to conduct themselves in war with all the ruthless savagery of the Huns. Whatever they may be ethnologically, the Germans are the true Huns of to-day; and with them the Hungarians have nothing in common, save an artificial alliance. It will be one of the welcome results of this war, that Hungary will be released from that German bondage and will be restored to her independent place among the nations of the world.

Lord Northcliffe forgets that German soldiers are neither negroes, Hindus, illiterate French or Americans incapable of seeing through such machinations.—*General von Hutier*.

No, indeed; they are "kamerads."

Prohibition and Drugs

WHILE the hot-gospellers of Prohibition are so zealously endeavoring to fasten their favorite fad upon the nation under the insincere guise of alleged war necessity, there seems to be an urgent need of paying attention to another most ominous development which we must regard as somewhat closely related to Prohibition. We refer to the use of narcotic drugs, which is making appalling ravages in the manhood of the nation, causing the dismissal of thousands from the army camps, and claiming in the whole nation probably a million and a half victims.

The significant feature of the case is that this hideous vice has been developed chiefly in recent years, in the face of notably stringent laws for its prevention. Many proprietary medicines containing narcotics have been barred from sale. We have in mind one admirable preparation, recognized and prescribed by the best physicians, which contained so minute a quantity of opium that in a whole bottle, containing a hundred doses, there was less than one-quarter of a full dose of that drug. Yet because of that tiny admixture, the preparation had to be retired from general sale. So strict has the law been for years; and yet at the same time the use of drugs has been increasing by leaps and bounds.

It will not escape notice, either, that this growth of the various drug habits has proceeded almost *pari passu* with the extension of Prohibition. And that is quite in accord with historical precedent. For example: China many years ago was greatly addicted to alcoholic drinks. It was notorious, in its own literature, as a drunken nation. Matters became so bad that for relief a strict prohibition law was promulgated; and was enforced with Chinese thoroughness. What happened? The Chinese abandoned alcohol and became a nation of opium-smokers and eaters. A few years ago, stringent action was taken against opium, whereupon the use of alcoholic drinks was resumed. Again: Mohammedans generally are abstainers from alcoholic drinks; but they are very widely given to the use of opium, hashish, bhang, and other narcotic drugs. It seems to be a pretty general rule of mankind, that some drug habit will be practised. Suppress one, and another takes its place.

We are glad that an official committee has been constituted at Washington to investigate the matter. There is need of investigation, and of action. A million and a half drug addicts in this country is a dreadful record. And we hope that the investigators will specially consider the extent

to which narcotic drugs are being used in place of alcoholic drinks. We notice in an official report, probably, however, incomplete, that the Prohibition State of Kansas is charged with having more drug-fiends than the very much larger State of Illinois. We should like to know whether the rule thus suggested holds good, and if drug-users are more numerous where liquor is banned than elsewhere. It would obviously be an unprofitable thing to exchange wine and beer for morphine and cocaine, and if such an exchange is being made, we must regard it as specially incumbent upon the advocates of Prohibition to prescribe and to apply an effective remedy.

We Need Chinese Labor

MR. C. A. OTIS, head of the Conservation and Resources Bureau of the War Industries Board, said at Syracuse recently that the Board was considering the propriety of importing 2,000,000 Chinese coolies to meet the rapidly increasing scarcity of labor here. A Washington despatch of the same date said very emphatically that the War Industries Board had never so much as thought of importing Chinese laborers, no matter how short the labor supply might become.

The divergence between the Otis and the Industries Board statements, as quoted in the news despatches, is not necessarily of much importance. What is regrettable is that apparently we are not going to be able to get Chinese laborers here now when their services would be so valuable, and when they would release just so much other muscle for more direct application to the task of winning the war. France has imported thousands of Chinese for this purpose and their services have been, and still are, invaluable. If French labor organizations have resented the presence of the celestials, they have been patriotic enough to smother their hostility to the Government's course and to postpone action or even consideration of the labor question involved until after the war. Whether our own labor leaders and the American Federation of Labor would just now be equally broad-minded in their patriotism is another matter. At present the indications are that they would strongly oppose any such action on the ground of the effect the presence of the Orientals might have on labor conditions when the war is over. They insist now that the Chinese Exclusion Act in itself would automatically block any plan for using coolies in this country.

In the exigencies of the war neither of these objections should be insurmountable. We have gone over the top of worse barriers than the Chinese Exclusion Act by giving desirable ends the prestige of being "war measures," and it would seem that importation regulations as regards the Chinamen might be so linked up with provisions as to their exportation after the war as ultimately to meet the objections of the labor organizations and their leaders. We need the Chinese labor. We need it now. We are going to go on needing it more and more with every week and month that the war is prolonged. He who, in the glamour of recent victories, believes the war is going to end this winter is feeding himself with delusions. He who believes it will end next year is optimistic. He who believes 1920 will see the end of the horror and the end of the horrible Hun is not far

away from the conviction of those persons both here and abroad whose mental poise and information should carry confidence in the soundness of their judgment.

And if labor scarcity is a serious problem now, what will it be next year and the year after? Shades of the late Denis Kearney to the contrary notwithstanding, it is a safe guess that long before 1919 ends there will be Chinese laborers here by the thousands, and that even a revival of the flaming oratory of the San Francisco sand lots will not suffice to stay the tide.

"Tell the Secretary," said Admiral Rodman to Senator Thompson, "we have everything we need over here and that everything is running perfectly smooth, and for God's sake let us alone!"

No more eloquent commentary on the administration of the Navy Department has been made than is contained in the last six words.—*Philadelphia Ledger*.

Indeed, yes; the unimaginable self-effacement of Josephus is his crowning glory. May the Admiral's hope as to the future be realized!

Now the President slaps the Politicalmaster General a second time by ordering restoration of the mail service, such as it is, to Miss Jane Addams's *World Tomorrow*. Quite right! We think as little of Miss Jane's doctrines as of the *Nation's*, but she is no less entitled to have her say about things.

If Mr. Hoover could enforce the old-time Yankee maxim, "Clean your plate," he would conserve more food than by all of his orders, regulations and importunities combined.

On my calendar in Washington there is recorded an engagement, no date yet set, to go with the Marine Band when it marches in the triumphal entry of General Pershing's victorious army into Berlin.—*Secretary Daniels*.

Cap and all; may we be there to see!

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of North American Review's War Weekly, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1918.

State of New York, County of New York, ss. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared George M. Gottfried, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the North American Review's War Weekly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, North American Review Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Editor, George Harvey, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, none; Business Manager, George M. Gottfried, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is George Harvey, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

(Signed) GEORGE M. GOTTFRIED,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1918.
(Seal)

HERBERT E. BOWEN,
Notary Public, Kings Co., N. Y.
Certificate filed in N. Y. Co. No. 420. (My commission expires March 30, 1919.)

Letters From Our Readers

MR. BAKER AND PREPAREDNESS

SIR,—As one of your old subscribers, I venture to inquire if you can tell me where I can find any biography, or biographical sketch of Newton D. Baker, present Secretary of War? It has been repeatedly stated that he was an opponent of "Preparedness", and that, while Mayor of Cleveland, he actually refused a permit for the Preparedness Day Parade. Are these statements correct, and can you refer me to any authority for their verification? Any information you can give me on the subject will be much appreciated.

GORDON BLANDING.

Belvedere, California.

[We are not aware of the existence of any comprehensive biography, but we have one in contemplation. Field Secretary William B. Brewster reported to the Security League in 1915 that he "called on Mayor Newton D. Baker and asked him to co-operate in organizing the sentiment of preparedness in Cleveland and he refused absolutely because he said he was a Pacifist and was opposed to the agitation for Preparedness."—EDITOR.]

1912 AND 1916

SIR,—In order to settle a dispute, will you kindly answer the following question? Did or did you not support Woodrow Wilson in the last Presidential campaign?

Memphis.

HARVEY HOGG.

[The Presidential campaign of 1916 was not the last unless, of course, something quite extraordinary should happen before November, 1920. We assume, however, that it is the one in mind. We are thus meticulous, owing to a certain confusion in recollection of the two occasions upon which the people laid helping hands upon Mr. Wilson. In 1912, we recall distinctly, we strove earnestly to accelerate the movement in his direction, but in 1916, unless our memory is quite at fault, our attitude was more judicial, certainly less ardent, than in the campaign previous. The results, however, were in all respects identical.—EDITOR.]

WHOLLY PROBABLE

SIR,—I usually read and appreciate, even if I have to follow sometimes at a respectful distance, every word in the WAR WEEKLY, but I can't even keep you in sight when, in the issue of September 7th ("Lafayette! We Are Here") you say: "There is no fantasy, no exaggeration in saying that if it had not been for that repulse [at the Marne in 1914] our shores would probably, by this time, have been invaded by the Huns, and American States would have shared the fate of Belgium and Picardy."

Now, I have no doubt that Germany, when the time was ripe, would attempt to invade our country, but can you *seriously* say that she would have succeeded *ere this* if she had beaten France in 1914? Do you mean to say that the German fleet, that has not dared to come forth, even tentatively, since the battle off Jutland, would have come forth and utterly defeated the British fleet? Kindly explain.

I shall greatly appreciate a reply.
Media, Pa.

W. C. JOSLIN.

[We regard it as wholly probable that, if Germany had conquered France four years ago, simultaneously annihilating the small English army and gaining possession of the Channel ports and the French navy, she would have defeated England and been thundering at the gateways of unprepared America long before this.—EDITOR.]

CONCURRENCE

SIR,—On one or two occasions I have found it necessary to lodge a mental dissent to some of your published statements, which I am sure would have grieved you very much had you known about it. Against these dissents, however, is my general concurrence in all that you have written, and in this statement I feel that I am flattering myself. More power to you and your pen, and as a further evidence of my appreciation I am enclosing herewith my check covering the renewal of my subscription to the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and the WAR WEEKLY.

Wilkes-Barre.

E. F. HELLER.

A COMPLIMENT FROM SIR HUBERT

SIR,—Although it goes against the grain to do so, I am inclosing check to pay for a year's subscription to your two publications.

I am animated in taking this action less by the value I set on your judgment than the opportunities you consistently afford me of disagreement. It is so difficult to find anyone with whom you can disagree these days that it has a relaxing effect upon conversation, so you are providing a tonic and a stimulant (in lieu of other and stronger ones denied us by a heartless law) to that gentle art.

I am with more or less regard,

Cordially and sincerely yours,

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE,
Associate Member and Assistant to the
Chairman of the War Industries Board.

Washington.

["Approbation from Sir Herbert (Hubert, O. S.) is praise indeed."—*From A Cure for the Heartache, act V, scene 2.*—EDITOR.]

LABOR AND SPECIAL PRIVILEGE

SIR,—I must tell you how rejoiced I was to see in the WEEKLY of the 14th what you say about Labor.

We never shall be anything like effective until every man engaged in war work is called into government service with wages fixed and strikes forbidden. We draft the best of our young men at \$1.00 a day and if they were to hint at striking they would be treated as mutineers. Why is labor, for the duration of the war, with its enormous wages and its exemption from danger, entitled to different treatment? The raising of wages proceeds in a vicious circle and in the end benefits nobody. Its chief effect is to put up prices; if wages were fixed, the prices of commodities, to the great benefit of every one, would be stabilized.

Ramapo, N. Y.

H. A. B.

MORE EVIDENCE

SIR,—Here is cumulative evidence from the Boston Herald (editorial) of September 25, 1918:

"I am authorized by the President of the United States to say to you that he stands unreservedly behind Mr. O'Shaunessy's candidacy."—*Congressman Lonergan at the Rhode Island state convention.*
Thus politics adjourn!

In spite of and not because of these things, we are unreservedly behind the President to win the war.

Permit me to express my hearty appreciation of your virile, patriotic editorials in the WAR WEEKLY.

I read it all and always.

Boston, Mass.

ARTHUR W. MACLEAN.

USELESS, APPARENTLY

SIR,—Can you not do something to induce our War Department to provide a button or something else for the men who tried to get in the army or navy and were rejected for some physical defects?

It seems to me common justice requires that such men should have that protection.

Louisville, Ky.

JOHN BOYCE BASKIN.

[We tried long ago—in vain.—EDITOR.]

FROM SENATOR HARDING

SIR,—Responding to your circular letter of September 16th, I am enclosing you herewith my check to cover a subscription for the REVIEW and the WAR WEEKLY.

Please tell Mr. George Harvey that I almost hate a man who fascinates me so much with his writings that I feel I cannot get along without them. The WAR WEEKLY is the greatest luminary that comes into my home.

Washington.

W. G. HARDING.

NOTHING DOING

SIR,—I do so want you to take up the matter of an alliance with England. Mr. Wilson is going to fall for a lot of bunkum on the League of Nations, judging from his academic phrases in his last speech. And a simple alliance is a so much surer, swifter way to start the home-cleaning job! I shall watch eagerly to see if you tackle the matter.

New York.

H. G.

[We are agin it.—EDITOR.]

MORALLY DEFICIENT

SIR,—I note that Hennery says it took a lot of moral courage on Edsel's part to refrain from going into the army. Let us be just to Edsel. He has the moral courage. My sons, 18 and 19, hadn't.

Boston.

H. H.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

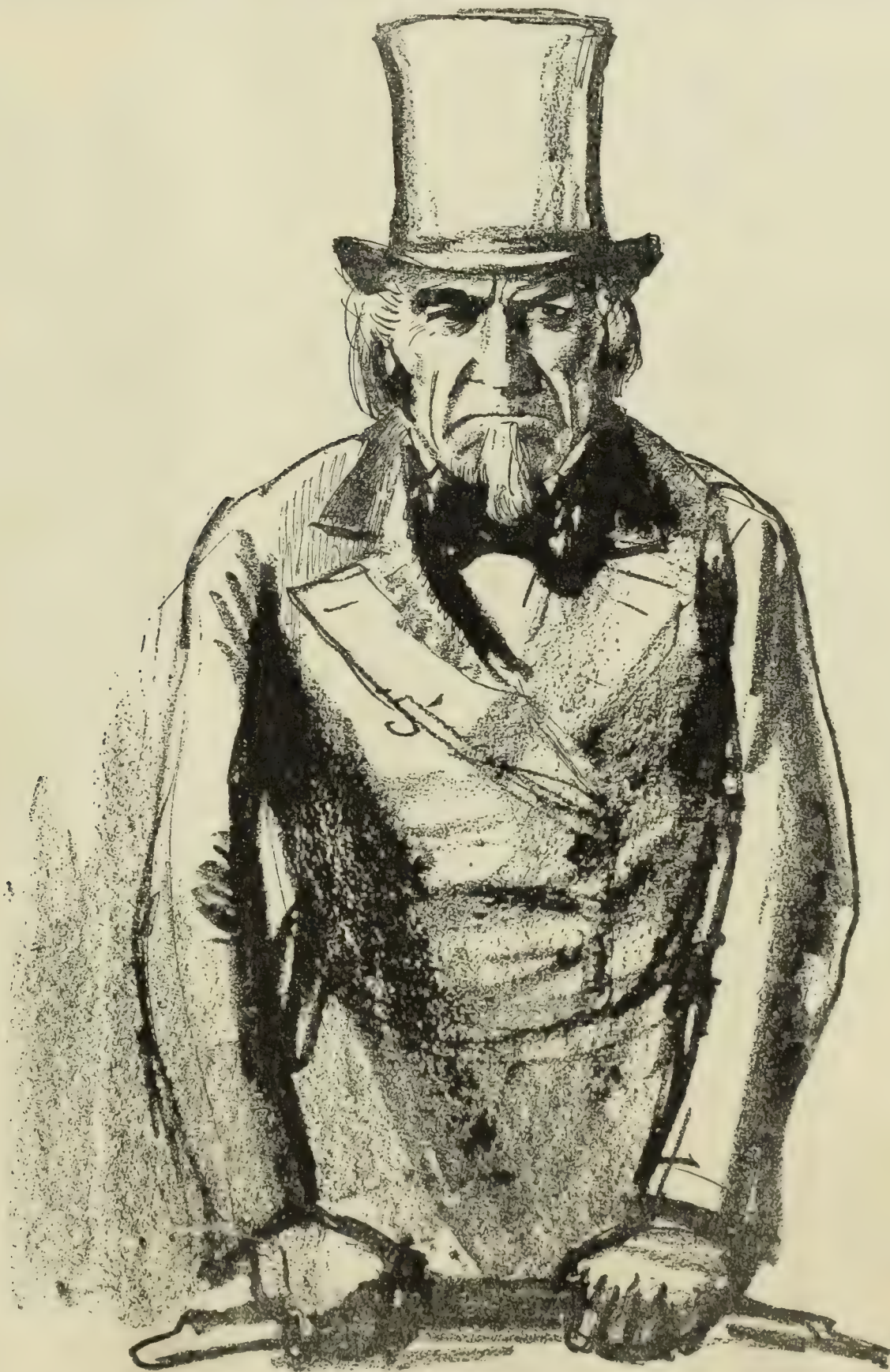
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VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING OCT. 19, 1918

NO. 42



Do YOU Want Negotiated Peace?

"NEGOTIATIONS"

IT was but natural that the President's temporizing response to the impudent request of the German Chancellor that he, a belligerent, undertake virtually as an arbitrator to negotiate a peace, should have chilled the marrow in the bones of those who had been convinced by his previous utterances that he would stand like a rock for a settlement through victory alone. Nobody doubted for a moment what he would say. Nobody could. He had already said it over and over again with all the sternness at his command and, only a fortnight before, had placed the capstone upon his previous pledges by declaring firmly that "we are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the Central Powers."

The reasons were plain. They had shown that they were "without honor," that they did not "intend justice," that they "observed no covenants" and "accepted no principle but force and their own interest." There was no way or use of hoping that we might "come to terms" with them; they had "made it impossible." The door was closed and barred beyond the possibility of recall. Force alone could triumph over force; force should and would; force "without stint or limit." Then, but not till then, peace and justice! That was the ultimatum and it was final.

It could not, then, as we have said, have been other than surprising to the point of amazement that, at the first knock, the door swung back upon its hinges, revealing the President's own hand upon the knob and no more than a questioning look upon his face. We need not recall the mingled astonishment, rage, mortification and dismay which possessed the souls of men that night, the despairing countenances, the drooping heads, the unvarying murmurs, "It is what we have feared all along."

But with the breaking of the dawn came a heartening discovery, so strange as to seem a paradoxical vision and yet quite real and tangible; naught else, in fact, than realization that in that very bitter reflection was to be found the saving clause. After all, it had been anticipated, even though only as a dread possibility; neither at home nor abroad were people wholly unprepared; it was the inevitable that had happened, and as the inevitable it must be met with gallant philosophy; all of the powers of a resourceful people must be brought into play to minimize the direful effects, to reassure our Allies, to stiffen the backs of our soldiers and make them understand that their country was with them heart and soul in their mighty struggle for triumph over evil and in their noble sacrifices for mankind, that if they were to die they were not to die in vain and that their appeal would not fall upon unheeding ears when in agony they should cry:

Take up our quarrel with the foe.
To you from falling hands we throw
The torch. Be yours to bear it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies blow
In Flanders fields.

More prosaically, but no less explicitly and exactly, the *Baltimore Sun*, oddly enough, being one of the unvexing four American journals from which the President derives his

knowledge of public opinion, depicted the actual situation thus:

Probably no one else in the country would have answered the Chancellor in the manner adopted by the President. If the general feeling of the press and other comment on the matter were taken as an indication, the right answer would be simply a hot demand for unconditional surrender. But, now that the thing has been done, every one, we believe, will recognize it as the logical straightforward thing to do.

An accomplished fact, not to be undone; therefore, make the best and the least of it; that was the thought, and to "recognize it as the logical, straightforward thing to do," that was the helpful purpose. How heroically, up to their sundry lights and by their several methods, our great metropolitan journals responded is known of all to whom is given the ability and inclination to read. "Caught in Its Own Trap," was the heading under which, with determinedly feigned exultance, the *World* didactically attempted to demonstrate the adroitness with which the President had inveigled the treacherous enemy into the forbidden council room. The Austrian note had been "clumsy and self-betraying," but the German note had been "cunningly designed" and required shrewd "counter questions" to "shift the whole issue of peace back to the German Government,"—greatly, it was to be presumed, to its discomfiture.

The *Sun*, too, itself a past master of the art of dexterous lingual fencing, voiced its professional admiration of the "subtle dialectic skill" evolved from the President's "capable intellectuals" and rejoiced with unwonted eloquence at the unheralded appearance of something "as incontrovertible in its majestic simplicity as the laws governing the movements of the heavenly bodies, and as beautiful as the American flag." True, the *Sun's* evening brother, with the impetuosity and brutal candor of youth, struck more deeply into the heart of the Message and prayed that, if the outcome should be "a peace by understanding, a peace by negotiations," God might "help our children and our children's children," since that "would mean that they must continue the war perhaps for a century to come," and quoted in savage discordance—

"And Jesus said unto him, No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God."

—but the effect of the morning lesson was unimpaired and instantaneous. From it many earnest zealots of penetrating vision took their cue,—as, for example, the Rev. Dr. George E. Vincent, who demanded from the platform forthwith to know if there lived "anybody fatuous enough" to interpret "that most skillful, that almost Machiavellian document" as "wabbling," and answered for himself a thundering No, though subsequently urging his hearers to prepare themselves for "an answer that will make clear, precise and unmistakable the purpose of the United States."

What the *Times* tried to say we frankly cannot tell. Naturally and expectantly, we turned quickly to it as the Institution peculiarly equipped, by recent experience in the elucidation of an oddly similar proposition of its own, for the resolving of a problem so distinctively psychological, but only

to find ourselves drifting helplessly in a rudderless boat down a turgid stream of many words.

The truth is that, barring the *Staats Zeitung*, which cautiously breathed encouragement, and the *Tribune*, which carefully measured its words, the obdurate *Herald* was the only morning newspaper published in New York that said what it really thought,—thus presenting, as we have intimated, the most remarkable exhibition of team-play in artful cozenage of a credulous populace in a trying cause recorded in the annals of American journalism.

Strange sounds betokening discomfort, if not indeed positive distress, began to echo from Washington. There was no occasion for disquiet, to be sure; certainly not. One cause of grave apprehension was removed at once by the official assurance that "so far as could be learned, members of the Cabinet were a unit in approving the reply to Germany, several regarding it as a masterstroke." Inasmuch as they had not been consulted and consequently were able to approach the subject with open vacuums, this commendation was regarded as highly important. Even more significant was the promptness with which Mr. Redfield, in frank disregard of literal Scriptural expression such as he was wont years ago to recite to the Central Avenue Congregational Sunday-school of Brooklyn, wired from New York that the President's interrogation points could not fail to convince Germany that she "must bring forth meat for repentance."

It was also announced unofficially that both Mr. Tumulty and Mr. Creel were in full accord with the President and that the masses were following their lead. "From all over the country," the *World* reported, "the President has been receiving messages of congratulation on his Note," a truly remarkable example of quick adaptability, in view of the fact, also recorded by the *World*, that "while he had it under preparation, he was deluged with importunities to demand unconditional surrender."

A letter from a clergyman in Marysville, Ohio, succinctly declaring that "those of us who commended President Wilson because he kept us out of war will most severely condemn him now if he gets us out of it too soon," was held to be particularly encouraging, but the "unqualified approbation" of Sir Eric Geddes was more earnestly exploited as evidence of British backing. What Sir Eric really said, somewhat tactlessly as it seemed to us, was that "we cannot win by talking of peace, to get us talking of peace is just what Germany wants; let the Kaiser talk while Foch shoots"; but a clever paraphrase for the Press eliminated any seeming dissonance. In fact, so far as we could perceive, the whole difficult situation was handled so admirably on the first day by Mr. Tumulty himself that it might well have been left alone.

Apparently, however, Mr. David Lawrence, the well and favorably known White House correspondent, either thought otherwise or was assigned by somebody to continue the propagandic work, of which Mr. Creel seems to have been relieved. In any case, he took pen in hand and assaulted the situation from a fresh angle. Ignoring completely the unanimity of approval of the President's questionnaire as evidenced by the flood of commendatory telegrams, he noted somewhat mysteriously that "these are days when everything that is known in Washington isn't printed" and urged insistently the pressing need of public support, "the help of a united people so that nowhere in Europe shall it be supposed that his hand in America is weak, that he cannot control the forces under his

command." The desirability of offsetting a natural impression of weakening was obvious, but the suggested inability to control forces under one's command we are not yet able to comprehend. There seems to have been implied, however, some reference to Senator Lodge, at whose attitude there was "no concealment of the disappointment felt by the President and his associates."

Why this should have been so was not at first glance apparent. Mr. Lodge's position was plain. Only the day before he had pledged his support unequivocally to the President's declared policies of refusing to have anything to do with the present German Government and of seeking peace through victory alone. "I believe," he said, "in a dictated, not a negotiated peace. I cannot change my views; for I believe they are absolutely right—right—as right as the two declarations of the President which I have quoted." The two leaders seemed, therefore, to be in perfect accord; in point of fact, they were on Monday, but not on Wednesday for the simple reason that Mr. Lodge was of the same opinion still.

So it became clear, upon examination, that the disappointment alluded to by Mr. Lawrence was not at Mr. Lodge's attitude but at his refusal to change his attitude along with the President. This, Mr. Lawrence regretted exceedingly and regarded as quite unnecessary because, if Mr. Lodge had conferred with the President, he would have gained a clear understanding of what was in the President's mind,—a very good point, indeed, but for the circumstance that Republican Senators do not confer with the President unless they are asked, and the President doesn't ask.

Mr. Lawrence closed his exposition or defense or whine or whatever one might call it with the usual pious expression of hope on the part of the Administration that Mr. Lodge was not "playing politics." Upon the whole, he did very well.

Simultaneously the marshalling of foreign opinion behind the inquiring Note was proceeding apace. Here our old friend the *Evening Post* was at its best. Sheltered by a barrage comprising three eminent citizens, ostentatiously designed to preserve editor and owner from mutual contamination, it reverted to pacifist form with the ease of a trout unexpectedly returned to its native element. Mr. Villard himself at his best could not have grasped more eagerly at a chance to negotiate out of the war that we were negotiated into so contrary to expectation. Passing as not altogether palatable its expressed delight at the difficulty of entrapping "an old bird like Woodrow Wilson" in academic discussion of causes between which not so long ago he was unable to differentiate, we encountered the familiar sneers at all "fearful saints"—notably, of course, its *bêtes noires*, Messrs. Roosevelt and Lodge—who ventured to question the advisability of inaugurating another period of note-writing such as followed the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

Already it had "ventured the opinion that President Wilson would not have sent his preliminary reply without taking counsel with France and England" and "now"—i. e., on October 10—"this is fully confirmed by dispatches from those countries; from London comes the authoritative statement that the Foreign Office is entirely in accord with the President's course, and that, indeed, all the Allies are of one mind about it; in both countries," too, "the Press is warm in praise of what it describes as Mr. Wilson's skilful diplomacy."

Now, that was vastly important—if true. If this amazing invitation to begin negotiations was, in fact, the product of a carefully matured plan of all the Allies, duly approved with substantial unanimity, clearly there was nothing further to say. But was it true? Where were the dispatches that “fully confirmed” the reported counselling? They were not in the papers,—not a word, not a hint, not a suggestion of such a happening; nor has there been since. And where was the “authoritative statement” of the British official approval? “While the Foreign Office is not making any statement, in official circles it is known that there is warm approval of President Wilson’s demand that Germany answer straightforward questions before any further steps toward peace be taken.” That was all, absolutely all—a mere negative statement by a correspondent, made upon his own responsibility with full understanding that only news designed to please would be welcomed at home or probably passed by the censor.

Mr. Balfour is head of the Foreign Office. Was he quoted? No. Was Mr. Asquith? No. Was Bonar Law? No. Was Cecil? No. Was even the loquacious Churchill? No. Was anybody possessing the smallest measure of responsibility? No. But hold! There remained the Premier himself, addicted to frank outspokenness. Yes, Lloyd George spoke up, spoke up freely, enthusiastically. “I have just heard,” he wrote with his own hand, “of the brilliant victory won by the Third and Fourth Armies, and wish to express to yourself, General Byng, General Rawlinson, and all the officers and men under your command, my sincerest congratulations on the great and significant success which the British Army, with their American brothers in arms, have gained during the past few days.” True, the message was addressed to General Haig and seems, upon reflection, to have been somewhat antithetical as applied to peace manoeuvres; but it was authoritative beyond a doubt, and incidentally the only comment, official or unofficial, as yet recorded as from the Prime Minister. But Lansdowne? Yes, indeed, Lansdowne the Pacifist approved.

But the other Allies! Surely the less reticent French and Italian ministers would not disguise their approbation of a masterstroke already pronounced satisfying by themselves. What had Clemenceau to say? Nothing. Orlando? Not a word. Pichon? Sonnino? Silence, silence so deep as to seem ominous.

But the Press, the enthusiastic Press! We turn eagerly to the dispatches of the day for the “warm praise” accorded the President’s “skilful diplomacy.” And this is what we find—and all we find—from the London papers:

The *Westminster Gazette* says: “It fulfils the hopes and expectations of the Allies in Europe,” and adding that the immediate result is to “furnish the last opportunity to the Prussian at bay.”

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says the answer “will put to an effective test the sincerity of the German overtures.”

The *Standard* says the questions asked by President Wilson “go to the root of matters and indicate very clearly the insincerity, weakness and hollowness of the proposals put forward by Prince Maximilian.”

“Warm praise,” if that should seem to be the proper term, from three unimportant, second-rate evening papers.

“President Wilson answered as the whole world expected,” declared the *Daily Express*, the only London morning newspaper commenting on the President’s query to Chancellor Maximilian. “He pins the author, be he Kaiser or Max, to one plain issue. It virtually is a challenge. If the Germans are sincere in a desire for peace let them withdraw their armies to Germany before asking for it.”

The *only* morning newspaper, and a rotter at that, beginning with a palpable falsehood and ending with an ultimatum admirably contrary to the spirit of the President’s Note. What said the great British journals—the *Times*, the *Morning Post*, the *Chronicle*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail*? Not a whisper; not then and not since.

The Paris papers were less brutal. “With a high conscience,” said *Liberté*, “the President has comprehended that he is not an arbiter but a belligerent,” an assertion, we rise to remark, most difficult to demonstrate by the document. “Like a man who needs only to consult his conscience,” says the *Temps* with rare discernment tinged only by unhappy forgetfulness of Colonel House, “President Wilson has explained himself without delay; it is now to be seen what the German Government will have to say.” “A very adroit reply,” remarked the *Journal des Débats*, and “like to the answer given to the Duke of Brunswick after his defeat at Valmy,” chirped the *Intransigeant*, not to be outdone in politeness.

The *Times* supplemented these Associated Press reports with a crisp dispatch of its own to the effect that “the real French reply to the German peace effort is to be found in the new offensive which began this morning along a great proportion of the battle-line in France,” and the *World* correspondent went post haste to the boulevards for first-hand information. He found the crowds “so eager to know what President Wilson had said” that they were snatching papers from one another. “As they read the three or four phrases,” he shrewdly observed, “a smile gradually crept over their faces. Many poilus on the street seemed to be pleased.” The thrilling trumpet call for which they had waited four long years had come at last. “Now,” the correspondent heard one of them say, probably in French, “we’ll go back and make the Germans carry out Wilson’s conditions. We will soon have them back out of France and Belgium.”

This striking evidence of popular enthusiasm was presented on the first page of the *World*, but there was another dispatch, hidden so far away in a secluded nook of the *Times* that we nearly overlooked it, which struck us as rather interesting. It appeared thus furtively on the same day and read as follows:

PARIS, Oct. 9.—While Paris waited for President Wilson’s reply to Germany the French press contented itself with printing long accounts of anti-armistice speeches in the United States Senate and a full symposium of American newspaper opinion, which, as it appears here, was unanimous against an interruption in the fighting. In fact, the reports of the debates in the American Senate share first pages with the news of the great military victories on the west front. Senators McCumber, Nelson, and Lodge are as highly thought of in France today as are the American Generals.

No news of the outcome of any battle was ever awaited with more eagerness than was the reply of the American President to the German Chancellor.

And there it stopped short.

Italy celebrated the publication of the questionnaire with a banquet, at which Ambassador Page toasted the President

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as a "victorious champion" and Minister Bissolati drank his health and Mr. Gompers' with the utmost gravity and verity. "The reply is typical of the man, as the man is typical of the ideal. Nobody expected President Wilson would say the wrong thing." A more succinct or exact epitome of the common judgment we have not seen anywhere. We wonder if the *Evening Post* noticed it.

We have now presented all of the proofs we have been able to ferret out of the public prints, in substantiation of the "authoritative" assertions of (1) a preliminary counsel of the Allied Governments, (2) full accord of the British Foreign Office and (3) enthusiastic approval of foreign public opinion, with which our venerable contemporary assumed to confound all forlorn "fearful saints." There may, of course, be additional evidences that we know not of. If so, we should be happy to accord them due consideration and suitable analysis. Meanwhile, we suspect, the reader will not dissent from our judgment that such confirmatory facts as we have been able to discover are far from convincing. Indeed, if we may speak with full candor, the procurable proofs seem so pitifully insufficient that we are inclined to wonder if, in its unaccustomed haste, our old friend did not confuse Germany and Austria with England and France. It may be so. The evidences of satisfaction with the most considerate Note in the hostile lands—if hostile be not too harsh a term at this delicate stage in the negotiations—are certainly far more manifest. True, the first feeling in Berlin was one of dismay, but that was due to an unfortunate misapprehension. According to the *Tageblatt*, the rumor spread like lightning through the capital that the President had rejected the German offer. "The emotion which followed was indescribable. It seemed as if a terrible catastrophe had descended on the city; gloom and sulkiness prevailed." Happily a quick correction of the report soon lifted the pall and joy was unconfined. Other cities did not suffer the sad experience of the capital. The first report received in Strasbourg, for example, was "that the President had replied favorably" and "at once glaring posters were put up announcing the glad news, and thousands gathered in the streets to give wild expression to their joy." Whereupon the *Strasbourg Post*, with an eye on the Allies, magisterially counselled the people to "await the reply of the President of the United States with dignity and calmness. The only hope lies in the fact that our Note was not entirely rejected."

The *Berliner Tidende* also seemed a trifle worried about London and Paris, saying that "although what has happened cannot be compared to any earlier peace feelers and the Central Powers have, in fact, accepted the principal demands of Wilson's formula as the basis, telegrams from London and Paris seem to indicate that the Allies will not find this sufficient," but the *Cologne Gazette* heralded gleefully that "we have reason to believe that the peace step which has been commenced will be continued."

The *Lokal-Anzeiger* was more truculent and "peremptorily admonished" President Wilson to realize the "super-human responsibility placed upon his shoulders," and hoped he would "prove himself worthy of this terribly responsible hour."

The Vienna *Reichspost* unconsciously fell into the common error of regarding Mr. Wilson as "a world arbiter" instead of a mere belligerent, but wished him well and hoped

he would "prove his fitness" and "cover his name with imperishable glory."

The great men spoke no less kindly and gratefully. Our former distinguished guest, Dr. Bernhard Dernberg, expressed unhesitatingly his happy conviction that "President Wilson's fourteen old and five new points can be accepted by us if put forward honestly without humiliation for Germany."

Georg Bernhard, too, the eater of fire and head devil of them all, propitiatorially remarked: "The Government only puts its trust in President Wilson and a kind fate."

And, finally, the Kaiser himself! What do you know about that! Isn't it *wonderful*? Listen to this:

THE HAGUE, Oct. 8.—The *New York Times* correspondent learns from an authoritative source that the Kaiser has expressed great satisfaction at the prospects of the peace offensive and has stated that he was confident of the successful result it would have, especially upon England. The terms, he was quoted as saying, were forgiving and generous, more generous than Germany's enemy deserved, and that England and France were tired and must accept them.

And he—mind you, the Kaiser—did not stop there. He went on to say reverently that "his prayers had been answered and it could never be said that Germany had failed." He had had his troubles. "Germany had always wanted peace, but the Allies had refused, but *this time* he felt confident that the Allies would find it hard to refuse and the Allies"—meaning savage France and hateful England—"would never dictate the terms of peace." He did not say who would, but he seemed to have somebody in mind. Anyhow, "God would answer his prayers."

Oh, but they were glad!

And well they might have been. There were reasons good and plenty. After noting the "feverish eagerness" with which the President's response was awaited throughout the empire, an English correspondent telegraphed from Amsterdam to London that there was "no concealment of the fact that the Central Powers placed all their hopes on one trump card. The most serious situation would ensue in Austria and Turkey if the offer is declined, as it is known they await only the rejection of the new Chancellor's plea to drop out of the war." The celerity with which the Chancellor acted indicates the authoritativeness of this information. Judging, too, from the frantically joyous celebrations, the people understood as clearly as the Government that their last hope lay in a favorable response to Maximilian's plea for a parley.

Unfortunately their prayer was granted through what seems to have been a total misapprehension on the part of the President of the real sentiment of the country. Had Mr. Wilson been content for once in his life to do the expected, adhering to his solemn pledges of refusal to negotiate with a moral bankrupt and referring armistice suggestions, as he should have done, if only for courtesy's sake, to the Field Commander, it is quite within the range of probability that before this the German army would have surrendered precisely as the Bulgarian army surrendered. But for reasons largely personal to himself, in flagrant disregard of the expressed wishes and expectations of the Allied Governments, he preferred his own way to that of all the world and made the amazing blunder which cannot fail to prolong the war.

That it was an amazing blunder is idle to deny. Whatever doubts may have been felt on that score were promptly dispelled by the frantic efforts on all sides and in all ways,

through explanations that did not explain, interpretations that did not interpret, evasions that could not evade, and misrepresentations of public opinion so bald as to savor strongly of sheer mendacity, to offset the effects. But even these unexampled endeavors proved unavailing. This was one of the times when the country couldn't be fooled, and the country repudiated the "Machiavellian masterstroke" with such unanimity and emphasis that the President himself, not easily dismayed, bowed before the storm and, upon receipt of the second Note, beseeched suspension of judgment. Happily, the prompt and courageous action of Senator Lodge, titular spokesman for at least one-half of the citizens, reinforced by our two former Presidents and the splendid exhibition of our boys at the front, preserved the prestige of the Nation abroad and relieved the people as a whole of any suspicion of being either pacifists or quitters. Whether the "lurking sentiment," recognized by the *Evening Post*, "to the effect that, somehow or other, Wilson cannot be depended upon" and "might some day leave them in the lurch," has been enhanced in such measure as seriously to impair his future influence, time alone can tell. The markedly firmer determination of the Allied Governments to shape their own peace terms, with far less heed to outside suggestions than hitherto would have been accorded, will be reassuring to those of our own citizens who feel that the Huns should be made to pay the full penalty of their frightful crimes.

Meanwhile, the debate opens auspiciously, with little by way of honors to be accorded thus far to either side. Mr. McAdoo eagerly claimed game on the second German play, but his father-in-law, at the suggestion of Colonel House, formulated a "decision"—not a "reply," mind you!—to continue for a while. The President's second Note contained nothing that might not better have been included in the first, but was duly acclaimed by the Press as accentuating most effectively two fresh points in the pecking process, thus following quite closely the lines of the correspondence with respect to the sinking of the *Lusitania*. In any case, as Mr. Taft rather grimly remarked, it was "a relief."

There was no explicit suggestion of surrender, unconditional or otherwise, in Mr. Wilson's communication, but Mr. McAdoo hinted quite broadly in Chicago that the goal is somewhere in the vicinity of something of the sort.

It has leaked out that, when Mr. Wilson said the wrong of Alsace-Lorraine should be righted, he meant that the two provinces ought to be restored to France.

There the record ends for this week. We feel that we are making progress, although whether forward or backward, we are as yet unable to determine.

THE PRUSSIAN BIRD OF PEACE

Conceived by Hatred; born of Fear,—
A bat-winged shape, portent of night!—
And nested on the ghastly bier
Of *that which was*, the Prussian Might,
The fledgling sprawls, too weak to rise
On flabby claw and mal-formed wing.
Outraged humanity decries
The hatching of this evil Thing.

MARGUERITE PUTNAM BUSH.

"Brutes they Remain"

THE above words of the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Balfour, tell the whole story. They go straight to the heart of the foolish, worse than foolish, the fatal assumption that the German Government and the German people are two different entities. They are *not* two different entities. They are one—one in savagery, one in greed, one in purpose to crush and plunder their peaceable neighbors, one in perjured hypocrisy, one in coldly calculated determination to wade through havoc and slaughter to a world made over by Huns for Huns alone to live in or dominate.

A mere technical military defeat of ruthless barbarians such as these will not do. The iron must enter into their very souls before they will understand. The wreck and ruin they have wrought upon others must be brought straight home to them, must leave its blackened, blighting trail across and far beyond their own thresholds before their dull, sodden senses will grasp the fact that the philosophy with which their learned criminals have saturated their minds for half a century is a philosophy of ruin and of hell itself, and that the ruin and the hell let loose fall not on somebody else alone, but with redoubled intensity upon themselves as well.

Back in Germany they do not know what war is. They have not seen it. They only measure the horrors France and Belgium have endured in terms of trainloads of plunder their own murdering, ravishing hordes of Hun brigands have sent back to decorate the homes of Hun peasants and shopkeepers and the palaces of Hun Crown Princes and junker "nobility." They measure it by the forlorn herds of men, women and little children driven back among them at the point of the bayonet to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for Hun masters. They measure it by the toll of millions of money stolen for their benefit from French and Belgian banks, communities and individuals.

"Brutes they were when they brought on the war," said Mr. Balfour, "and brutes they remain."

And brutes they will remain until their concept of what war means is measured in other than these inventories of plunder. It is a war of education against them. If this war means anything it means the teaching of the German people that war is ghastly, stricken ruin, not for others alone, but for themselves as well. There is but one way to bring this bitter lesson home to them and that is by object lessons the dullest brute among them can understand. When the logical deductions of their spectacled Hun apostles of rapine and slaughter are read in the light of their own blazing cities, in the crash of their own dynamited historical monuments, in the ruthless waste and ruin of their own countryside, then, and not until then, will they know in a way they will not speedily forget just what the war they so exultingly plotted and launched upon a peaceful world really means.

Not a bit of use in trying to reach their understanding in any other way. They have no conscience. They have no honor. They must be shown. They must see with their own eyes and suffer in their own persons. A peace that falls short of bringing this lesson in all its awful significance home, not alone to the German rulers, but to the German people themselves, will be a peace that would be a lasting wrong to the civilized world. It would but cauterize a foul putrescence when the health of all humanity makes the sternest surgery imperative. The Hun must be shown.

The Allies Over the Top

THE Allies have gone "over the top." That is a topographical feature of the present campaign of great and gratifying interest. They have crossed the watershed, the height of land, the "great divide", and have thus passed from the valley of the Seine into the valley of the Rhine. The names which figure in the daily bulletins are significant. Hitherto we have heard of battlings on the Somme, the Oise, the Ourcq, the Aisne, the Marne; rivers which are tributary to the Seine, or which flow through France into the English Channel. But those names have disappeared. Now we hear of fighting on the Lys, the Scheldt, the Sambre, the Meuse, the Moselle; rivers which are tributary to the Rhine, or which flow through the Netherlands into the North Sea. Our troops have pressed up the slope to and beyond the sources of the French rivers, and are now marching down the valleys of the German rivers. Also the German long-range guns have ceased to throw shells into Paris, while American long-range guns are dropping projectiles upon German towns along the southern Rhine.

All that means, of course, that the Allies have also gone "over the top" in man power and munitions and food and all the essential supplies of war. We are told that more than 1,900,000 Americans are now "over there". That, we venture to assume, means that the Allied armies on the Western front now outnumber the Germans; and, of course, the majority in our favor will continue to increase as our new levies are rushed across and as the tally of captured Germans is swelled by tens and scores and hundreds of thousands. There is reason to believe that we have, also, a marked superiority in artillery and projectiles, and in tanks, while our command of the air seems to be reaching the point of assurance. In brief, the long and weary period of defensive warfare on our own ground is past, and we are now waging an aggressive campaign with a prospect of soon being on the enemy's ground.

It remains for the Allies to go "over the top" morally and diplomatically. It is for them to organize victory after the war as well as in the war. We mean that they must so shape their course, must so deal with Germany, and must so prescribe and enforce the terms of peace, that the victory of their principles, of democracy and liberty and international law and justice, will be as complete and as lasting as the victory of the Allied arms in the field. Nor can we regard this as an easy achievement or as something that will automatically be effected with the triumph of our armies. There is still a danger that Germany, while defeated in the war, will be victorious in the peace. With consummate skill she is directing her efforts to that end, and every one of her peace drives and suggestions has that aim.

Note what "no annexations and no indemnities" would mean. It would mean that France and Belgium would re-enter peace with their chief industries so ravaged and prostrated as to be incapable of efficiency for many years, and they and the other Allies would be suffering the loss of millions of tons of shipping, while Germany would have all her industries not only intact but actually enriched with vast stores of stolen equipment, her ships unharmed, and her colonial empire restored to her. Would that not be for Germany to win the war? That is what she is driving at in seeking peace now, before her territory is invaded and her

cities and manufactories are destroyed. That is what she has in mind whenever she proposes negotiations for peace. That is what everybody is favoring who here or elsewhere inclines toward a peace through agreement or through any means save the military victory of the Allies on German soil and the arbitrary dictation of terms by the Allies without the slightest regard for what Germany may wish or request or implore.

It would be crass folly, tantamount to crime, for the Allied armies to waver and falter and recede, now that they have gone "over the top" in their great strategic campaign. It would be an unspeakable betrayal for us to hesitate to go "over the top" in supporting them with an oversubscribed Liberty Loan. And it would be all that and worse for the Allies to fail to go "over the top" in determining what terms of peace to prescribe and what disposition to make of the criminal at the international bar.

The *Pesti Hirlap* demands for Hungary the right to have her own special representative at the peace conference, apart from the representative of Austria. Granted; always provided that there is to be a peace conference, which we greatly doubt.

The Kaiser abdicate? Shucks! What would his junior partner say to such a dissolution of the firm of "Me und Gott"?

Hunger is hastening the downfall of the Bolshevik regime in Russia.—*A. P. Dispatch.*

We know a very eminent man who once said that nobody could be a patriot on an empty stomach.

Gasless Sundays, lightless nights, and fuel rationing have been pretty generally endured by Americans with loyal patience; as well they may be when we compare these light afflictions with the burdens laid upon our British Allies. About this time, as the old almanacs used to say, the British householder is required to fill out an elaborate questionnaire calling for precise information upon the following—among other—points:

Quantities of coal, gas and electricity used for heating, lighting and power, in 1916, 1917, and 1918?

Number of rooms equipped for heating or lighting or both, with gas or electricity or both?

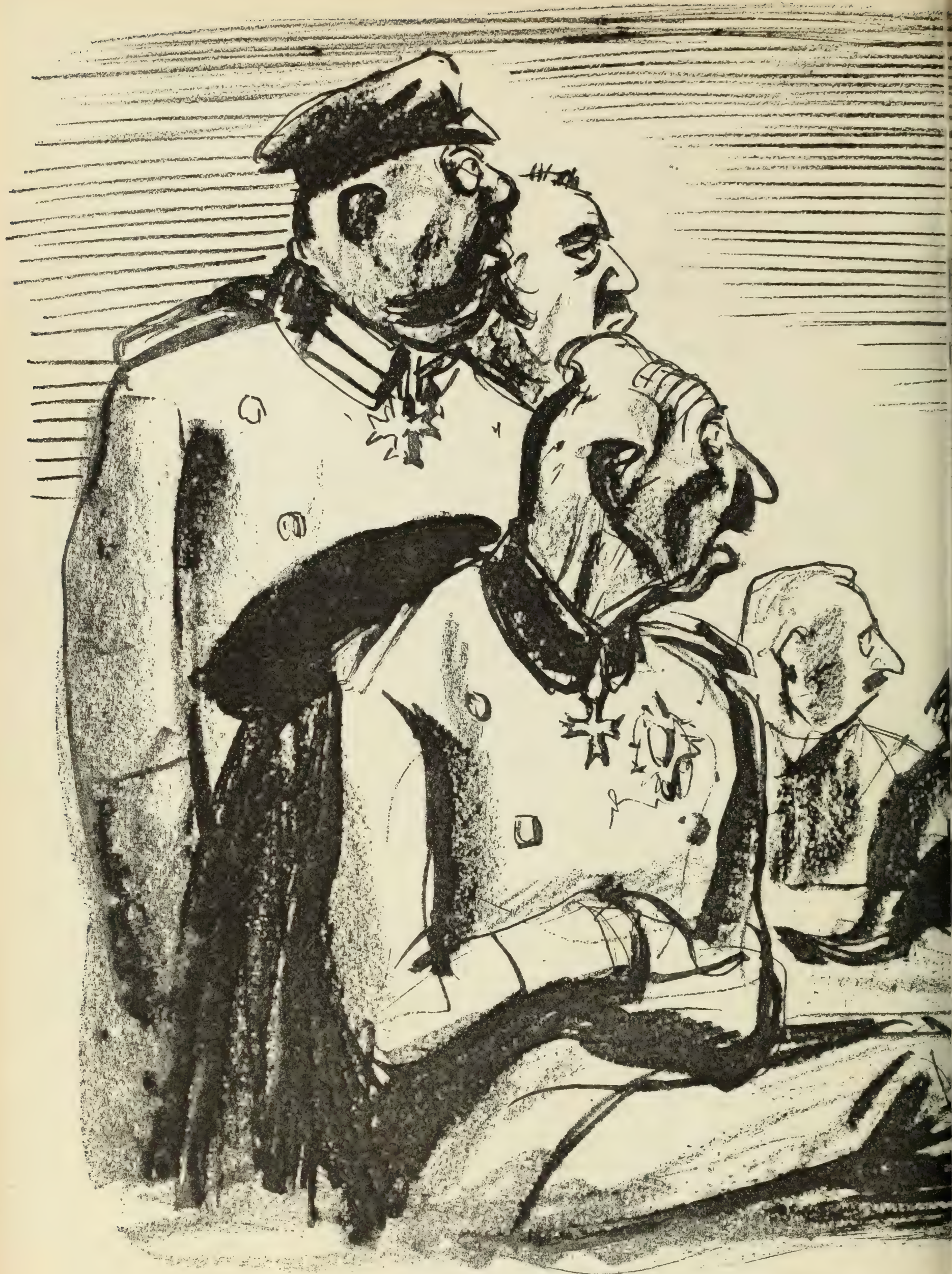
Number of rooms containing more than 4,000 cubic feet of space?

Number of rooms containing less than 4,000 cubic feet of space?

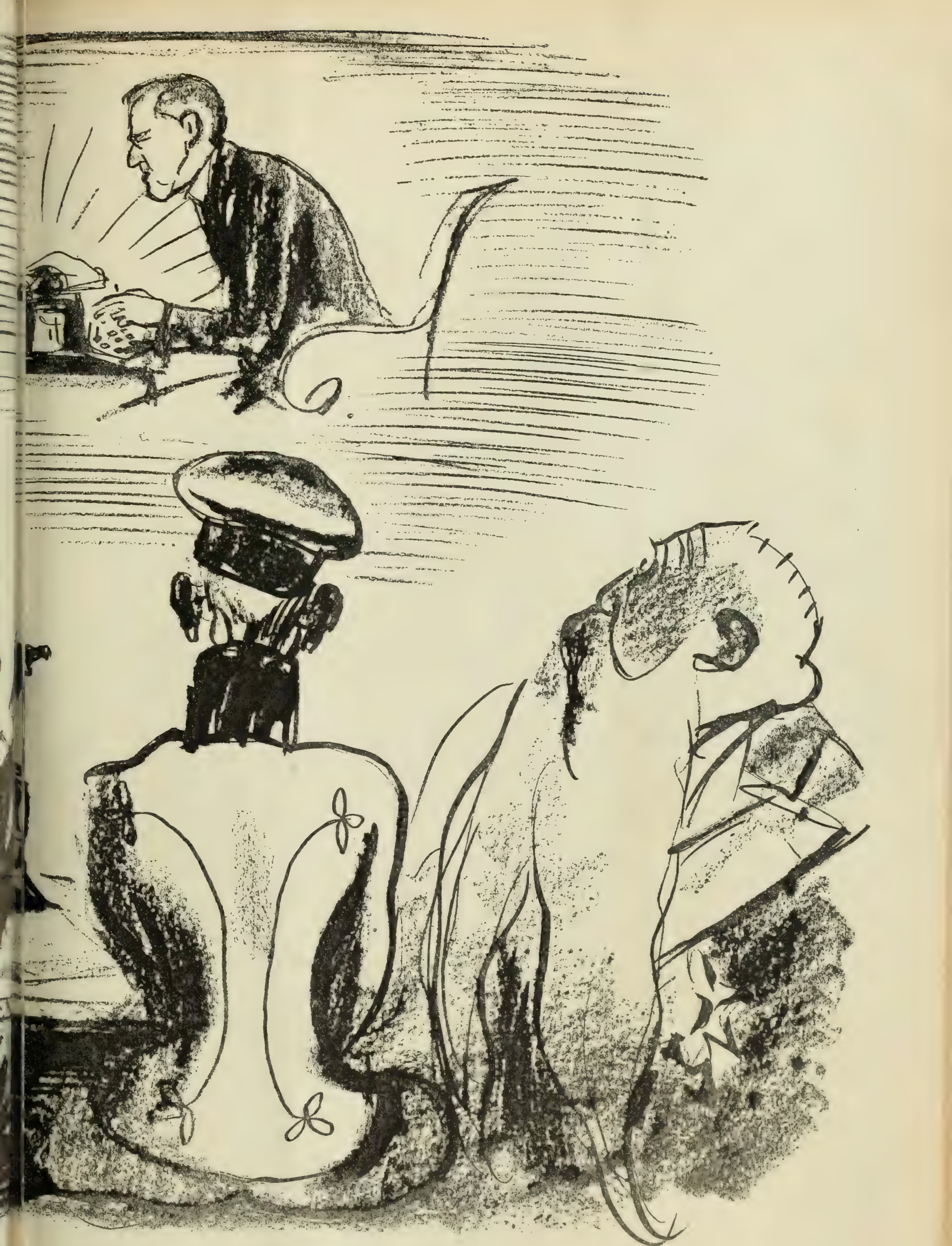
Proportions of coal, of gas and of electricity needed next year?

Proportions needed next year for cooking, for heating, and for lighting?

All this information must be given promptly and accurately, under potential penalty of being altogether deprived of fuel and light, under the authority of the Defence of the Realm Act, and without benefit of the judiciary in case of dissatisfaction or dispute. Yet very few demur. We have no doubt that Americans would be as patient. But they would require to be assured that such exactions were really necessary.



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Hope

The Week

WASHINGTON, October 17, 1918.

SOLDIERS are the best diplomats. Washington and Berlin may exchange notes. Foch speaks alone with "the drumming guns that have no doubts." Whatever may be thought of question, answer, rejoinder and retort, and of the ultimate outcome of the Babel babble, one thing is clear: The Allied armies see their duty and are doing it. The French in Laon, the British at Douai, the Serbs reoccupying Nish, represent tangible and substantial achievements. They speak with the authoritative voice of humanity. They give the only answer that should be given to the hypocritical peace plea of the beaten Hun, who merely seeks a breathing space in order to strike a felon blow beneath the flag of truce, or strives to win through treacherous diplomacy what he has lost in battle.

There may be little ground for wonder that the German request for an armistice was not addressed to the Allied commander in the field, as of course it should have been. Perhaps the fact that it should have been thus addressed was the reason why it was not; such is the nature of the Hun. That Washington should not have appreciated the point, and failed to refer the matter to Ferdinand Foch with plenary power, gives cause for some wonder and for more regret. Of this, however, we may be sure, that with that Generalissimo will rest the ultimate decision, as it should.

In one respect the German peace drive has approximated success to a perilous degree. That is, in its design to slow up the Liberty Loan campaign. It is not to be denied nor disguised that that campaign has lagged deplorably; particularly since—shall we say, because?—the President entered upon his discussion with those with whom he had repeatedly declared no discussion was possible. We must believe that even at the eleventh hour in some way the whole loan will be subscribed. But all the joy, all the honor, all the triumphant prestige, of a great nation's prompt and spontaneous offering are already sacrificed and lost. Instead of being able to exult in the readiness of the response, we shall at best be able merely to console ourselves with the thought that we did, after all, succeed in raising what was needed. There is all the difference between an eager volunteering and a reluctant draft.

Would it have been otherwise if the President's reply to the German peace drive had been different? If he had returned to Prussia the curt denial that shortly before he was constrained to give to Austria, would the American nation have risen in enthusiasm with an immediate over-subscription of the loan? We cannot tell what might have been; but we cannot help having opinions.

"Sentence first—verdict afterward!" demanded the Queen of Hearts in Alice's Wonderland. That was no more absurd than the suggestion of "peace first—surrender afterward."

With approximately two million troops "over there" and two million more being trained, equipped and sent over as

rapidly as possible, this is no time for slacking in the provision of supplies. To send our men across and then to fail to subscribe the loan which is to provide for their maintenance, would be a monstrous betrayal.

The United States Marshal of Brooklyn, N. Y., reports that of the 272 men arrested and tried in the recent "slacker raid," all but 12 were found guilty of attempting to evade the law. Those figures would appear to justify the raid, so far as those 272 were concerned. But were those all who were arrested there? If so, we must give the authorities in that Borough credit for far greater discretion than was exercised in some other places. But there is a widespread impression that a great many more were arrested but never brought to trial.

"Only military reasons," remarks the *Cologne Gazette* with the sapient solemnity of a parboiled owl, "could compel us to accept President Wilson's conditions." Yes. Only military reasons compelled Denmark to relinquish her provinces to the Prussian thieves in 1864, and France to relinquish hers to the same brigands in 1871. Only military reasons restrained the Kaiser from eating a Christmas dinner in Paris four years ago, and kept the Crown Prince from winning a Field Marshal's baton by capturing Verdun. "Only military reasons." But there is much virtue in "only."

Diplomats here have learned that Prince Eitel is generally favored in Germany for the succession to the throne instead of the Crown Prince, in case of the abdication or other disability of William the Damned. Nothing could be more fitting than to have a Kaiser Attila end the Hohenzollern line, and we could wish that the change of sovereigns might for that reason be made, if for only a day. It was Attila the Great who first brought the Huns into worldwide prominence. It would be well to have an Attila the Little lead them as they are forever scourged off the stage.

We must regard with peculiar gratification the announcement that a Brazilian steamship with a couple of well-directed shots sunk a German U-boat somewhere off our coast. It is always good to have such craft destroyed. It is exceptionally good to have our loyal South American Allies take such active part in the war. Not so much as a matter of need, but as one of privilege and sentiment, we should like to see every Power, great or small, that has aligned itself with us against Germany, strike at least one blow, fire at least one shot, in the war for democracy and humanity. Fifth Avenue, New York, has been transformed into an "Avenue of the Allies," gay with the banners of nearly a score and a half of nations. Every one of those banners should be borne by fighting men along Unter den Linden.

The epidemic of influenza and pneumonia pursues its fatal way unchecked, amid a degree of official apathy such as we have never before witnessed. With the sick lists and death lists increasing by leaps and bounds, health officers have contented themselves with the cheerful optimism that after a while the epidemic will reach its peak and then begin to decline. We do not expect miracles, but we have a right to expect more energy and discretion than have been shown in many quarters.

in this tragic time. To permit all sorts and conditions of people to crowd into all sorts and conditions of theatres and moving-picture houses, where ventilation is seldom good, and where conditions are ideal for the propagation of disease germs, and at the same time to restrict the hours during which large, airy and well lighted shops may be open, seems to us comparable with the proverbial penny-wise and pound-foolish policy. The extent to which the epidemic interferes with military mobilization must be considerable, and its death roll at the camps must threaten to rival that at the battle front.

There is talk of removing the moral ban from the use of gasoline for motor cars on Sundays. Such action will be welcome, and the privilege thus restored will not be widely abused. But we must wish that at the same time other action might be taken for the prevention of waste in the use of gasoline. We have hitherto called attention to the vast quantities of it which are needlessly used for washing, which are consumed by letting engines run while cars are standing still, and through improperly adjusted carburetors. If such waste could be stopped at all times, there would be a greater saving than there has been through gasless Sundays, while there would be no abridgment whatever the use of cars. Observe, too, that such waste is likely to be aggravated at this season of the year, since the practice of letting engines run while the cars stand still is much more common in cold than in warm weather. We earnestly renew our suggestion of weeks ago, that such running of engines, at any rate beyond a certain very brief limit of time, and the use of gasoline for washing, be prohibited under penalty, and that proper adjustment of carburetors to prevent waste be required.

German troops, under orders as well as voluntarily, have repeatedly misused the flag of truce and have disregarded all emblems of non-belligerence. They have no right to expect, therefore, that the white flag—with a yellow streak—will infallibly receive reverence when their treacherous and murderous War Lord raises it.

Lord Beaverbrook's special mission to South America, headed by Sir Maurice de Bunsen, is reported to have been almost rapturously received, and to have effected the purposes whereunto it was sent with distinguished success. At Buenos Aires and elsewhere in Argentina, particularly, the people were charmed to hear Sir Maurice address them in Spanish as pure as their own, and the Italian colonists were equally delighted to have him address them in their own tongue. Of course his diplomatic skill was comparable with his linguistic fluency, and the net result was a great gain for British interests and influence, as well as for the Allied cause, in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and elsewhere. In that, so far as the Allied cause is concerned, we heartily rejoice. Nor do we grudge the British their own special gains, seeing that they have won them openly and above-board and have abundantly deserved them through their enterprise and tact. But we do think that it is greatly to be regretted that we have not ourselves sent an equally efficient commission to those countries to do the same work in our own behalf. The South American countries have shown themselves to be in a finely receptive and even expectant mood and some of them have made strong and earnest overtures to us. It would be fatuous folly to persist in the attitude of superciliousness, indifference or aloofness which

we have too much assumed toward them for the last hundred years. Now is the time of all times for us to take a tactful, generous and strong initiative in making the Monroe Doctrine something more than an academic fetich—in making it the vital principle of international life that it was meant to be and which it would have been from the outset if we had not played the fool with the Congress of Panama.

The sinking of the *Ticonderoga* and the all but unbelievable savageries of the Hunnish U-boat officers and crew, recall an incident of the second Peace Congress at The Hague, held appropriately in the Knights' Hall of the Binnenhof. Baron Marschall von Bieberstein—one of the mildest mannered men that ever scuttled a ship or cut a throat—was urbanely expatiating to Mr. Choate, General Horace Porter, Admiral Sperry and Captain Mahan upon the love of peace, the respect for law, and, above all, the lofty standards of humanity and morality, that actuated the Kaiser and all his entourage. Military proceedings, he sententiously declared, were not to be governed exclusively by the letter of law; the factors of conscience and common sense must exercise a large measure of control. And then, with an unctuousness which Chadband would have envied and which would have driven Pecksniff to despair, he declaimed: "The officers of the German Imperial Navy, gentlemen,—and I say this with all emphasis,—the officers of the German Imperial Navy will always fulfill, in the strictest manner, the duties which flow from the unwritten codes of humanity and civilization." It was thus obviously a duty to humanity to massacre the women and children of the *Lusitania*. The code of civilization required the officers of the German navy to fire upon the lifeboats containing the survivors of the *Ticonderoga* and even to threaten with pistols those who were swimming for their lives. Will somebody kindly apologize to the shade of much-maligned Nero?

The commander of the "Lost Battalion," surrounded by overwhelming forces of Germans, and not knowing that aid was approaching, on being summoned to surrender bade the enemy to "go to hell!" That must be our answer to the Hun as he sneaks up, whining "Kamerad!" with a white flag in one hand and a hidden knife or bomb in the other.

Apart from its immense strategical importance, the loss of Cambrai will be bitterly lamented by the Boches for another intensely practical reason: It is the seat of extensive manufactures of sausages of a peculiarly appetizing kind. Poor Fritz!

The War Department makes the amazingly gratifying report that at least among men called for military service drug habits are an insignificant and practically negligible evil. Among 990,592 men examined last year, we are assured, only 403 were rejected as drug addicts, and only 76 men were discharged from the army for that reason after enrollment in the service. This, we say, is amazing, since reports from physicians, boards of health and other supposedly competent authorities have indicated the evil to be widespread and increasing. It seems to be too much to hope that the proportion of drug-fiends is as small in the entire population as these figures indicate it to be among army recruits.

The President's answer has been sent. The people's answer should be, to overscribe the Liberty Loan.

What Would Germany Do?

"LET us remember that all this was done and carried on for five months after France had sued for peace in the dust, and had offered what was practically everything except her national independence and the honor and self-respect of every Frenchman."

And what was it that was done during five months after France, crushed and beaten to the dust by the Germans fifty years ago, sued for peace in terms of appeal which surrendered practically everything save the right to exist as a nation and every Frenchman's honor and self-respect? We are indebted to Senator Borah's article in the *Times* of Sunday last for the answer, and he in turn is indebted to an article written by a citizen of a neutral country at the time of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. The answer is that what the Germans then did for five months after France had sued for peace was precisely what they are now doing as they retreat under Foch's blows, and what they have been continuously and systematically doing from the moment they set foot on Belgian and French soil four years ago last summer. The article written at that time, which Senator Borah quotes, says:

"Every city has been practically sacked, ransacked on system; its citizens plundered, its civil officials terrorized, imprisoned, outraged, or killed. The civil population has been, contrary to the usage of modern warfare, forced to serve the invading armies; brutally put to death; reduced to wholesale starvation and desolation. Vast tracts of the richest and most industrious districts of Europe have been deliberately stripped and plunged into famine, solely in order that the invaders might make war cheaply. Irregular troops, contrary to all the practices of war, have been systematically murdered, and civil populations massacred solely to spread terror. A regular system of ingenious terrorism has been directed against civilians, as horrible as anything in the history of civil and religious wars. Large and populous cities have been, not once, but twenty, thirty, forty times, bombarded and burned, and the women and children in them wantonly slaughtered. All this has been done, not in license or passion, but by the calculating ferocity of scientific soldiers. And lastly, when the last chance of saving Paris was gone, and it became a matter of a few weeks of famine, they must needs fire and shatter a city of 2,000,000 souls."

That was what the Hun did fifty years ago—what he did continuously for five months after France had sued for peace, just as he himself is suing for peace even now! Put this picture of the Hun and his works of fifty years ago beside the picture of the Hun as he has revealed himself to a horrified world for the past four years, and as he is revealing himself even now, while his Potsdam leaders are petitioning for an "armistice" and for a basis of peace "negotiations." The record of Hun atrocities of 1870-71 is absolutely interchangeable with the record of his atrocities from the beginning of this war to the present moment. Change the dates and the terrible story would fit one period as well as the other.

And the Hun now is suing for peace! Suppose for one moment the Allied forces were in the straits the German forces are in at this present moment. Suppose it were the Allied armies that were reeling and staggering and crumbling to the verge of disorganized rout under the blows of Ludendorf! Suppose, in their then plight, the Allies were suing for peace as the Hun is now suing! What would the German do?

Would he hold his hand? Did he hold his hand during the five months when France was suing for peace fifty years ago? Has the Hun undergone a moral renovation in those fifty years? Has he ceased to be the savage, murdering, ravaging, licentious beast of prey he was then? The wrecked and ravaged provinces of France are the answer. Belgium is the answer. The whole civilized world can bear testimony. So can the wretched, impoverished, maimed and enslaved survivors of millions of unoffending peaceable populations in every country where a German army has set its foot. What the Germans did for five months after France had sued for peace they would do now were the present status reversed and we, and not they, the suppliants. Not only would they do what they did then, but they would do it with an intensified fury, with a plunge into more abysmal depths of savagery than they even dreamed of in those days. They would come to the keenly relished task of wholesale slaughter, rape and arson with the accumulated skill of half a century's concentrated scientific, theoretical study of these consecrated forms of kultural expression, supplemented by four years of uninterrupted practical application and experience of the same.

What the final outcome of the recent exchange of diplomatic peace tentatives may be, we do not know. Germany, it would appear, is seeking to come into some sort of a court of international arbitrament with some sort of a plea for some sort of a peace. That is the situation as it stands at this writing. Senator Borah's article, therefore, with its quoted historical presentation of Germany's 1870-71 record under reversed, but wholly analogous, conditions fifty years ago, is peculiarly opportune. It shows us with just what cleanliness of hands Germany would come into the court to which she is now seeking admission. It tells us what Germany did once and it is a startling reminder of what she assuredly would do again were the existing military and diplomatic situation transposed.

Hunnish Conceptions of Peace

"THEY make a solitude and call it peace." Thus Tacitus, eighteen hundred years ago. Thus, too, the Hun to-day. There has been no more marked characteristic of the latest peace drive than this, that at the very moment when the Kaiser through his Chancellor was making overtures for an armistice and for negotiations for peace, the same Kaiser through his generals was pressing with desperate haste the most wanton brutalities of war. Berlin cries "Peace!" and blabs about defending the Fatherland from spoliation and releasing the world from the burdens and the ravages of war, while at the same time Berlin's soldiers seek to surpass even their own infernal record in desolating the territories of other nations. As the German armies retreat from Belgium and France to escape being killed or captured by the victorious Allies, with savage spite they seek to do all the harm possible to the non-combatants, to industry, to art, to the records of the past, to the beauty of nature, to all that man holds precious.

This we say is characteristic; in a triple sense. For one thing, the Hun instinctively hates whatever is beautiful or precious, unless he can have it for his own. Anything that he can steal and carry away, he takes. But churches and

castles and trees and what not are immovable, wherefore they are to be destroyed. Also, for another thing, he wants to damage as much as possible the opponent whom he cannot subdue. He is a grown-up edition of the nasty little boy who said to his antagonist, "I can't lick you, but I c'n make faces at your little sister!" He cannot defeat the French and Belgians, but he can burn their churches and hack down their orchards and destroy the dwellings of the people.

The third sense in which it is characteristic is that of "frightfulness" as an adjunct to arms. That has been German policy from the beginning, ordered directly by that same Kaiser who bade his soldiers in China to commit atrocities that would make their name a terror for ages to come. Louvain and Arras were deliberately destroyed, and Belgian women were ravished and infants butchered, to frighten the rest of the people into submission lest a like fate befall them. Edith Cavell was murdered, and the *Lusitania* was sunk, with the same hellish purpose. So now the retreating Hunnish hordes, under orders from the Kaiser, are committing every possible atrocity, in the hope of thus moving France to consent to immediate cessation of hostilities, in order to save what is left of Picardy and Champagne. It is the spirit of the brigand, who cuts off the ears of his captive and sends them to his friends, to hasten their sending of a ransom.

It will not work, any more than did those former infamies effect the purposes for which they were designed. That earlier frightfulness did not frighten anybody. It, on the contrary, strengthened the resolution of all to resist to the uttermost, and to prosecute unrelentingly a warfare for the destruction of the Blond Beast that had done such things. Such will be the effect of these current deviltries. Much as France has suffered, and much as she would deplore the destruction of the rich towns and noble monuments which crowd the region still occupied by the foe, she would rather see every rod of ground from the battle line to the frontier made desolate as a lava-bed, than make the slightest concession or compromise to the Huns.

These things will fix, too, the status of Germany in the esteem of the civilized world, for uncounted years to come and also—perhaps most important—in the prescribing of terms of peace at the end of the war. They are a revelation of the German mind, character, disposition. They show the world with what a creature we have to deal. They will, as they should, immeasurably harden the Allied heart against all pleas for generosity or even mercy. They are a part of the brutish folly of which Germany has been guilty repeatedly from the beginning of the war. When the President counselled neutrality of thought and sympathy as well as of acts, German atrocities made that impossible. When he inclined toward mediation and "peace without victory" through negotiation, a fresh accession of Hunnishness revealed to him the futility of such dreams. Hunnish frightfulness compelled our entry into the war. Hunnish activities last spring caused our tremendous speeding up of warlike energies. And now these latest Hunnish outrages, done under cover of a cry for peace, will simply intensify the righteous wrath of the world and assure a most unsparing prosecution of the war.

"The best peace will be obtained by going on with the war."—*Sir Eric Geddes.*

Hear, hear!

Why the Huns Are Scared

THE Germans are frightened. There can be no doubt of that. In some quarters they are all but panic-stricken. Such has for some time been the case along the Upper Rhine, and in Baden, where they have been subject to aircraft raids and are now said to be suffering bombardment from our long-range cannon. Now the same feeling is extending elsewhere, in view of the retreat of the German armies and the consequent probability that very soon the fighting will be on German instead of French or Belgian soil. The self-same creatures who have viewed with complacency and with exultation the ravaging of other countries and the ravishing and massacring of the people of them, are thrown into a blue funk or into spasms of fright at the prospect of invasion of their Fatherland.

The reason is not difficult to discern. Apart from the most obvious circumstance, to wit, the "yellow streak" which seems to be inherent in the Hunnish character, it is twofold, and both parts of it arise from abject fear. One part is, the notion that the Allies will act, in Germany, substantially as the Germans did in Belgium and France. That notion may have arisen from the not uncommon habit of judging others by themselves. They know that that is the way their soldiers act, and they suppose that all other soldiers do the same when they get a chance; particularly since they regard their own soldiers as the most cultivated, humane and enlightened in the world, and Americans and others, therefore, as inferior to them in civilization and humanity. Or it may have arisen from the persistent lying of the German Government and its reptile press, which represents the Allies as savage barbarians. There can be no question that the notion prevails, and that it is largely responsible for the panicky apprehensions which are seizing upon the German people.

The other part is the feeling of guilt, and the realization that they are deserving of the severest punishment that can be meted out to a nation. We shall not apply to them the principle that "conscience doth make cowards of us all," for we do not consider that conscience enters into the case when Huns are concerned. But even the most conscienceless criminal is capable of realizing that he is properly subject to the penalty of his crimes. The thought of broken faith, and wholesale loot, arson, rape and murder comes keenly to the German mind, including the official mind. We do not say that it causes repentance or remorse. The Blond Beast may not be capable of that. But it does cause a very vivid and poignant fear of punishment, of retaliation. There is no mind so debased, so brutal, so criminal, as not to be subject to that fear; and indeed the greater the criminal, the greater the fear.

So it is that Germany is almost mad with fear of an Allied invasion of the Fatherland, and so it is that the German Government is desperately desirous of ending the war through negotiation and arrangement, and not through suffering complete military defeat. The passion for peace is in that degree simply a desire to escape justice. And that is one of the strong reasons for not letting the war be ended through negotiation, but for insisting upon a complete military victory and a peace dictated by the Allies within the German capital. We do not mean that the degenerate apprehensions of the Huns are to be realized in excesses of the

invading armies. The Allies are incapable of such conduct. But we do hold that the only satisfactory peace must be one based upon justice, and that justice imperatively requires the punishment of criminals.

"Prince Max's Paper Says Huns Will Not Give Back Alsace."—*News Headline*.

We don't expect them to give it. We are going to take it.

The Second "Lusitania"

THE mortuaries of Dublin and of Kingston are crowded with the *Leinster* dead, nearly half of whom are women and children. The sea for miles around the locality where this second *Lusitania* infamy occurred is dotted with bodies of the murdered victims. All Dublin is in mourning. Scores of homes in other ports of Ireland, as well as in England, Scotland and Wales, are likewise grief-stricken over the death of some member of their household, lost to them when the cowardly Hun pirate had done this unutterable deed of shame.

The *Leinster* was little other than a mere ferry-boat, plying across the narrow strip of water separating England from Ireland. The sinking of a Hudson or East River ferry-boat loaded down with hundreds of men, women and children going to or from either shore in the rush commutation hours would have been wholly analogous to the *Leinster* sinking. Not even the staggering capacity of Hun lying is equal to a plea that the remotest trace of military meaning could be attached to her destruction. It was sheer, wanton, deliberate murder of upwards of 400 inoffensive folk of all ages.

That these murders were of set, calculated purpose is demonstrated by every detail of the coldly thorough methods of attack. When the first torpedo was launched from the skulking Hun pirate its work was not quite complete. The *Leinster* was doomed from this blow alone, to be sure. But many of those left alive on board might have been saved. The badly shattered little steamer, wrecked beyond repair, probably, might still have crept on near enough to shore for rescuers to have come. The Hun saw this. He saw that the complete murderous extermination he sought had not been accomplished. So he stealthily crept nearer, and, at deadly close quarters launched the second torpedo, which did the deed. Over 400 ferry-boat passengers were slaughtered.

According to the corrected lists to date, 135 of the victims were women and children. One hundred and thirty more of those whom every instinct of civilized, or even frankly savage, chivalry would have impelled any man with a spark of manhood in his nature to protect and rescue—135 more gone to join the other hundreds upon hundreds of helpless, unoffending ones sent to their watery graves by this unspeakable Beast, and this, too, while he was even at that moment whining and whimpering for peace "negotiations."

How does this second *Lusitania* horror impress those crazy Sinn-Feiners of Ireland who were so eager to substitute the rule of this Potsdam Yahoo for the bond which attaches Ireland to Great Britain? Are they proud of their Hun friend and fellow-conspirator? Do the mourning homes of Ireland tend to enhance their love and admiration for him?

And how suggestively at just this psychological moment does this second *Lusitania* villainy follow quickly upon the

heels of the equally infamous murders of the 233 men on the *Ticonderoga*! In this *Ticonderoga* case the deliberate, fiendish purpose to murder for murder's sake was even more distinctly emphasized than in the case of the *Leinster*. While the *Ticonderoga* was sinking the Hun submarine came close up and poured shell into the boats and rafts on which those on board were trying to escape. One of these, thus thrown into the water, swam close up alongside the pirate and begged the savages on board for God's sake to stop the slaughter. The reply was a pointed revolver and an order to swim back to the boats he had left. One boat with 17 men on board, the sole survivors of 250, reached the pirate and was permitted to make fast. Then the submarine swiftly submerged and left the poor wretches struggling in the water!

And they who did these things are those dear German people on whom, we are told, we are not making war! It is the guiding heads and the tender hearts of the leaders of these monsters who have been asking us to "negotiate," to grant an "armistice." If Hell has an abysmal depth deep enough to meet the merits of these nameless creatures, then, when they are once and for all hurled into those depths, that will be the time, the accepted and appropriate time, to listen to their cowardly howls for truce and "negotiation."

From the Associated Press:

Cleveland, October 4.—Pasquale Biondi of Akron, O., convicted for murder of an Akron policeman, was executed in the Ohio penitentiary at Columbus early to-day, just a few hours before papers granting a stay of execution reached the prison.

Slowness of the mails was blamed by the clerk of the Appellate Court here for the delay.

Burleson is worse than dangerous—he is deadly.

Unpatriotic and Impolitic

MR. VANCE McCORMICK must surely be an incorrigible partisan. If he were not, he would realize the unpatriotism and also the impolicy of some of the utterances which he is permitting if not directing the assistant treasurer of his Democratic National Committee to put forth. There can be no objection, of course, to legitimate efforts to elect a Democratic majority in the next Congress, in both houses; always provided that it be a thoroughly loyal, win-the-war majority. That is what Mr. McCormick's committee is for. But there is very serious objection to dragging the war into politics or to injecting politics into the conduct of the war; both of which things, we regret to say, some of Mr. W. D. Jamieson's money-begging letters and circulars seem calculated to do.

Mr. Jamieson says:

The election of a Republican Congress in November would be viewed as a defeat for President Wilson by our Allies and particularly by our enemies. It would be viewed in Germany as a proof of their unwarranted claim that our country is not behind our war President. It would be a source of comfort to the Kaiser and his cohorts. . . . What would Berlin think if the Administration's party met with national defeat?

So far as that question is directed to us, we reply unhesitatingly that we don't care a tinker's dam what Berlin thinks, on that or any other subject. But as a matter of fact we don't believe that the election of a Republican majority—always provided it was a loyal majority—would give the Kaiser and his cohorts a crumb of comfort. Mr. Jamie-

son admits that the German claim that America is not behind the President is "unwarranted." Doesn't he suppose that the Germans know just as well as he does that it is unwarranted? If he doesn't, he is entirely too ingenuous to be in politics.

We have no doubt that it is as well known on Wilhelmstrasse as on Pennsylvania Avenue that just six Senators refused to support the "war" President when he asked for a declaration of war against Germany, and that three of them were Democrats and three were Republicans; and it seems to us that that fact must indicate to the German mind that the two parties are equal in their overwhelming loyalty and in their support of the President's war measures. Nor can we recall any important division in Congress since that time which could give the Huns any other impression.

Indeed, we should say that a Republican majority might cause the Germans more dismay than comfort; because, since it would entail no slackening in the prosecution of the war, it would confirm them in the knowledge that so far as the war is concerned this nation is united in support of the President, and that in that respect it does not matter which party has a majority in Congress.

Dialectics

A SUPPOSITITIOUS FARCE

SCENE.—*An academic grove; sunset; moonlight on the lake; rippling rills; treetoads gulping peace.*

LANSING seated on a stump, whistling. Enter MAXIMILIAN, bearing a scroll.

MAX.—Well, here you are! For lack of something else to talk about, I accept your Fourteen Commandments as a basis of discussion.

LANS.—Oh, you do; but who are you?

MAX.—Am I not the Imperial Chancellor of the Imperial German Government? Have not you so addressed me?

LANS.—Yes, but that does not suffice. For whom do you speak?

MAX.—What wish you me to say?

LANS.—I do not know. I ask.

MAX.—If I say my king, what then?

LANS.—I tell my lord.

MAX.—If I say my country?

LANS.—I breathe.

MAX.—If I say the Central Powers?

LANS.—I pass.

MAX.—If I tell the truth?

LANS.—You won't.

MAX.—What, then, to answer?

LANS.—My lord may know. I don't.

MAX.—May I not inquire by what right you ask these questions?

LANS.—You may.

MAX.—Who are you?

LANS.—You know full well I am Secretary of State of the U. S. A.

MAX.—As I, by your own admission, am Imperial German Chancellor. But since that does not suffice for me, it cannot suffice for you. For whom, in turn, do you speak?

LANS.—For Colonel House.

MAX.—And he?

LANS.—For the U. S. A.

MAX.—The hell he does.

LANS.—Perhaps I should say for my lord; yes, 'tis better so.

MAX.—And he?

LANS.—For the U. S. A.

MAX.—Ah! As my king for the Imperial German Empire. Speaks he also for your Reichstag?

LANS.—Sometimes.

MAX.—Did he thus speak last week?

LANS.—(*darkly*). Their time will come.

MAX.—But you who sign this Note! Since you ask me, may I not, too, inquire whether you speak "merely for the constituted authorities who have so far conducted this war"? My king would know. He also "deems the answer to these questions vital from every point of view."

LANS.—You are presumptuous.

MAX.—I? Have I asked aught of you that you did not ask of me? With like authority and equal right?

LANS.—You annoy me. That is not the point.

MAX.—What is the point?

LANS.—Have the German people authorized you to accept my lord's Fourteen Commandments as a basis for terms of peace? That is what we demand to know.

MAX.—Speaking with full authority of their chosen representatives and full understanding of what is in their hearts, I can say in truth they have. Can you, in turn, respond that the American people have empowered you, your lord and Colonel House to negotiate a peace upon those terms?

LANS.—How could they? Only my lord knows what those terms mean.

MAX.—Not your Allies?

LANS.—We furnish only ideals, not understanding. Besides, we don't speak French. Ha, ha!

MAX.—So this is Open Diplo—but what is that? Listen! It comes nearer, nearer, nearer! My God, man, hear, hear!

(*A great rumble is heard, followed by the tremendous roar of cannon, mortars and machine guns; shells fall everywhere; bombs from planes drop all around; thousands of air-planes dart hither and thither, shutting the sky from view; great clouds of flame and smoke fill the air; suddenly, silence—*)

MAX.—See, see!

(*Over the hilltops swarm hordes of Huns, screaming, panting, throwing down their guns, fleeing for their lives, dropping in their tracks, throwing up their hands, a frightful, terrifying rout of rushing humans; in their wake dense masses of Allied soldiers, infantry, marines, cavalry, tanks, artillery, French, British, Italians, Canadians, Australians, Americans, all the world in eager pursuit, filling the air with the "Marseillaise," "God Save the King," the "Battle Cry of Freedom"; on they rush, On, on, on to Victory; in the distance the great Commander and his Generals.*)

FOCH, calmly, to PETAIN and GOURAUD, to HAIG and BYNG, to PERSHING and LIGGETT.—On, on—through Victory to Peace!

(MAX and LANS. stroll away still conversing.)

Letters From Our Readers

"PEACE BY NEGOTIATION"

SIR,—Germany, realizing the inevitable, proposes peace by negotiation.

Peace by negotiation? Do not disturb me. I am thinking:

Of flaming Louvain and its bloody shambles;

Of the 897 civilians shot or bayoneted in the streets of Brabant, Belgium;

Of Dinant, France, and its 606 inhabitants ranging from 3 weeks to 77 years murdered by the gentle exponents of Kultur.

Peace by negotiation? I am thinking:

Of the Canadian soldier crucified on the barn door in Flanders;

Of the Canadian officers and men turned into maniacs by the first gas attack at Ypres in 1915;

Of the young Italian officers with throats cut, and hanging on hooks in the butchers' shops in Venetia.

Peace by negotiation? I am thinking:

Of Belgian babies skewered on bayonets midst the cheers of marching Germans;

Of the bones of murdered little ones whitening the plains of Poland. "There are no children in Poland under six years of age," says Paderewski;

Of Italian boys and girls forced to march before the German troops in order that the Allies would not dare fire.

Peace by negotiation? I am thinking:

Of gentle-eyed Edith Cavell facing, with superb courage, a Prussian firing-squad in the light of early dawn;

Of sturdy Captain Fryatt, who dared resist a submarine, murdered as a rare edition of frightfulness;

Of the bomb dropped from the Hun airplane into the English school room, and the twenty-five mangled little forms scattered amidst the ruins.

Peace by negotiation? I am thinking:

Of the bodies of white-robed American women and babes from the stricken *Lusitania* washing up on the Irish coast;

Of peaceful neutrals weltering in their blood on the deck of the cross-Channel Steamer *Sussex*;

Of captured crews set adrift at sea to perish without food or water.

Peace by negotiation? I am thinking:

Of Red Cross hospitals bombarded from the air:

Of a dozen hospital ships torpedoed in the dark, and the cries of drowning Red Cross nurses;

Of the Russian prisoner who had tuberculosis placed with other prisoners affected with bronchial troubles, in order that the latter might contract the white plague.

Peace by negotiation? I am thinking:

Of the All-Highest's boastful philosophy:

"It is my business to decide if there shall be war. There is only one law and that is my law."

"Our might shall create a new law in Europe. It is Germany that strikes. When she has conquered new dominions for her genius, then the priesthood of all gods will praise the God of War."

"America had better look out—I shall stand no nonsense from America after this war."

Peace by negotiation? Has the Christ of Nazareth who knouted the moneychangers from the temple struck hands in partnership with the arch-fiend of Hell? Until then:

America be deaf! Fix bayonets, forward, march!

"OUR BUSINESS IS TO KILL HUNS."

FLETCHER W. STITES.

Philadelphia.

MR. WILSON, SUFFRAGE, AND THE HOLY GHOST

SIR,—May I (without any *not*) thank God for the great editor, who, in the article entitled "Germany's Forfeited Colonies," in the WAR WEEKLY dated Sept. 28, makes the following sane and righteous suggestion as to the proper policy to be pursued in relation to certain provinces in Africa.

It would probably be quite practicable to establish them as independent states, under international guarantee, to be protected and administered for the benefit of their native inhabitants, or at least, with full regard for their rights and welfare.

May I (also without a *not*) beg you to write an editorial worthy of the present occasion? I am a Woman Suffragist, dyed in the wool; but I want the satisfaction of reading your condemnation of President Wilson's attempt to set the Legislatures of 48 States a-mulling and a-fussing for the next two years over the question whether Woman Suffrage should be granted at all, and if granted, whether it should be done by a Constitutional Amendment.

Before Mr. Wilson was born, I had learned from my mother to revere Lucy Stone, and soon afterwards read Julia Ward Howe's lines:

Weave but the flag whose bars to-day
Drooped heavy o'er our early dead.

I believed that Suffrage should come by a Constitutional Amendment, when Mr. Wilson, mole-blind to both ethics and force-conservation, opposed that method.

During the Civil War the Woman's Rights pioneers, including even Susan B. Anthony, omitted almost all public labor for their special cause, so as to utilize their whole power to save the nation and to free the slave. Shall any President tempt American womanhood to be less noble now than it was then? I feel it like a personal insult that a President should suggest that American women might grow indifferent to the cause for which our boys are dying "on the field of honor," if he did not switch great engines of human power on the war track, and send them puffing on a franchise campaign for some 24 months, to return with banners flowing giddily before the White House in perfect time to the meeting of a convention to nominate a Presidential candidate.

I think the Suffragists may properly hold one annual convention and support one organ of publication while the war lasts to remind the country that we are determined to begin to work for the ballot as soon as the Allied flags have been borne triumphantly through Berlin; and that we mean to get it there within three years. To do anything other than what I have here proposed while the battle is still on, to divert attention, money and effort from the war's supreme need, would be to sin against the Holy Ghost.

Please, Col. Harvey, say this and more, and better than I can.

LILLIE BUFFUM CHACE WYMAN.

Newtonville, Mass.

[See the WAR WEEKLY of Oct. 12th.—EDITOR.]

POLITICS AND PATRIOTISM

SIR,—I read with much satisfaction your WAR WEEKLY, and while I think you are unduly severe upon Prof. Baker of the War Department, I consider it a misfortune that a number of publications do not, with you, "speak out in meeting." There is ample cause for just criticism of the Administration, and under the guise of patriotism the very mischief is being played in this country. Here in the South, until a few days ago, the President was a god, but since his announcement that the price of cotton is to be regulated he has turned into a devil. Regulate wheat, wool, and other products of the North, but as to cotton, hands off!

In your issue of the 21st I note your editorial, "We Help Out a Brother," and I wonder if you think that at Washington your suggestion as to the employment of Chinese will receive a moment's consideration. True it is that thus "a half million of men" would be released for the fighting in France and more ore and coal would be ready for shipment, but does anyone imagine that members of the American Federation of Labor wish to be released for fighting? If the country were going to the devil, but could be saved by the employment of Chinese, the American Federation would speed the country upon its downward course.

And is it not a fact that this same Federation has a dominating influence at Washington? If I am in error, please enlighten me; and in any event, keep up the good fight which you are waging.

J. B. WILLIAMS.

Douglas, Ga.

A LONG-STANDING OUTRAGE

SIR,—There is need for some prodding to be done. I know of no one better qualified to do that kind of job than yourself. We have young men from our vicinity lying in hospitals in France who have not received a word from home during the recent six months. The friends and relatives have written them each week during that time.

Home papers have been carefully forwarded, and not any of the papers have come to hand. Letters recently received make no complaint, but those boys are suffering for lack of word from home.

Please give this matter your vigorous attention. We do not believe that this condition needs to exist.

O. C. GREGG.

Lynd, Minn.

IN DAYS OF STRESS

SIR,—I enclose my check for renewal subscription to the WAR WEEKLY.

I take this opportunity to say that I would not be without either of these publications. The courage, patriotism, and intellectual grasp of Col. Harvey deserve the admiration of every genuine American. In these days of national stress there is great need of his compelling pen.

EDWARD F. LOVEJOY.

Providence, R. I.

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“The Government of the United States acknowledges receipt of the Note of the present German Government indicating its disposition to accept the terms suggested by me as an essential preliminary to the resumption of peaceful relations.

“I now propose that the present German Government furnish evidence of its sincerity and guaranty of its performance by directing the Commander of its army to seek an armistice from the Commander of the Allied armies.

“Until that shall be done and the German army shall have complied with the conditions stipulated by the Commander of the Allied armies, I must decline to submit any proposals of the present German Government to the Governments of the Allied nations.”

That is the response demanded unanimously by England, France and Italy and by the American people.

That is the reply WASHINGTON would make.

That is the reply LINCOLN would make.

That is the reply GRANT would make.

That is the reply GROVER CLEVELAND would make.

What will WOODROW WILSON say?

The Two Issues: WAR and PEACE

Two distinct and clearly defined issues are involved in the forthcoming Congressional elections; one relates to War, the other to Peace.

I. WAR.

SMARTING under the criticisms of his first temporizing Note to Germany and speaking through the Democratic Senator from Nevada, President Wilson issued on October 10 an unmistakable challenge to his political opponents.

"The test in the coming election," Senator Pittman declared, "is inevitable between the policies of Woodrow Wilson and the policies of Henry Cabot Lodge."

The policies indicated did not pertain to the conduct of the war. With respect to that, the two leaders of their respective parties were and had been from the beginning in full accord. They related exclusively to the settlement of the war. There the line was drawn sharply and distinctly and there it remains, marking the cleavage of the two parties between whose purposes the country must make a choice at the polls one week from next Tuesday.

The Republican position is plain. It was declared with rare definiteness, in the resolution introduced by Senator Lodge, in these words:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that there should be no further communication with the German Government upon the subject of an armistice or conditions of peace, except a demand for unconditional surrender."

The Democratic attitude is equally clear. It is embodied in the following resolution introduced by Senator J. Hamilton Lewis:

"Resolved, That the United State Senate approves whatever course may be taken by the President of the United States in the matter of his replies and in his dealings with the German Imperial Government and the Austrian Imperial Government and the allies of either or both, in response to the demand of either for peace or armistice."

The one demands a peace to be dictated by the Allies. The other approves in advance a peace to be negotiated by the President.

The Republican party stands squarely, as a unit, for Unconditional Surrender. Every Republican Senator, every Republican Representative, every Republican Governor, both Republican ex-Presidents, the Republican Chairman and all Republican public journals are committed absolutely to enforcement of that requirement upon the enemy as a preliminary to cessation of hostilities. They would notify Germany to that effect and would refuse thereafter to consider any alternative proposition.

The Democratic party, also as a unit, is opposed to imposing Unconditional Surrender upon the enemy. Neither the President nor any Democratic Senator or Representative nor any Democratic Governor nor the Democratic Chairman nor any Democratic newspaper has urged the exaction of that condition. Negotiations have already been begun by the President with the declared approval of the Democratic Congress.

The country, on Tuesday, November 5, must notify the world whether it does or does not stand for Unconditional

Surrender. If it elects a Republican Congress, our Allies and the enemy will know that it does. If it returns a Democratic majority, our "associates" and the "German people" will learn that it does not. There is no mistaking the issue. There is no avoiding the conclusion. There is no middle ground.

We are for Unconditional Surrender.

We hope the Republican party will win. It has been the War party from the beginning and is the War party to-day. Its leaders were the first to rouse the country to a sense of its moral obligations and its material peril. Its public representatives have shown far greater unanimity than their political opponents in providing for vigorous prosecution by the Army and the Navy and have done their work far more intelligently, far more justly, far more patriotically. It has not wavered and does not waver now in determination to exact inexorably full penalties for the most awful crimes ever committed in the history of civilization. Its resolution is fixed and unchangeable. It makes no explanation. It needs no interpreters. It knows and all the world knows precisely where it stands.

We hope the Democratic party will be beaten. It has been Pacifist from the beginning and is Pacifist to-day. It has never comprehended and does not now comprehend the mighty issues involved. Beginning with a confession of inability to perceive a difference between the causes of the war, between good and evil, between righteousness and damnation, continuing with avowed ambition to achieve peace without victory, without indemnities for the frightful wrongs done, then proceeding with a futile effort to play the role of a great Magistrate pledged to "no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just," concluding with indignant notice to Germany that "the world does not want terms" and then forthwith at the first opportunity beginning to discuss terms, its Executive has stood first upon one leg and then upon the other until nobody living can tell whether he is going backward or forward or what he wants or how he aims to get it.

Its still unrepudiated leader of the House of Representatives voted against all bills to increase the Army and Navy in 1916, for the bill denying to American ships their legal rights and against the Declaration of War, and will continue to be its leader if his party wins. Its Congress, under his guidance, has been throughout, by confession of the *New York World*, "our one great slacker," and now seeks "vindication" at the polls, in the hope that the people may be fooled in 1918 by the false pretense of exceptional efficiency in prosecuting the war, as they were fooled in 1916 by the false notion of being kept out of the war altogether.

We should like to gratify our Allies, as they would be gratified by popular endorsement of Unconditional Surrender and the War party, the dependable party of Roosevelt and Root and Lodge and Crane and Brandegee and Poindexter. We should like them to feel that they are our Allies in the great

cause and not our casual "associates," to be held at arms' length and weighed and measured from our cloistered aloofness as we weigh and measure the Huns.

When we think what they have done for us, England with her million, France with her two millions and little Belgium with her hundreds of thousands *killed*, how pitifully small seems our *less than twenty thousand* and how wofully lacking in justification of our presuming, as we have been presuming of late without even consultation, to shape the terms of peace for all, to say what indemnities they shall or shall not have, what shall be done with the colonies captured before we entered the war, what with Bulgaria and even Turkey, with whom we are still at peace! Is it to be wondered at that at last, after having eschewed criticism of the President in any of his papers for the past four years, even Northcliffe's patience finally gave way and he permitted the *London Times* to say, as it did say on October 18, even though the fact escaped the attention of our own newspapers:

"We all have the greatest confidence in President Wilson, but we think it would have been better if instead of attempting any negotiations he had stated straight out that any peace offer from the Central Powers must be presented to the Allies as a whole."

Or that the leading newspaper of Amsterdam should have remarked with quiet cynicism upon "this supreme hour for the President, the man who sits in the White House and decides what he considers just and right without much caring what the Allies think about it."

True, Mr. Hearst confirms the "right" of President Wilson to dictate the terms, since "the United States has won the war in an incredibly quick time," but all of us are not Mr. Hearsts and some of us, recalling those millions of dead as contrasted with our few thousands, the devastated third of France, and all of Belgium, the ravished women and girls and nuns, the crucified old men, priests and boys, and not forgetting either the gracious kindness manifested on all sides to our own brave lads,—some of us, we say, have difficulty in reconciling ourselves without cringing to a presumption such as surely never before shamed a self-respecting people. We repeat that, in all humility, we would take these, our "associates" of France and Belgium and England to our hearts, as Roosevelt would or Taft or God knows who would not, in pride and gratefulness that they should deem us worthy to be called their Ally and their friend.

We had hoped, in common with many, that the war might be conducted as the war of a united people, as it has been in England, France and Italy, through coalition cabinets, and as the Civil War was waged by Lincoln, with Stanton as his chief aid. It is the people's war really. They are making the sacrifices abroad and bearing the burdens at home. But, while frequently heralding this fact in his speeches, Mr. Wilson has not only steadfastly ignored it in practice, but has acquiesced without protest in the deliberate purpose of the Southern Democrats in Congress to make the East and West foot the bills.

To the great body of Republicans who constitute fully one-half of the population he has accorded no recognition whatever except in a few instances when the breakdown of his favorites, notably the Pacifist Secretary of War, was so notorious that the substitution of brains and experience became a positive necessity. Roosevelt, the most forceful and popular figure in American life, has been denied all participation, except through the enlistment of his gallant sons,

which could not be prevented; Wood, our most famous soldier, was wickedly shelved because he had been right on preparedness; Root was dispatched upon a hopeless mission, only to be thrown into the discard upon his return; men of the highest standing and ripest experience were put aside from the direction of the nation's industries to make way for a professional speculator of the very type that once was to be "hanged as high as Haman"; even Lodge and Brandegee and Weeks and Smoot and Borah, who were technically entitled to consultation, have been utterly ignored; indeed, nothing could be more transparent than that the pretentious "adjournment of politics" was a sham so hollow as to appear, as indeed it was, positively ludicrous.

Not only but often, if we may assume no copyright of the eccentric term, has the conduct of the war been distinctively partisan; it has been almost as exclusively personal. Democrats like Chamberlain and Hitchcock, who put patriotism above party, have been roundly denounced; servility to the Administration has supplanted fidelity to the country as the "acid test" of loyalty; and now it transpires through a chance remark of the ingenuous Mr. Baker that America has no direct vote upon any question before the great Council at Versailles because Mr. Wilson has jealously reserved that prerogative to himself to be exercised or not, as he may see fit, by cable, upon such fragmentary information as he may be able to obtain.

Now we cannot believe that this arbitrary absorption of all authority, even to the pettiest, conduces to administrative efficiency in a business of the magnitude of that in which we are engaged; it savors too strongly of that "too feminine a jealousy of any rival in authority"* cited by Mr. Wilson as the fundamental weakness of Jefferson Davis.

Can anybody suspect for a moment that the President would have committed his latest and worst blunder in merely matching wits with German intellects when the world was on fire if he had consulted Senator Lodge, as clearly he should have done, or Elihu Root or Mr. Taft or Mr. Hughes or pretty nearly anybody possessed of common sense, instead of Colonel House alone? The thought is inconceivable.

Mr. Wilson prides himself upon his intuitive understanding of the plain people's inclinations, but his latest experience must have been somewhat of a shock to his confidence; surely there never before came to the burning ears of a President a quicker or sharper disclaimer than that which made him crave time to scud for cover. How could even a superman reasonably expect to hold accurate knowledge while deriving all of his information from a few timorous sycophants and half a dozen toadying newspapers?

And here is where the Congressional election comes in. Granting as needs we must the pertinence of the common cynical remark of officialdom that "we have the power for two years more, so what are you going to do about it?" the fact remains that Congress is still an integral part of the Government possessed of great powers and constitutes the most faithful mirror of public opinion. No less, then, as what Mr. Taft calls "a steadying influence" and as a greatly needed corrective at times in these peculiar circumstances, it is highly desirable that the "other half" of the American people should have a vehicle of expression such as can be afforded only by a Republican Congress.

It is, indeed, of vital importance, far more vital, if we may be permitted to say so, than woman suffrage at this

time. So long ago as August we became convinced and declared in *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW* that "it is the country, not the Government, that must be looked to for the winning of the war," only to face derision of the statement as an uncalled-for aspersion. Verification came sooner than we had anticipated with a rare rush of emphasis. The moment the Administration flew off the single track, the country, in utter disregard of a time-serving press, booted it back as far as it could and seems likely now to get it all the way and keep it there. For that achievement, God be praised and God's people be glorified!

But the end is not yet. The wag's toast proposed in the cloakroom of the House of Representatives the other day, "Here's to the Czar, last in war, first in peace, long may he waver!" was not wholly jocular; it bore a savage significance.

"Take heed, Washington!

The country's heel is in the ground!"

were the words of our warning in *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW* for September, just as

"Unconditional Surrender: the only way!

God wills: makes it so!"

presaged the inevitable in that same *REVIEW* a full year before.

But Washington did not take heed; the President is still negotiating; his chief newspaper supporter is still foreseeing the time when representatives of America shall "enter a peace conference with Germany" and "deplores the present thoughtless and irresponsible demand for Unconditional Surrender"; the very words are taboo in the Democratic ranks, but, thank Heaven, they constitute an unflinching tenet of the Republican creed.

Stand with the President for Negotiation; or—

STAND WITH THE COUNTRY FOR VICTORY!

That is the challenge flung by the leader of the Democratic party, through his spokesman in the Senate, at the unawed patriots of America. That is the overwhelming issue. Let the answer be—

A Republican Congress.

II. PEACE.

The Congress to be elected on November 5 will not assemble till March 4, 1919, and will continue in existence till March 4, 1921. Long before the latter and possibly before the former date the war almost surely will have ended. Even though hostilities should continue for a portion of the time, no questions involving partisanship can arise. The course of the Nation is fixed and unchangeable. The mighty war machine, thanks to the timely goading of the laggard Administration, is now plunging forward at an unprecedented pace and no branch of the Government can now impede its progress. Even the Pacifist Secretary of War is powerless. The only phase of the war with which the new Congress can be concerned is that which we have already discussed,—its settlement. As the *New York World* truly says:

No question of patriotism is involved in this election. No sane man doubts that a Republican Congress will be as patriotic, in the accepted sense of the word, as a Democratic Congress. No sane man doubts that a Republican Congress will be as loyal to the flag and as eager to win the war as a Democratic Congress.

Apportionment of the burdens through taxation, the authorization of loans, the raising of revenue in all ways and the safeguarding of expenditures will fall to its lot neces-

sarily, but these are only problems of peace hugely magnified as aftermath of war.

The great task of the new Congress is bound to be readjustment of the old order to the new, reorganization of the great forces of industry and transportation, reconstruction of the multifarious elements that constitute the basis of the living, the happiness and the liberties of the people.

Which of the two great parties is the better equipped to solve these mighty problems intelligently and justly? We are unable to see how a shadow of doubt can blur any thoughtful mind.

What an opportunity was that of the dominant men of the South to revive the fine old traditions of the statesmanship of their fathers and make them to live and breathe again, to the honor of their section and the pride of the Nation! One would think it incredible that the very obligation to meet the requirements of a world cataclysm should not have impelled noble ambition, inspiration, vision, breadth, generosity, courage, patriotism. Instead, it has brought to light only the avarice and greed and meanness of narrow and vindictive spirits. "The East got us into this war, let the East pay for it," has been the common saying, with sublime unconsciousness on the part of those who uttered it of the plainly implied confession that in their hearts they themselves had been unwilling to join in the great battle for the freedom of mankind.

And they have fulfilled their threat with a vengeance, with the vengeance that actuated it. Wherever they could cripple industry, they have crippled it; wherever they could smash production, they have smashed it; wherever they could impair prosperity, they have impaired it; wherever they could crush trade, they have crushed it; wherever they could paralyze credit, they have paralyzed it; unsatisfied with incomes, wherever they could mulct capital they have mulcted it without pretense of justice, fairness, decency or even prudence; not content with seizing every golden egg they could find, wherever they could lay hands upon a fruitful goose, they have wrung its neck; engaging in an orgy, a veritable orgy of envy, spite and folly.

Not the East alone; the West, too, became a rich field for punitive harvesting. In the guise of "war measures," perhaps justifiable or even essential war measures, they enacted bills fixing maximum prices for wheat, for wool, for coal, for iron and steel, for copper, for oil, for food,—*but not for cotton.*

Cotton was sacred and cotton, in Congress, was king. Its normal price in 1913 was 12.2 cents; in 1914 the closing of the Continental markets drove it down to 6.8 cents and the growers appealed to the Federal Government for succor; in 1915, it went to 11.3 cents; in 1916, it rose to 19.6 cents; last year it leaped to 27.7 cents; on August 1 of this year it reached 32.2 cents; to-day it is nearly 40 cents a pound,—

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three and one-half times its normal cost before the war.

But when, a short time ago, the War Industries Board meekly attempted to reduce the price of cotton only 2 cents a pound, up rose the patriots of the South in their wrath and not only demanded the recall of the order but insisted upon a pledge to leave cotton alone altogether. Nevertheless, on September 21, the discrimination had become so flagrant that the President announced that the Government would fix a fair price on cotton as on other necessities and would take charge of its distribution. But he quickly discovered that the Democratic Congress, in this matter, had ceased to be a rubber stamp and he was compelled to reverse his position. The net result is that the South, instead of making pecuniary sacrifices, is the greatest profiteer of the war, and the people of the East and West, rich and poor alike, along with our Allies, are forced to pay the price of a Southern Congress.

This is sufficiently shameful, God knows. But even more harmful in a broad sense is the demonstrated inefficiency and sloth of the present Congress. At this moment, the big revenue bill, over which Mr. Kitchin and his compatriots dawdled for four months and which should have become a law in September to avert immeasurable confusion in its application, lies in a Senate Committee, whose Republican members are striving heroically in co-operation with the Treasury officials to eliminate some of its incongruities and barbarities, and it can hardly pass before the holidays.

"If," says the *World*, "the hesitation that we have seen in this respect had been visible in the field we should not have to-day the glorious records of Chateau-Thierry, St. Mihiel and the Argonne. In war, delay is always costly and frequently disastrous, and that is as true in civil as in military circles. Our one great slacker is Congress. While all other Americans, with supreme confidence in themselves, have been fighting and paying, it alone, with its stupid eyes on the November ballot-boxes, has been doubting and dallying." And that is the absolute truth.

The Democratic Congress has failed wretchedly in every respect. It was proved itself not only inefficient beyond all precedent, but greedy to the verge of immorality. Only with a sense of horror can one contemplate its fatuous undertaking of the mighty tasks which await its successor.

Let "its stupid eyes now fixed on the November ballot-boxes" be opened! We unhesitatingly call upon all intelligent citizens, regardless of party, to unite in determination to—

Boot the Democratic Congress out of existence!

**He had the pride, the spirit of initiative, the capacity in business which qualify men for leadership, and lacked nothing of indomitable will and imperious purpose to make his leadership effective. What he did lack was wisdom in dealing with men, willingness to take the judgment of others in critical matters of business, the instinct which recognizes ability in others and trusts it to the utmost to play its independent part. He too much loved to rule, had too overweening a confidence in himself, and took leave to act as if he understood much better than those did who were in actual command what should be done in the field. He sought to control too many things with too feminine a jealousy of any rivalry in authority.—Woodrow Wilson on Jefferson Davis in the "History of the American People."*

The President's Personal Candidate

ALTHOUGH President Wilson has set the seal of his approval upon the political aspirations of others, Mr. Henry Ford of Michigan continues to be the only one whom he has personally requested or, in the words of Mr. Ford himself, "commanded," to become a candidate for the Senate at the coming election. The original purpose to steal the Republican nomination was frustrated, but the Democrats readily acceded to the President's demand and Mr. Ford accepted the proffer upon the explicit understanding that, if elected, he should recognize no party allegiance, but should be guided wholly by his sponsor's wishes, thus emphasizing with added force the purely personal considerations which had impelled him, against his inclination, to seek political preferment at this time.

Our readers will recall that, prior to the primary elections, we set forth at some length the reasons why Mr. Ford could not be regarded as a fit person to sit in the Senate of the United States. They were, in brief, that he lacked both the requisite mental and moral qualifications, that he had proved himself to be a bair-brained charlatan, that by his own proud admission he had no sense of patriotism, that he had demonstrated positive disloyalty by aiding and abetting an agent of the German Government in an endeavor to escape the penalty of his crimes and that he had violated the statutes of the United States by deriding the American flag.

Since he became officially a candidate, Mr. Ford has attempted to controvert but one of these grave accusations, the original publication of which in this journal, vigorously reinforced by the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Detroit Saturday Night*, achieved his overwhelming repudiation in the Republican primaries. On August 28 he flatly denied that he had ever said that he would not fly the American flag after the war, but on September 7 he modified this disavowal by recalling an incident that took place at a time "when some rooter for preparedness out of date came here and opened the subject."

"I remember the incident well," Mr. Ford continued. "We were standing in the balcony of the power house and he turned to look out of the window at the flag flying. 'How can you be against preparedness with that flag flying there?' he asked. 'How do you know that we shall not have to hoist the flag of all nations when this war is over?' I replied, referring to the project for an international league for the enforcement of peace."

The time when discussion of preparedness was, in Mr. Ford's estimation, "out of date" was the summer of 1916, less than one year before the country found itself helplessly at war, and the "rooter" to whom he addressed his remarks was Mr. Henry A. Wise Wood, whose own account of the conversation, published in the *New York Times* of May 17, 1916, was as follows:

When the word patriotism was touched upon Mr. Ford burst out with the assertion that he did not believe in patriotism, that no man is patriotic, and that the word patriotism is always the last resort of a scoundrel.

Finally I said: "Mr. Ford, on your roof are three American flags. On seeing them it hurt me to think that beneath them was a man who is spending vast sums amassed under their protection, to ruin the defenses of his country and lay it open to a possible hostile world." To this he replied: "When the war is over those flags shall come down never to go up again. I don't believe in the flag; it is something to rally around."

Five months later—i. e., in October, 1916—the *Metro-politan Magazine* contained an interview with Mr. Ford, in which he was quoted as follows:

I don't believe in boundaries. I think nations are silly, and flags are silly too. If the country is rotten then the flag is rotten, and nobody ought to respect it. Flags are rallying points, that's all. The munitions makers and the militarists and the crooked politicians use flags to get people excited when they want to fool them.

On April 26, 1917, Mr. B. C. Forbes, the well-known publicist, printed in *Leslie's Weekly* a highly laudatory sketch of Mr. Ford, reciting at the close, as "one of his most notable utterances," these words:

I am going to keep the American flag flying on my plant until the war is over and then I am going to pull it down for good; I am going to hoist in its place the Flag of All Nations which is being designed in my office right now.

This appeared three weeks after war was declared and other declarations to precisely the same effect have been printed almost without number, but never until he became a candidate for the Senate did Mr. Ford feel called upon to deny the authenticity of any one of them. The reader can judge for himself whether or not now he is lying.

In February, 1916, Mr. Ford printed hundreds of pages of advertisements in newspapers opposing conscription, quoting the President (correctly) as having said "we have not been negligent" and accusing him of "personal vacillation." Nevertheless, toward the end of the campaign, the Democratic National Committee published many more pages of advertisements at Mr. Ford's expense, urging Mr. Wilson's re-election upon the ground that "he kept us out of war."

It is a fair supposition that it is to this contribution, with lively expectations of favors yet to come, that Mr. Ford owes his extraordinary influence with the Administration, if not indeed the handsome compliment of becoming the President's personal nominee for the Senate. The existence of that influence, which hitherto we have refrained from remarking in the hope that Mr. Wilson might feel impelled to disavow a candidate who has flaunted defiance of every one of his "acid tests," is past dispute. We have already told how he interceded successfully in Washington to prevent the prosecution of Edward A. Rumely, a paid secret agent of the German Government, who in all probability, as a direct consequence of Mr. Ford's efforts, would have escaped altogether but for the alertness of the Attorney General of the State of New York, at whose instigation he was finally arrested. This charge has never been denied. On the contrary, it was virtually admitted by Mr. E. G. Liebold (not, we should judge, of Irish descent), Mr. Ford's secretary. The following dispatch from Detroit appeared in the *New York Times* of August 3:

"Dr. Rumely was here, I remember, about that time," Liebold said after a New York dispatch had been read to him, which outlined the article in the *WAR WEEKLY*.

"Did he come here purposely to see Mr. Ford?"

"Yes, I believe he did."

"Did he discuss the Government investigation of the ownership of *The Evening Mail* with Mr. Ford?" Liebold was asked.

"I have no doubt he did," was the reply.

"Did Mr. Ford do anything to help him?"

"He made inquiries in Washington to find out what the trouble was."

"Did he intercede for Rumely after he had found out?"

"I don't know," Liebold answered. "I would have to talk to Mr. Ford before I could tell you that."

Whether or not Mr. Liebold did "talk to Mr. Ford" about it we are not informed, but we do know that Mr. Ford has never talked to the public about it and stands to-day, in the face of this grave and unquestioned accusa-

tion, as the personal candidate of the President for Senator of the United States.

We now add, what we refrained from stating at the time in vain hope that the matter might be righted by the Administration, that Ford's successful intercession on behalf of Rumely was made through a member of the Cabinet.

Ford's consciousness of his sinister influence in Washington is painfully and shockingly apparent. The *World's Work* for October contained an article on the manufacture of Liberty motors, in the course of which the writer quoted another Detroit manufacturer as saying that, having learned that Ford had not complied with specifications, he asked an army inspector why he could not do the same.

"'Mr. Ford must have a pull at Washington to get away with anything like that,' was the reply. 'It would be as much as my job is worth to let you exceed the specifications in any particular.'"

It remains only to be added that Ford read and approved this article before it was published.

The extent to which Mr. Ford has profited financially from his close association with the Administration is largely a matter of conjecture, but the following circumstance may serve as an indication. Last Winter, while he was preparing to launch his new farm tractor and make a strong drive for the Spring sales, the Department of Agriculture arranged to make an examination of and report upon the machine for the enlightenment of prospective purchasers. Whether this was done by Ford's request or of the Department's own volition is not known. In any case, it was wholly in line with the Department's custom of issuing reports designed to be helpful to farmers, particularly in reducing the cost of production.

Prof. Arnold P. Yerkes, assistant agriculturist of the Department, was assigned to the task. He made a thorough examination not only in the factory but in practice in the field and prepared a comprehensive report covering every detail in the most painstaking manner. The net conclusion reached by Prof. Yerkes for reasons duly set forth was that "it does not appear to me to be a machine which will prove satisfactory to the average American farmer, either in its present state or with the alterations which are contemplated."

This report was suppressed by the Department, although "its publication," according to the *Farm Machinery—Farm Power*, "would undoubtedly have saved the farmers from the purchase of thousands of such machines, known to be unsatisfactory in many respects—if the findings of the representative are trustworthy, of which there can be no doubt. It would hardly have been thought possible that the Department would make an investigation of a machine intended to assist the farmer in increasing his crop production and replacing his depleted supply of labor, and then suppress the report made by an official employed by the Department, sent by the Department to make the report on conditions as he found them." And yet this is precisely what was done and, of course, Mr. Ford profited accordingly.

Obviously, however, it is the personal rather than the financial advantage which Mr. Ford derives from his intimacy with the Administration that pleases him most. His obtaining exemption for his slacker son is a case in point. It will be recalled that this young man of twenty-three, Edsel by name, was unable to convince the District Board of Detroit that he should be freed from the obligation of military service

and he appealed to Washington, technically if not actually to the President, with the result that, although the District Board was not overruled, decision was delayed for nearly two months, when new regulations went into effect and Edsel passed automatically into a deferred class and still enjoys the comparative security of his happy home, while listening to the prattle of his new-born babe instead of the shrieking of indiscriminating shells.

Mr. Ford explains. "About my son Edsel," he said on September 7, "the full responsibility for his absence from the firing line in France rests with me. He wants to go. He has wanted to from the day we declared war, and he wants to now. But I also say that when the duly authorized authority says his services are more needed in the army than here in these industries, he will be found at the front, fighting, and will not be found sticking his spurs into a mahogany desk at Washington. He has had more than a dozen opportunities to do the latter. He could be holding a commission down there now. But he is not built that way, and neither am I."

From which it would seem that when the young man did appear in person before "the duly authorized authority," and begged to be let off and the duly authorized authority did decide explicitly in a written judgment that his services were "more needed in the army than in these industries," he must either have belied his martial inclination or have been walking about quite alone and unchaperoned in some kind of a trance. It develops now, however, from Mr. Ford's statement that Mr. Edsel was never in immediate peril. Unlike some millions of other American fathers, he was able to obtain for his precious son "more than a dozen opportunities" to join the swivel-chair brigade in Washington, with a shell-proof commission to stay three thousand miles out of danger or, better yet, since he was not built even that way, to remain seven hundred miles inland, far beyond the possible reach of any unwinged submarine.

Why Mr. Ford should have gone out of his beaten path to confess quite paradoxically that, although a Pacifist of Pacifists, he, too, was constructed upon the same stratonian lines as his bloodthirsty son, is difficult to imagine. Nor is it easy to understand how the services of the son can be absolutely essential to the industry when those of the presumably more capable and surely the more experienced father can be so easily dispensed with that he finds it wholly feasible to go to Washington and stay there constantly, as one has to do nowadays, merely to gratify a consuming passion to become a rubber stamp.

But enough of both Ford and son! The former has about as much chance of being sent to the Senate by loyal Michigan as the latter has of being compelled by this Administration to fight for his country. Let them wallow to their hearts' content in their respective tubs of cant and cowardice! We have done with them.

Our only regret is that Mr. Wilson, not, of course, thank God, as President, but even as a partisan or as a prospective candidate, should have felt impelled to take upon himself this burden of disloyalty and hypocrisy which undeniably he did assume when he requested Henry Ford to become his personal candidate for the Senate of the United States.

There is nothing holier than Germany fighting for life.—*Cologne Gazette.*

Tell that to your Gott.

The Huns at Bay

"I have no words; my voice is in my sword."

THE latest note from the Huns is even more characteristically Hunnish than its predecessor. In almost every sentence it is either lying or insolent, and in many cases it is both. There is scarcely a word in it worthy of serious and respectful consideration, or indicating even rudimentary appreciation of what is fitting or what is necessary for any effective overtures for peace. It is, as was to be expected, another half subtle and half brazen attempt to continue the controversy to which the President unhappily opened the door; but happily its brazen features are so monstrously brazen as to promise defeat of their own purpose.

What conceivable answer, for example, could be made to the canting solicitude which is expressed for "the honor of the German people" and for "a peace of justice"? Quoth Antonio, "The Devil can cite Scripture for his purpose"; but we should now discard that saying for a reference to the Hun's appeal to honor and to justice. It was well that the President said that they and we do not think the same thoughts nor speak the same language.

Comparable is the protest against the reproach of illegal and inhumane actions during the present retrogressive campaign, with the pretense that nothing is being done that is not sanctioned by international law; or that if any illegal acts are being committed they are against orders and are being punished. The writer of the Note knew when he penned it that he was lying, wantonly and impudently lying. He knew that under orders the German armies were stealing whatever private property they could carry away, and were wantonly destroying as much else as they could, without the slightest reference to military necessity. He knew that the young girls of Lille and other places were being forcibly abducted by the retreating Huns for purposes of nameless outrage and debauchery. He knew that only a short time before he penned those infamous lines German U-boat officers had ordered lifeboats filled with refugees to be fired upon, and had even threatened with a like fate men swimming for their lives from a sunken craft.

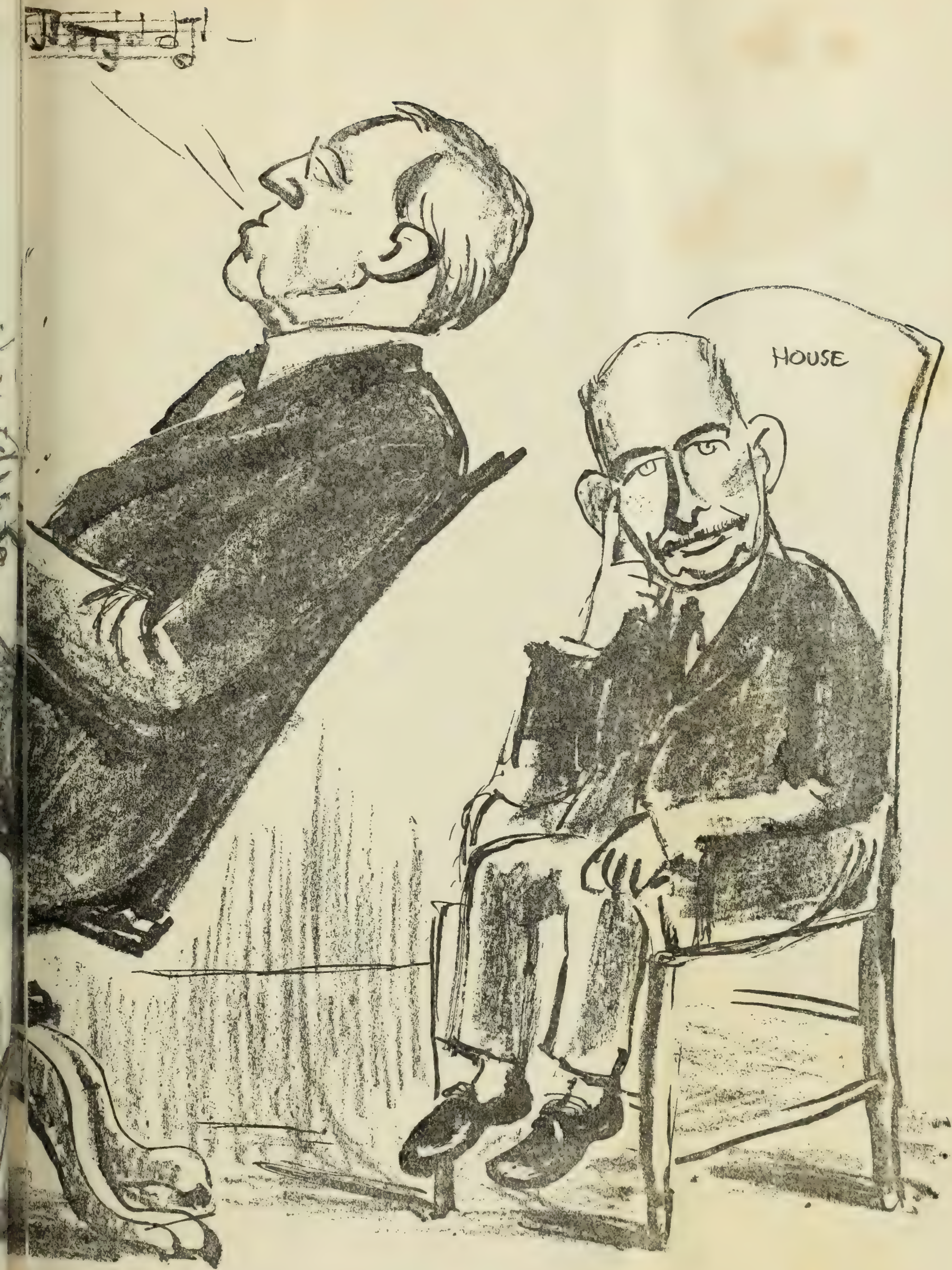
Worst of all is the pretense that the German Constitution has been so amended as to vest the power to declare war in the people or their representatives alone. If such were the case, indeed, it would matter little, since the Constitution could in an hour be re-amended back again to its former state. But it is not the case. The power to declare war is still vested in the Kaiser whenever the empire needs defence from hostile invasion; and there is no provision assuring that he will not lie about it and pretend that the empire is invaded when it is not—which is precisely what he did at the beginning of the present war. He was then forbidden to declare war, save in case of invasion, without the assent of the Federal Council. But he ignored the Council, declaring that France had committed hostile acts of invasion; and then, after the empire had become so involved in war that there could be no withdrawal, official admission was made that no such invasions had ever occurred. The story that they had was simply invented by William the Damned in order to circumvent the Constitution.

Henceforth there should be only one answer to any German plea for negotiated peace: an answer given by Foch's cannon.



THE UNITED STATES

"Whistling"



EXECUTIVE SESSION

a phrase"

The Week

WASHINGTON, *October 24, 1918.*

"GLAD tidings of great joy," both at home and abroad. First, from abroad, since it is for the victory there that all things here are done. There has been no hitch nor failing in all of Foch's marvelous campaign. Marvellous, we say, in its conception, its execution and its results. It is a great thing for one man to direct the armies of five nations on a battle front measured by hundreds of miles, in three distinct forms of fighting, so that there will be absolute unison of effort at all points. We shall be put to it to find anything in military history comparable with it. Perhaps the nearest parallel was provided by Grant, when he simultaneously directed his own campaign in Virginia, that of Sherman in Georgia, and that of Thomas in Tennessee. But those were only three armies, all of one nationality, and by no means as closely linked together in operation as the Allied line which reaches unbroken from the Alps to the North Sea; while the contrast in numbers makes the hosts of 1864 seem petty.

Yet the execution of the campaign is as successful as its proportions are grandiose. Wherever he strikes, Foch wins. Weeks ago it was observed that with an American army of four or five millions at the front, the Allies would be able to break through the German line wherever they pleased. Well, we have now about two millions over there, of whom probably less than half are at the front, and the Allies seem to be able to shatter and force back the German line wherever they please. Remember, too, that we are routing a foe without outnumbering him. Exact statistics are lacking, but there is good reason to believe that the German armies are equal to the Allies in numbers; perhaps at some points their superiors. We do not say that they are their equal in equipment, or in morale. But in sheer mass of "cannon fodder," which is the Hunnish basis of estimate, they are; a fact which enhances the marvelousness of Foch's achievements.

As for the results: We are not greatly concerned over the German peace drives, so long as they are met as they should be, as the latest Austrian drive was, and not as the German drive was a fortnight ago. Neither do we care about the throwing of stones at the architectural monstrosity which houses the chief Hohenzollerns at Berlin, nor the singing of the "Marseillaise" on Unter den Linden. These things are good in their way, but they do not win battles. What does count is that the Huns have been driven from the whole Belgian coast and are rapidly being driven out of Belgium and France. Hindenburg line, Bruennhilde line, Siegfried line, Kriemhilde line, Volker line, Hagen von Tronje line, Wotan lines I, II and III, have been deleted from the war map. Is there a Thor line yet to come, before we smash the Blond Beast on the supremely appropriate Loki line? We half expected the Hun to make a vigorous stand on a line running from Antwerp through Brussels and Namur to Sedan; but it seems that he will not. At present it really does not seem extravagant to hope that before the fourth anniversary of the Kaiser's uneaten Christmas dinner in Paris, all Belgium and France will be rid of the Hun pack.

Then will be seen whether a stand is to be made at the frontier, or not until the Rhine is reached. Whichever place be chosen, the answer for us to make is clear. "Force,

Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit." If there are any more peace pleas, refer them, as we have said elsewhere, to Foch; or to Albert of Belgium.

In the Balkans, too, the Allied campaign prospers. Serbia is being cleared of the enemy and the Allied van will presently—unless checked by severe winter weather—be operating north of the Save and west of the Drina. The appearance of an army of deliverance in those provinces which have long groaned under the Hapsburg yoke should have a mightily stimulating effect upon the Jugo-Slavs. The infamy of Agram is not forgotten, in which the Hungarian Government deliberately connived at perjury and forgery on a gigantic scale in order to send innocent men to prison if not to the scaffold. Bosnian, Croat and Slavonian should rise as one man to welcome the Allied armies and to show themselves worthy of the independence they claim.

So far as we can learn, the United States has no troops in that region. Why not? So long as, for reasons inscrutable and full of mystery, we refrained from making war against Bulgaria, though Bulgaria was waging war against us, it was logical to keep away from that region. But now that Bulgaria is out of it, there is no reason in the world why we should not coöperate with our Allies there, in striking at the Austro-Hungarian flank. We have just refused to grant an armistice to Austria-Hungary, and have declared that we have "recognized in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo-Slavs for freedom." Despite its verbal clumsiness, the meaning of that declaration is unmistakable. Then why not assist those same Jugo-Slavs by letting the Stars and Stripes be seen along the Drave and Danube?

In Russia the Bolsheviki, like cornered rats, are making a stubborn stand, worthy of a better cause. It will not avail them. The soul, the brain, and most of the body of Russia are against them, and they must yield. But their resistance serves the good purpose of attracting renewed attention to Russia, and reminding us of the magnitude and importance of our task there. Of course, Russia has done badly, in two major respects. There was gross treachery against the Allies while the Czar was on the throne; in which the Russian army was sacrificed. There was also gross treachery in the counter-revolution, when the Bolshevik stool pigeons of the Hun made the bastard treaty of Brest-Litovsk and then tried to massacre the intellectual elements of the nation. Yet we must remember that Russia also did work of tremendous value early in the war. We can never be too grateful for those operations in East Prussia and in Austria which compelled the sending of a Hunnish army of millions to that Eastern front. If all those Huns could have been hurled against the Western front, who knows whether the French and British could have withstood them? It is calculated that Russian losses in those campaigns amounted to ten million men, of whom four million were killed. That sacrifice was made for us. Let us remember it and be grateful. We must not forget or neglect Russia in our day of triumph. It would be unpardonably unjust, and would be monumentally foolish; for one of the prime necessities of civilization in the coming peace is that Russia shall be rehabilitated

and aided in "finding herself" as a free Commonwealth, and shall not fall under the influence of Germany.

We long ago declared America in favor of a free and united Poland with a frontage on the Baltic, and now Great Britain has recognized the Polish army as an autonomous and Allied belligerent force. It does not appear to us, therefore, so wild a dream as Krupp's *Neueste Nachrichten* affects to regard it, for the Poles "to imagine themselves strutting about as masters in the streets of Dantzic, and as looking down from the green ridge at Koenigsberg upon the Polish river Pregel." In fact, we rather expect that precisely that will happen—with a single exception: Poles don't "strut." They leave that for the Prussians. As for the astonishment and painful regret which other German organs express at the "ingratitude" and "cold-heartedness" of the Poles of Germany, "it is to laugh." How, pray, should Poles feel toward an empire which has oppressed them for generations, whose Kaiser has habitually called them "enemies" and one of whose recent Chancellors described them as "an inferior people, fit only to be trodden under foot"?

The fourth Liberty Loan, the largest Government loan for any purpose ever made in the world, has been fully subscribed, and oversubscribed; by as many individual subscribers as there are families in the United States. That is highly gratifying. We never doubted that it would be subscribed, unless for a moment after the issuance of the President's amazing note to Germany. The lukewarmness of the nation, or of a large part of it, toward the loan at that time and on that account, was most ominous. There was a general inclination to paraphrase Pinckney's immortal epigram, and say, Billions for inexorable prosecution of the war, but not one cent for compromise. But even then we had confidence that the President, with his political acumen and his mental and verbal dexterity, would find some way of repairing the damage. He did. The Austrian note set things right. Shrewdly put forth at the eleventh hour, it mightily contributed to the "whirlwind finish." It would of course have been far better to have the loan completed days before, without any such fillip or the over-strenuous measures which were employed on Saturday. But—all's well that ends well. "We've got the men, we've got the ships, we've got the money, too!"

There is ground for hope that the epidemic of influenza and pneumonia is beginning to wane; after killing thousands of men in our camps beside tens of thousands elsewhere, and putting out of commission as many men as a whole month's levies for the other side. Its abatement is due chiefly to natural causes. The fire is simply burning itself out. The record of its handling by the authorities remains unique for official apathy and incapacity.

The demand of the Danes for a reopening of the Schleswig-Holstein question and a righting of the wrong done to them at Dueppel more than half a century ago will undoubtedly receive serious and sympathetic consideration. It must, of course, be remembered that there is one radical difference between their case and the cases of Poland, the Czcho-Slovaks, Italia Irredenta, and Serbia, in that these latter are belligerents in this war while Denmark is not. It

is one thing to settle all the issues directly implicated in the war; it would be another and very different thing to "go back of the returns," as we used to say in 1876, and reopen cases which this war has not touched. Nevertheless there are some very strong sentimental and practical reasons for doing this in the case of Denmark. The spoliation of that worthy little kingdom was the first of the series of international crimes which Prussia committed under Bismarck's direction in her modern campaign first for German hegemony and then for world-conquest. She used Denmark to practice on before tackling a stronger Power, and incidentally also to serve as the pretext for attacking Austria. Having beaten Denmark, she felt emboldened to pick a quarrel with Austria a couple of years later, and then having beaten Austria she was ready to assault France four years later still. Seeing that we are going to put a decisive end to Prussian brigandage, there would be excellent reason for going back to its beginning and making a clean job of it. The peace of the world would be more secure with Denmark in possession of her old provinces—incidentally, by the way, in possession of at least the Baltic end of the Kiel Canal, which would thus be transformed into a neutral international waterway, as it should be.

The Belgian Government is already preparing with great minuteness its schedule of damages, for which it will demand indemnity from Germany. Let us hope that it will make a thorough job of it, not overlooking nor abating a single farthing's worth of such losses as can be computed in pecuniary terms. And when that is done, let the complete satisfaction of that claim be the inexorable *sine qua non* of peace for Germany and of her renewed intercourse with the civilized world. Belgium suffered the first blows from the felonious bully of Potsdam, and has suffered the worst spoliation and ravishment; and she must have the first and fullest reparation. Less than that would be dishonor to the world.

That is a perfectly correct, though possibly somewhat superfluous, observation of Sir Frederick E. Smith, the British Attorney-General, that the Central Powers should be represented at the peace conference at the end of the war, but should have no voice nor vote. It is a well-established principle of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence that the convicted criminal is to be present when sentence is pronounced upon him. But he has nothing to say, unless to respond to the question whether he can give any reason why sentence should not be pronounced, which in practically every case is a form and nothing more.

We must confess that Lord Milner's insistence that it is a serious mistake to imagine that the German people are in love with militarism does not convincingly impress us. We should doubt if he is as well informed upon the subject as Dr. Muelhon, who assures us that the masses of the people, even the Social Democrats, were about as hot for the war as was the Kaiser himself. Indeed, Lord Milner seems to discredit his own contention. He says that when the Germans see the complete and ignominious defeat of militarism, and realize the ruin it has brought upon them, they will be as eager to get rid of it as are the Allies. That means not that they did not want the war, but that they are discouraged with

defeat. It is defeat that they turn against, not militarism. If they were winning the war, they would continue to regard militarism as the very Beauty of Holiness. That is a kind of conversion in which we have little faith. Still, as complete and ignominious defeat and ruin are the only things that will cause even such conversion as that, by all means let us inexorably impose that fate upon them—for the good of their souls.

We need not denounce the Hun. He does it himself. Nothing could be more damning than his official self-revelation. Note the recent order to the armies "to cease all devastation of places, unless they are absolutely forced to follow this course by the military situation for defensive reasons." That is to say, they have hitherto been devastating places without any military necessity. That is what we have all along known and said, but it is none the less satisfactory to have the All Highest confess it.

Various Senatorial candidates have been giving their views on peace-making. "Unconditional surrender," says Governor Capper, of Kansas, and "Unconditional surrender" echoes Mr. Kenyon, of Iowa. "There can be no peace until the war is won and is won right," says Mr. Folk, of Missouri; "Our Western soldiers want to march through Unter den Linden before they come home," says Mr. Rinehart, of South Dakota; and "Peace through unconditional surrender" is the prescription of Dr. Lanstrum, of Montana. Similar declarations by Mr. Norris of Nebraska and by the Father of Edsel Ford, of Michigan, have not yet been reported.

Dr. Karl Peters is dead, and the Kaiser sent a personal representative to lay a wreath upon his grave. It is not altogether clear why William the Damned went to that trouble; whether because of Peters's annexation of East Africa to Germany's colonial empire, or because of the outrages, tortures and murders which Peters, through sexual degeneracy, inflicted upon helpless natives, and which caused him to be dismissed from the imperial service in disgrace. After what the Kaiser has sanctioned and ordered in Belgium and France, we rather incline to the latter cause. The wreath was a token of atonement for that undeserved dismissal. A man certainly ought not to have been thus punished in Germany for merely ravishing or debauching women and murdering those who resisted. If he were to be, what would become of the flower of the Prussian Guards?

Senator Jim Ham should learn to Hooverize his words. The resolution which he offered the other day, pledging approval of anything and everything that the President might do, was simply scandalously long. It filled twenty-eight lines in the *New York Times*, when eight words would have sufficed: "Resolved, That the King can do no wrong." That was, of course, what Jim Ham meant; but he meant it in a different sense from that in which it was originally and indeed still is used as a perfectly correct principle of law. The British judicial meaning is, of course, not that the sovereign personally is infallible, but that every act of government—of which he is the representative—must be legal; that is, that Parliament cannot enact an illegal law. But Jim

Ham speaks plumply for personal infallibility. Whatever the President may do, he insists, must be right; wherefore the Senate should pledge its approval and support in advance. At the risk of being hanged, drawn and quartered for violating the sedition act, the espionage act, and the by-laws of the S. P. C. A., we dissent.

Mr. Villard's *Nation* thinks that the President's recent note-writing has made such progress toward peace that "a peace, honorable, just, definitive—one to satisfy all true Americans whose souls are not corroded with bitterness and hate—is in reach if we but desire it"; presumably through further negotiations with those who, according to the President, do not think the same thoughts on such subjects nor speak the same language that we do, and through entering into some covenant with those who, according to the same fine authority, are without honor or conscience or capacity for a covenanted peace. We are not in the habit of taking out our souls to look for spots of corrosion and to polish them off with emery. But we confess that we vividly remember the sinking of the *Lusitania* years ago and the sinking of the *Leinster* only some days ago, and the long catalogue of like infamies between them; we remember the unspeakable crimes committed against the manhood and the womanhood and the childhood of Belgium and France; we remember the conspiracies and campaigns of arson and murder in this country; we remember the lies and treacheries of the German Government and of its representatives in America. And we not only confess but we testify with pride that all these things are just as vivid in our minds, and are just as damnably detestable to us now, as they were when they were first committed. Our indignation and our demands for just and inexorable retribution have not abated to the ten millionth part of a degree. If thus to keep these things in mind means corrosion of soul, then thank God our souls are utterly corroded!

The movement of labor leaders from Latin-American states all the way from Mexico to Argentina, to prepare for a great industrial revival and reorganization after the war, is something which may well engage the most serious attention of the United States, both official and private; to which end it is gratifying that the principal conferences are being held in this country. There is no question that those countries will enter upon a new era at the close of the war, of simply incalculable significance to themselves and to the whole world, but of greater significance to us than to any other country outside their own number. We neglected them and our own opportunities in them for many years, to our great loss and discredit; but we now have, though undeserved, another chance to establish with them the relations which ought to have existed for a century past. Our Government should send to those countries the most authoritative and tactful commission possible, and our commercial and industrial organizations should exert themselves to get into intimate touch with them.

The former German Chancellor not long ago referred to Belgium as a pawn in the game which Germany was playing. Is Count Hertling a chess player? If so, he ought to know that sometimes a mere pawn checkmates a king.

The Austrian Note

OF the three major purposes served by the President's admirable note to Austria-Hungary, that which was perhaps at first blush least direct and obvious—though surely it must have been abundantly obvious to every perceptive and discriminating reader—will probably prove to be the most far-reaching and important; one of the most significant utterances, indeed, that the President has made amid all his numerous and varied discussions of prospective peace.

The primary purpose of the note was of course to reply to and to refuse the Austrian plea for an armistice. It served that purpose admirably, incomparably better than the preceding note to the German Government. Unlike the latter, it invited no rejoinder; it opened no gate to a windy flood of hypocritical babble. It might indeed have been more concise, as most of the President's notes and addresses might well be; but despite some slight verbosity its meaning was unmistakable and unequivocal. It was a direct, positive and irrevocable refusal, which is of course precisely what it should have been.

It might seem ungracious to dwell at length upon the purpose of the note as a stimulus to the Liberty Loan campaign. As such it was gratifyingly successful. Withheld until the psychological moment, it counteracted the depressing effect of the preceding note to Germany, and enabled the wearied but zealous and indomitable canvassers to put the loan "over the top" during the last allotted twenty-four hours; leaving only cause for speculation upon the size of the over-subscription which might have been attained several days earlier had the note to Germany been similarly direct and uncompromising.

There remains the third purport, the effect of which is not for a momentary occasion, but for all time; committing this country to a fixed and, we do not hesitate to say, most auspicious policy for the whole process of peace-making and world-reorganization. That is, in brief, that the President, or the United States, is not to assume the attitude of an arbiter in the affairs of Europe, and is not to dictate the remaking of the map of that continent, but is to recognize and to vindicate the authority of the various individual peoples concerned.

Observe: The President tells Austria-Hungary that she must now look to the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs for terms of peace. That is a perfectly logical sequence to our former recognition of the belligerence and potential sovereignty of those peoples. It means that we are going to back those peoples up in their establishment of independence, and are going to keep fighting their oppressor until their demands are satisfied. In addition to our own grievances against the Hapsburg monarchy, we are the champion of others who have even greater grievances against it, and we are going to let those others exercise the fullest possible right of self-determination.

Now that is admirable, and so is its inevitable corollary, that we are to deal similarly in other similar cases. There is, for example, Poland. We have given her even fuller recognition than the Czecho-Slovaks. We are now logically pledged not to withhold our hand until her demands are satisfied. The Poles want their Austrian and Prussian provinces restored to them, including West Prussia and Dantzig. We are pledged

to see that such restoration is made. If Germany again asks for an armistice, therefore, following the analogy of this excellent note to Austria, we may properly refer her to Poland, and say that it is for that country to determine whether the time is fitting for granting it.

In like manner we must defer to the wishes of Russia with respect to the Ukraine and Baltic Provinces, and to those of Italy concerning Trieste and Trent. It is of course for France to say when she is satisfied with the settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine question, and we must keep on fighting in her behalf until she does so declare. As for Belgium, we are not to listen to Germany if she tells us that she has evacuated that country and is willing to do something for its rehabilitation. We must sternly refer her to King Albert and his people and tell her that she must fully satisfy them before we will listen to pleas of peace. And the same just rule must apply to Serbia. In every such case there must be an adaptation and application of the President's words to Austria-Hungary; substantially thus:

"The President is obliged to insist that they and not he shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Central Powers will satisfy their aspirations and their conceptions of their rights."

Upon that wise, prudent and just principle the American nation will resolutely sustain the President, to the end.

Never mind, Marse Henry! Somebody will come along to pick up the torch of free and independent journalism that the *Courier-Journal* seems to have dropped. "To hell with the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns!" is gaining popularity daily, and, unless we miss our guess, it will swell in volume till they get there.

There is reason to believe that the President has never for a moment considered peace negotiations with Germany until after the German field armies had accepted such terms of surrender as Marshal Foch deemed it necessary to impose.—*Washington dispatch to the Sun*.

What a pity he didn't say so!

The *World* discourses at some length on Henry Ford, but does not say whether it is for him or against him.

Is the *Tribune* still supporting Norris?

A Disgraceful Episode

PETTY jealousy in the military establishment, together with the narrowness of "one of the most efficient public servants" President Wilson ever knew, is actually depriving General Pershing of a thoroughly trained, highly efficient regiment of artillery, fully equipped, and sick and sore because it cannot get onto the fighting line. This organization is the 10th Regiment of Marines, Col. Robert H. Dunlop, commanding. It is composed not of recruits, but of veterans, men who have served as artillery, with distinction, in three wars—although, as two of these were conducted by President Wilson without the sanction of Congress, little news has been permitted to reach the public regarding the gallant conduct of the marine battalion which acquitted itself so creditably in them. The three wars were the war in Santo Domingo, the war in Hayti, and the war in Mexico. From the veterans of this battalion, which served as artillery

in all three countries, has been recruited the 10th Marine Artillery Regiment, practically all the members of which have had their baptism of fire. This organization has been in training at Quantico, Va., for more than a year; it has been trained to the minute in the use of the 7-inch guns with which the regiment is equipped, and it is now eating its heart out because army jealousy will not let it go to France, and because Secretary Baker is threatening to confiscate its guns and equipment and turn them over to the army.

The Colonel commanding the 10th Regiment has had experience on the front during this war. He has been a member of the staff of Admiral Sims. He has visited practically the entire Western front and has made reports covering every detail of the most modern artillery fighting. And every officer in the regiment is an artillery veteran. The regiment went into camp at Quantico in August, 1917, beginning its practice with guns loaned by the French. It has been trained by French, Scotch and Italian officers, and months ago, its own equipment not then being ready, the French offered to lend it the eight guns it required. But the army did not want marines serving in France as artillery, and Secretary Baker supported the army in that position.

Marines serving as infantry were welcome. Col. Smedley Butler took over a regiment consisting of 4,000 marines (the 13th) and they have rendered gallant service, having won from the Germans the title of "*Teufel-hunden*," devil-dogs. The 10th Regiment of artillery was organized considerably before the 13th. The Navy Department undertook to provide the desired twelve guns for the 10th Regiment. They could go with eight, but hoped to take twelve guns. The equipment, mounts, and other paraphernalia of these guns has been in the warehouse of the Naval Overseas Transportation Service on the docks at Philadelphia for months, ready for shipment at a moment's notice, and that service has been begging to be allowed to ship it because the space it occupies is sorely needed. As has been said, the French would gladly have lent the necessary guns at any moment in order to add so valuable a unit to General Foch's command, but now the guns ordered by the Navy Department are arriving at the rate of five every two weeks. The first one delivered was taken to the Naval proving grounds at Indian Head and met every requirement and test. The men of the 10th Regiment have been taught the use of these 7-inch guns, which were designed by marine officers, and are thoroughly familiar with them. And now Secretary Baker is trying to take them away from the marines and confide them to regular army batteries, regardless of the fact that it would take several months to teach the army men what the marines already know.

As long ago as June 11, the 10th Regiment of marines was reviewed by Secretary Daniels and the members of the naval committees of Congress. It was ready to go over then, and ever since its members have been grieving because they were denied the opportunity to get at the Boche, while the French officers, who know their fitness and esprit, grieve also that Marshal Foch is denied the support of so efficient a military unit.

A Marine Major General, Le Jeune, commands a division in General Pershing's army. There are 15,000 marines serving in France, and the 11th Regiment, trained as infantry, is ready to go over, with no prospect of any obstacle being placed in its way. General Pershing did not want to

give a marine officer command of a division, but Congress made General Le Jeune a permanent Major General and General Waller a temporary Major General to command on this side of the water, so Pershing had no choice. Nor is there reason to believe that General Pershing has ever regretted that such high command was given to General Le Jeune. But still the army opposition to marines serving as artillery persists. Still Secretary Baker aids and abets this petty jealousy. And unless there is intervention by some power higher than the Secretary of War—possibly public opinion informed by knowledge of the facts—the guns which the navy has caused to be made will be taken from the men most competent to man them, the heart of a regiment of proven worth and gallantry will be broken, and the Allied Army on the Western front will be denied the support which is now ready and eager to go to its assistance.

MAY CATCH VILLA SOON.—*Sun headline.*

Sounds like old times. Send to Pershing.

I hope that in the future you will not print letters from women who insist both that I do not know what I am talking about and that I am unable to distinguish a General in full uniform from a priest of the Roman Catholic Church—*James W. Gerard to the Times.*

No, that's not right.

"The same tragic scenes as in Lille happened when the Germans made the conscription of women in Turcoing and Roubaix," Philip Gibbs cables to the *Times*. "With machine guns posted in the streets and German officers making an arbitrary choice of the young women and girls for forced labor in fields far from their homes, this seizing of girls was done at night without previous warning, and the dark horror of it made the girls go mad and their shrieks rang down the streets, and even those who had most courage wept bitterly, and a great wailing arose from mothers and fathers and sisters and children who feared the worst for those who were taken."

This happened only last week. But we would be "just" to those Germans, Mr. President, really we would. Even though we should "wish to be unjust," we couldn't be. There is no way.

MUST FREE SLAVS, WILSON TELLS AUSTRIA.—*World headline.*

All right, all right; go ahead, Foch!

Reasonable Guarantees

FROM Italy and from Brazil come counsels of prudence. They speak for guarantees from the Hun, both for the faithful keeping of an armistice, if General Foch ever grants one, and for the faithful payment of the indemnity to be exacted as one of the prices of peace. These are just and reasonable, and are to be commended for general agreement and insistence on the part of all the Allied Powers.

Military authorities in Italy, we are told, insist that the four great Austrian fortresses of Trent, Franzenfeste, Pola and Cattaro shall be handed over to the Italian army, as an essential prerequisite to the granting of an armistice. That does not mean necessarily that they are to be permanently

ceded to Italy, though they ought to be and we expect will have to be. Certainly we hope so. But it means that Italy is entitled to hold them during the armistice, as a guarantee that Austria will not treacherously take advantage of the cessation of fighting to strike some foul blow. The nature of the Tedeschi amply warrants Italy in cherishing such suspicions, and in insisting upon such guarantees. It will be recalled that at the beginning of the war Germany wanted France to remain neutral between Germany and Russia, but to give Germany possession of several of her chief fortress cities as pledges of good faith. If Germany could demand such guarantees from a Power of so untarnished faith, Italy surely has a right to demand them from a Power of notorious treachery and falsehood.

But that is only for the armistice, which may never be granted. Brazil speaks for something more, for the guarantees of permanent peace-making. We all know Senhor Ruy Barbosa, not only as an eminent Brazilian but also as one of the whole world's most competent authorities on international affairs. He raises the question of the guarantees which are properly to be required, for Germany's payment of the war indemnity which is to be exacted from her, especially for Belgium and France. Of course, she will not be able to pay so many billions of dollars down, spot cash. It will probably take her years to do so. What assurance shall we have that she will not default, and thus put us to the trouble of renewing pressure upon her?

Senhor Barbosa points out the course of justice and of prudence. It lies in occupation of German territory until the last copper of the indemnity is paid. That was the way in which Germany treated France in 1871, although there was no such reason for doubting France's good faith as there is now for doubting Germany's. She insisted upon occupying some of the most precious French territory until the last franc of the five billions was paid. Certainly there is far more reason, or will be at the end of the war, for requiring such a guarantee from Germany. We would have an Allied army, at any rate French and Belgian, occupying Berlin and Potsdam, maintained there at German expense, and also have the Palatinate and Westphalia and every rood of Germany west of the Rhine garrisoned and administered by the Allies, until the last pfennig of indemnity is paid in full.

That would not be mere retribution, though on that ground it would be commendable. It would not be merely meant for humiliation. It would be above all an act of prudence to make sure that we should not be put to the necessity of waging the war all over again.

As the grandmother talked the mother listened. "Yes," said she, "my boy thinks I'm dead, and I cannot write a letter to him because I am paralyzed."—*Hearst's Affecting Tales.*

Cheer up, mother! He probably wouldn't get it anyway.

The Tank Situation

FREQUENT references appear in dispatches from the front, especially those which have been subjected to the tender ministrations of the Committee on Public Information, to the heroic and effective work of "the American Tanks." And these references are just as misleading—and designed to be—as were the constant references of a few months ago to the "American aeroplanes" on the Western

front. The tanks referred to are American to the extent that they are manned by American soldiers and under the command of American generals. But the studied implication that they are American built tanks is false, for the tank programme has collapsed as completely as did the aeroplane programme.

Months ago there was established an American assembling plant for tanks in France, and contracts were let to English, French and Americans for approximately 500 tanks each. When, a short time ago, the 1,000 tanks contracted for in France and Great Britain had been delivered and assembled, the parts of not one complete American tank had arrived.

The War Department programme called for the construction of 4,400 tanks in this country. On September 1, just eight tanks had been completed. There was prospect, it was officially stated to members of the Senate Military Committee, that a total of forty tanks would be delivered during the month of September.

Months ago a tank training camp was established at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. On September 1, not one tank had been delivered at the camp, and the men who had enlisted for and been assigned to tank service were being trained with blue-prints, paper representations of the machines they were supposed to master. Whether or not the deficiency at Gettysburg has been remedied since by the delivery of at least one tank, in order that the men may have the opportunity to study the form and substance, as well as the paper designs, the Military Committee is not informed. To learn the reasons for the collapse of the tank programme it will probably be necessary to ask Secretary Baker—although members of Congress have asked him, and he has replied that that is "military information not proper to disclose."

But if Mr. Baker ever is called on to explain by anyone with sufficient authority to compel an answer, he will have as much to explain regarding the failure of the tank programme as he has in connection with the collapse of the aeroplane plans.

We have examined the record of Representative Roberts, Republican candidate for Senator, in response to several requests, and find that he, like Senator Norris, while voting against the Declaration of War, pledged his support of vigorous prosecution of the war once begun; but that, unlike Mr. Norris, he kept his pledge in all respects except as to conscription, which was a test of judgment, not of loyalty.

We learn also that ex-Governor Morehead, Democratic candidate against Mr. Norris, disapproved of conscription, but has since become convinced that it was the preferable method, and he has never, so far as we can discover, betrayed symptoms of disloyalty.

Those who have sons at the front and those who serve at home join in the request that we adhere to the policy of War to Victory; an unconditional surrender by the Central Powers; the abdication of the Kaiser; and the cessation of military rule in Germany.—*National Federation of College Women.*

Apparently, the patriotism of American women was not so wholly dependent upon the "vital" grant of suffrage, after all.

Will the Postmaster-General explain?—*Washington Herald.*
He will not; he can't even do that.

A Storm Brewing

THERE is a storm brewing in the Government at Washington, and a more or less violent conflict between the President and the Senate seems inevitable. Just how soon it will break is not yet evident. It is not likely to break so long as the United States is actively engaged in war, but as soon as anything approaching actual peace negotiations arrives, the explosion, in the estimation of leading Senators, is unescapable. President Wilson has long shown a disposition to ignore completely the part which the Senate, as the duly constituted voice of the sovereign States, is designed by the Constitution to play in the conduct of the nation's foreign relations.

As far back as the Mexican embroglio, at the beginning of his Administration, Mr. Wilson ignored the Senate by selecting, with neither its advice nor consent, his diplomatic representatives, such as John Lind, Dr. Hale and others, and, in the estimation of many, he made war on Mexico by the investiture of Vera Cruz without proper respect for the responsibilities imposed on Congress by the Constitution, while to a still greater extent he violated the Constitution in his wars on Hayti and Santo Domingo—wars conducted without formal declarations, but none the less wars.

The selection of Col. House as his representative at the first inter-Allied conference, with neither the advice nor consent of the Senate, was felt to be a flagrant violation of the spirit of the Constitution, but with the nation at war and the President acting in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief, members of Congress refrained from doing anything which might embarrass the Chief Executive.

The enunciation of fourteen propositions as a basis of peace and their subsequent amplification, regarding which neither the Senate nor its Committee on Foreign Relations was consulted, was held to be a usurpation of the field of a co-ordinate, treaty-making branch of the Government. And then came Germany's acceptance of these propositions as a rude shock to the men who, as the chosen representatives of the States, are equally responsible with the President for the terms on which peace shall be made. It was not until Germany's acceptance, indeed, that these representatives either undertook to analyze those propositions or to ask themselves whether they would for a moment consider ratifying a treaty embodying them. Now they realize that for the sake of harmony and to avoid any appearance of hampering the Executive in the conduct of the war they have permitted themselves to be lulled into fancied security by sonorous rhetoric, the real purport of which they have not, and in some instances cannot, grasp.

Now that they are aroused, they are asking some serious questions. Does the President, for instance, purpose by the first of his fourteen propositions to abolish the time-honored practice of the Senate of considering foreign relations in executive session? By the third does he mean to bind his country to remove every economic barrier, even a protective tariff, from the trade paths of the nations signatory to the peace? By the fourth does he mean to reduce the military establishment to the mere necessities of internal police duty? Would he abolish the navy as unnecessary to the maintenance of "domestic safety"? Would he lower the military establishment to a point where it would be insufficient to deal with disturbances in Mexico? By the fifth does

he commit the United States to the policy of turning the Philippines adrift whenever a majority of the Filipinos so desire? What course would the United States be justified in pursuing toward the Philippines under the 3d proposition of his Mt. Vernon speech? If the President's terms are not to be construed in the affirmative, why are they so framed as to permit of reasonable suspicion that they are?

Mr. Wilson has framed his peace terms without the slightest consultation with the men two-thirds of whom must approve any treaty he may make before it can be ratified; but have not they been supine and almost heedless of the responsibility which rests on them, under their oaths to support the Constitution of the United States?

During the six years he has been President Mr. Wilson has exhibited a notable disinclination, indeed an unwillingness, to consult those who, under the Constitution, should be his advisers in the conduct of foreign affairs. Can he change now? Can he, after exercising the extraordinarily autocratic powers which have been delegated to him as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, adjust himself to the conditions which must prevail with the cessation of hostilities?

Secretary Baker is back in Washington safe and sound. Look out now for the training of the Harveyized guns on their favorite target.—*Houghton Gazette*.

Not at all. There is not the slightest occasion. The procession passed Mr. Baker some time ago. We heard he was back. Where has he been? Rumor had it that he was abroad, first peeking around a tree at the soldiers and later inspecting Y. M. C. A. huts in Surrey, but we don't really know. He may have been sitting on a keg in a Paris cellar or chewing gum in the British war office. One thing is certain. If he really was abroad, his presence seems to have attracted about as much attention as his absence attracted in Washington, and the excitement caused by his return corresponded to that which attended his departure. There need be no further worry about Mr. Baker. He is through. The great war machine of which he is now only the titular head is forging ahead irresistibly and he is as powerless to put on the brakes now as a mosquito from the Potomac flats. We have no more time or space to bestow upon Mr. Baker. That job is finished. He is not the one to be kept up to the scratch from now on.

"I would like to see America forgive our Allies the debts they owe us. I would like to have our country send a receipted bill to Great Britain, France and Italy," said Mr. George W. Wickersham, just as we were thinking that all lunatics were present or accounted for. It might be a good idea, to be sure, if they would promise not to ask for any more, but mightn't it be a still better one to wait until we get through and see how we all stand? Somehow we cannot quite yet picture Great Britain as an eager recipient of alms.

"Free trade absolute and complete, with all its tremendous ills, looms in the near future under a continuation of Democratic rule," says the Republican Congressional Committee, in seeming, though perhaps unwittingly expressed, anticipation of Democratic success at the polls.

U. S.—United States. Uncle Sam. Ulysses Simpson. UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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God Save the Republic!

"God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it."—DANIEL WEBSTER.

IT was the hypocrisy of Mr. Wilson's sinister appeal that hurt most. No argument was needed to convince the people of the impossibility of reconciling his solemn renunciation of politics to his abrupt substitution of partisanship for patriotism in this hour of the Nation's peril. It was all too apparent.

That is what shocked the country. It came as a blow in the face that a President of the United States could, for any conceivable reason, descend so far from his high estate. His doing so for the unmistakable purpose of furthering his own towering ambition was felt instinctively as a reflection upon the Republic itself. The mere suggestion of setting up in America an autocracy, "unembarrassed" by duly chosen representatives of the people, while demanding the obliteration of despotic rule throughout the world, was so glaring an incongruity that it could not fail to be regarded everywhere as a reproach to the whole country. The people were shamed that their President should hold their intelligence, their pride and their fidelity to their time-honored institutions in so slight esteem.

But time now is too precious to dwell upon even national humiliation. Nor need we concern ourselves with the just resentment of faithful public servants at misrepresentation of both their acts and motives so wicked as to fetch, for the first time in the history of our country, an accusation of deliberate falsification from a former President against his successor. We may

even pass over the insolent imputation of ignorance of American political affairs on the part of our Allies.

It is the menace to free government staring us in the face that demands attention. Mr. Wilson tells us how he, and how he believes the country and the world, would interpret the election of a Republican Congress. It would imply repudiation of his leadership. It would embarrass him as spokesman of his countrymen at home and abroad. It would dispel "unity of command"—his sole and exclusive "unity of command"—in civil as well as military affairs. It would compel him to take counsel with the direct representatives of the people. It would take from him the "control of legislation" which he now possesses and would vest it in those representatives, as provided explicitly and jealously by the Constitution. It would, in a word, restore the legislative branch of the Government to the people.

To maintain "unified leadership" and "unified control," meaning his personal and "unembarrassed" leadership and control, therefore, it is "imperatively necessary" that the Nation should return a Democratic Congress, which would accord "undivided support" to him and to him alone as "the Government" of the United States.

Now consider: If the election of a Republican Congress would mean all of these things, what to Mr. Wilson's mind would the election of a

Democratic Congress signify? The opposite, of course; the exact opposite in every respect. It would relieve him of all embarrassment. It would give to him full authority as spokesman of the Nation. His sole, exclusive and complete command in civil as well as military affairs would have been confirmed by the people. He would be freed from the necessity of conferring with their representatives. His "control of legislation" would be unqualified. His word would be law. His every wish would be enacted. The Constitution would be evaded and in effect abrogated by direction of the people, from whom he had received, not a mere endorsement as President, but a positive mandate to act hereafter as their duly designated absolute ruler.

That is the interpretation which Mr. Wilson would put upon, and *would have a right to put upon*, the election of a Democratic Congress. Millions of voters might not have intended to confer autocratic powers upon an individual. But they would have done so. Mr. Wilson has set the trap with superlative skill. It waits only to be sprung.

Talk of partisanship is arrant nonsense. Mr. Wilson cares no more for the Democratic party than for the Republican party or the Prohibition party except as a vehicle for his own aggrandizement. He is an autocrat by nature and by training. He is temperamentally incapable of meeting anybody upon a basis of equality. One or the other must be master. He aims avowedly, through this election, to achieve mastery, absolute at home, and, through that, as nearly absolute as possible abroad. If he wins, he will have realized his ambition, so far at least as this country is concerned, and will hold in the hollow of his hand the destinies of the Nation.

We have already set forth as clearly as lay within our power the normal issues of this campaign, due consideration of which would surely have produced a Republican Congress. Mr. Wilson, in his desperation and daring, now injects an abnormal and overpowering issue which must be met at the polls.

It threatens representative government. It involves the liberties of the American people. It strikes deep at the very foundations of free institutions. It is a menace to all mankind.

This is not exaggeration; it is sober truth.

GOD SAVE THE REPUBLIC!

"The President, who is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, must not have the authority divided in the United States between the Congress on the one hand and himself on the other," says Mr. McAdoo filially. So, of course, the thing to do is to make the President Commander-in-Chief of Congress also. If Mr. McAdoo will borrow and read a copy of the Constitution, he will discover that Congress is empowered to enact laws and to make war, and the President is supposed to restrict his activities to the suggestion and the execution of the former and the direction of the latter. As Commander-in-Chief, he has nothing whatever to do with shaping treaties of peace, and as President only jointly with the Senate. Whenever he exercises authority in excess of that indicated he violates his oath of office and renders himself subject to trial for impeachment. Senator Poindexter hinted as much quite plainly only the other day.

"He is a patriot," says Mr. Daniels of Mr. Ford. "In the problems to be settled after the war his practical judgment as Senator would be of the highest value." His patriotism and his judgment may be measured by a few of his "sayings," to wit:

This growing cry, this cringing wail for preparedness, is one of the most dastardly influences ever at work in this nation. It is a snake that every clean, decent thinking man should fight with every ounce of strength there is in him.

I would beach every warship and disassemble every rifle and gun and convert the salvage into useful commercial implements to be used for the benefit and upbuilding of mankind.

The word "murderer" should be embroidered on the breast of every soldier and every naval sailor.

The United States has spent more than a billion dollars on a navy and army that was to cope with an invasion that never occurred and never will occur.

As there is no other way to end the war than by mediation and discussion, why waste one more precious human life?

I am for Mr. Wilson because with a world at war he kept us out of war.

Bismarck! Bismarck! I guess that is a matter of history. I don't know much about that.

History is more or less bunk. It's tradition. We don't want tradition.

I don't know anything about history, and I wouldn't give a nickel for all the history in the world. The only history worth while is the history we are making day by day. I don't want to live in the past. I want to live in the Now.

And yet Josephus is consistent. Not so very long ago he was saying the same things himself. Besides, he is the Cabinet member who humbly waited upon the wise man in the Willard Hotel and escorted him to the White House, when he was commanded to become the President's Personal Candidate for Senator.

Too Much "Baby Act"

IT is not well to plead the baby act too often.

Some years ago, when the President wanted a repeal of the provision for discriminating tolls at Panama, he told Congress that if the repealer was not enacted he would be seriously embarrassed in some future dealings with some foreign country. The repealer was passed.

Again, a short time ago, he went before the Senate with a plea for the Woman Suffrage amendment. That time the plea was not effective, and the flinty-souled Senate de-

liberately incurred the danger of having the President embarrassed.

Now once more the same plea is made, this time addressed to the whole nation. The President wants the Father of Edsel Ford and a whole Democratic majority elected to Congress, both Houses. It is really essential for the proper prosecution of the war, and he will be embarrassed beyond measure if his wish is not granted. It is not a question of what the people want in their representation at Washington, but of what the President wants in a branch of Government coördinate with his own.

We have known Presidents who were not afraid nor reluctant to stand up manfully in the face of any Congress that the people saw fit to send to Washington, and who have been able to do excellent work in the presence of a Congress of a political complexion contrary to their own.

When Senator Williams took the floor he made a defense of Henry Ford and a criticism of Truman H. Newberry, whom he alluded to as "Noberry," "Marbury," and "Mudberry."—*Washington Dispatch to the Times*.

Not so reported in the *Congressional Record*!

A Dire Need Unheeded

MOST urgent recommendations have been made to the Secretary of the Navy to authorize the creation of an up-to-date and efficient organization for the Naval Overseas Transportation Service, recommendations to which Mr. Daniels persistently turns a deaf ear. And there is excellent reason for believing that not only is that service suffering now from the Secretary's course, but that the commerce of the country will suffer much more severely in the future as a result of his obstinate lack of prescience.

This service, which has done wonderful work, which has transported nearly one million of the two million American troops now abroad, which is successfully operating 400 and ultimately will operate 900 ships, should be made the foundation of an efficient and ample American merchant marine. With a view both to attaining the highest efficiency during the war and providing for the post-bellum commercial needs of the nation, it has been urged upon Secretary Daniels by naval officers that there be created at once a "Policy Committee," authorized to control the operations of the service, to direct additions to the fleet through new construction, and to plan for its work in the future. The proposed committee, it is urged, should consist of one representative each of the Navy, the Army, the Shipping Board and the commercial shipping industry.

Numerous reasons have been advanced in support of this proposition, a few of which will indicate the soundness of all. It is pointed out that once this great fleet can be devoted to the pursuits of peace, it will be highly important, even essential, to have ships which can be operated economically and efficiently in a trade for which they have been designed. To this end, the proposed committee should dictate the design of all vessels hereafter to be built with a view to their conformity to the wharfage and docking facilities of certain ports, in South America, for instance; with a view to the adjustment of their size and speed to the character of commercial work they will be called upon to perform; to the adjustment of their

cargo and passenger capacity to the probable requirements of commerce, etc.

In the organization and direction of the personnel, due regard should be had for the prospective conversion of this quasi-military fleet into a commercial fleet, such regard, under proper direction, being entirely compatible with the promotion of present military efficiency.

Such a committee should be clothed with authority to call upon the consular service and the secret service for such information as would aid its labors and enable it the more intelligently to plan for the future. The problems involved are so important and far-reaching, that it is obvious that the most capable Secretary of the Navy could not give them the attention and consideration they deserve and simultaneously devote himself to the multiplicity of his purely naval administrative duties.

In the present method of administration, each of the five branches of the naval service which have to do with the conduct of this service—namely, operations, personnel, repairs, supplies and medical supervision—is, in the last analysis, responsible only to Mr. Daniels himself. Every difference of opinion which may develop must be referred to him, to await its chance for such hasty consideration as he, in the midst of a multiplicity of non-related duties, can give it. Even promotions and rewards of merit are entirely in the hands of the Secretary; nor is he willing to relinquish the smallest authority in such matters to those on whom rests the immediate responsibility for the efficient operation of the service. No substantial consideration whatever is being given to the adaptability of this great fleet, on which the Government is spending millions of dollars, to the nation's future commercial necessities.

A Tax on Public Benefits

THE proposed inheritance tax law, as it left the House, confiscated 40 per cent of estates exceeding \$10,000,000. The Senate Finance Committee has rewritten the House provisions. It has lifted the tax from the estate in its entirety and transferred it to the heirs. From total exemption in the cases of inheritances up to \$10,000, the levy rises in a graduated scale from 1 per cent on inheritances of from \$10,000 to \$25,000 up to 25 per cent for inheritances exceeding \$2,500,000.

This tax falls upon the recipients of charitable and similar bequests as well as upon those that are individual. In the case of charitable and like bequests, however, those which do not exceed 15 per cent of the entire estate are exempt. The imposition of any tax whatever upon bequests to hospitals, for instance, to the promotion of scientific research, to innumerable other laudable things devoted to public benefit is of decidedly questionable propriety. It is even questionable whether such taxation is not against public policy.

No country in the world has so enormously profited by the generosity of its citizens in respect to gifts and bequests for the benefit of the public as has the United States. The total of the sums thus disposed of even within the past twenty-five years is enormous. The sum total is colossal. This method of distribution seems indeed to have become a sort of self-evolved solution on the part of possessors of great fortunes, of those questions which have arisen from time to time concerning the propriety of such great aggregations of personal wealth, with the suggested possibilities of improper

use thereof, which have so much disturbed the repose of professional disturbers as well as of others inspired by less questionable motives. It seems obvious that whatever policy has for its result the checking of this stream of wealth devoted to the public benefit is on its face a bad policy.

How far the consciousness that a heavy tax toll was to be laid upon his unselfish contribution to the welfare of his countrymen, or of mankind in general, would act as a deterrent to the generosity and public spirit of the possessor of superabundant wealth, would vary, of course, with individual temperaments. That in some cases it would cause sufficient irritation to arrest the generous impulse may not be doubted. At the best it smacks of a species of grasping ingratitude which well might overreach itself.

If bequests not exceeding 15 per cent of the entire estate may be exempted, why not all bequests that are distinctly public benefits? Why put any obstacle whatever in the way of that superb liberality of our wealthy citizens which has become so legitimate a source of national pride?

Although not well posted on the New York political situation we have a suspicion that Mr. Smith will make a very good run. Everybody seems to be sick of Mr. Whitman.

It may be close in Ohio.

A Democratic member of the Senate, who is regarded as a spokesman for the Administration in that body, and who recently went to Europe on a mission for the Administration, said to me shortly after we had declared war against Germany, that he had made a mistake in opposing my resolution, and that Congress had made a fatal error in not adopting it. This was said to me in the presence of others and without any solicitation on my part. This Senator is a candidate for re-election and has the support of the Administration.—*Representative Jeff McLemore.*

Meaning, of course, Jim Ham.

To Whom Credit is Due

FOR reasons known only to themselves, but reasons which may be surmised, the Administration leaders have carefully refrained from making public the figures showing the part each Allied nation has played in transporting American troops to Europe. As a consequence, somewhat exaggerated reports regarding the assistance contributed by Great Britain have gained circulation, while Italy, which has contributed generously in proportion to her resources, has failed to receive any credit whatever. And yet Italy's two transports loaned for this purpose have made regular trips between the United States and the American terminal in France with clock-like regularity.

In the interest of truth, that all may receive just credit, and as no good reason exists for suppressing the figures, we make them public now, for the first time:

Of the first 1,851,000 men sent over, the Navy has transported 776,000; the Army, 52,000; Great Britain, 931,000; Italy, 54,000; and France, 38,000.

Each of the Allied nations has done its full part in proportion to the tonnage resources at its command, and the real fighting men of both arms of the service are deeply grateful for the assistance rendered.

Prolonging Paternalism

THE exigencies and stress of war have demanded so many relinquishments on the part of Congress of its legitimate functions that quite naturally there has resulted more or less confusion in the public mind, as well as in the minds of Senators and Representatives themselves, perhaps, as to where Executive authority ends and where legislative authority begins. There has been created a broadening twilight zone of doubt on this subject out of which far-reaching perils might very readily emerge.

A looseness of habit and of thought regarding this vital matter is a natural result of these war-time relaxations. This it will be the duty of Congress to correct as expeditiously as possible. The Federal Commission of Readjustment proposed by Senator Overman would, on its face, tend rather to the obstruction than to the attainment of this end. It is purely an Executive Commission. Its members are appointed by the President and are by him removable. It is in the nature of an Executive bridge across a boundary which the business of the legislative branch in no wise demands shall be crossed.

Senator Overman's doubt that a Congress committee, or committees, could or would do the work assigned to the Commission he proposes is wholly gratuitous. His assumption that the work in question is an Executive rather than a Legislative function is likewise gratuitous, and, we believe, wholly erroneous. Why, for instance, is the assembling of its own scattered legislative enactments into consolidated form a function not of Congress but of the Executive? Why is the reorganization of Government expenditures in departments, offices, commissions and so on, and putting them on an economic basis, solely a matter for Executive study rather than an inquiry by the money-appropriating power itself? Why must a Commission to investigate inland transportation by rail and water derive its authority from the Executive rather than from the source whence all enactments bearing on these problems must come? Why, in a word, should investigation of all problems involving the merchant marine, foreign trade, financing and readjustment to peace conditions of all industries, of agriculture, of technical education and industrial research be assumed as solely an Executive function, to the exclusion of inquiries by those representatives of the people on whom falls the responsibility for the enactments and disbursements of the people's money involved?

Mr. Overman's measure contemplates nothing more nor less than a tentative extension to times of peace of a form of semi-paternal supervision over the legislative branch of the Government to which the country more or less reluctantly assented in times of war, but to which we do not for a moment believe either Congress or the country will assent, once the war is over.

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Free Trade and Forgiveness

AS Mr. Frank H. Simonds writes in a recent article in the *Tribune*, we would indeed be worthy of the Von Papen characterization of us as "idiotic Yankees" if we failed to understand what the German campaign of destruction in France and Belgium means. It means simply that the Hun is making a waste which he wants to call peace. It is one of his deliberate preparations for peace. He is getting ready for a war of industrial aggression as soon as his war of physical conquest is called to a halt.

The Hun factories are intact. Their equipment in machinery is more than intact because it is re-enforced by the millions of dollars worth of machinery of which for four years and over he has been plundering France and Belgium and shipping into Germany. Except in the matter of raw material supplies, the end of the war will find him better prepared to flood the world markets with the output of his manufacturing plants than he was when the war began. In addition to a largely increased mechanism of production, he will have the further advantage of unlimited labor so impoverished that he can command it at wages barely above the starvation standard.

But he is not even satisfied with that. The provinces of France and Belgium that he has for so long been laying waste are precisely the quarters whence heretofore came his sharpest industrial competition. He is taking good care that for years to come that competition shall be non-existent. With factories leveled to the ground, with mines flooded, canals and highways wrecked, whole cities reduced to heaps of ruins; farm-houses, barns and warehouses burned; the very soil, to say nothing of all forest and fruit trees, destroyed, the owners of the pitiful relics of what is left would be in a sorry plight to begin all over again the work of competitive rehabilitation even if they had anything else to begin with. But the Hun has seen to it with searching thoroughness that they have nothing else. Whatever was movable he has stolen and carried into Germany. The engines, the electric equipments, the costly machinery, even down to the most trifling farm implements and the home looms and devices for domestic fabrication of products, either for sale or home use—all these have been searched out to the last nook and corner of possible concealment, carefully boxed and shipped over the Hun border. Not for years to come can these great industrial centres of France and Belgium be restored to other than the most trifling volume of production.

This has not been done in the heat and wanton rage of war destruction. It has been done of set, deliberate purpose. It is a Hun national economic policy. It is to clear the ground of competition with Hun industrial development once the war is over and the Hun hordes translated from organized military to organized industrial servitude. It is with the output of this poverty-stricken labor that our own American manufacturers are to be called upon to compete. It is to the Hun pauper labor standards of wages and living that our own American working men are to be called upon to sink if our American factories are to be kept running. All of this alluring prospect is within the scope of that peace for which the Huns are now whining. Peace with plunder is their slogan. Peace with competition hamstrung for years to come is the peace for which they are yearning. That is what the Kaiser meant when he talked about Germany's willingness to grant a "forgiving" peace.

There is one chance in those celebrated fourteen points of peace discussion formulated by the President which on its face seems to fit in so well with this Hun peace dream that it could hardly fail to appeal powerfully to the Hun "forgiving" peace temperament. It is as follows:

The removal so far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

It is very certain that the United States Senate would not assent to such equality, whatever might be the President's views on the subject. And it will be the United States Senate which will have the final word to say, so far as this country is concerned, on any peace treaty that may be proposed.

The chief attribute of the present Administration, as everybody knows, is immutability; the very stars in their courses are more susceptible to change. Now here comes Secretary Daniels with an immense and highly commendable three-year battleship programme, but does that imply that he has abandoned his pristine disarmament policy sponsored by Bryan and Ford? Not for a moment. "He explained today," we read from Washington, "that his views remain the same, but he thinks disarmament will be a long, gradual process. It seems that the various navies will be called upon to enforce covenants of the League of Peace, each being assigned a share of police duty, based on populations, length of coast lines, wealth," etc. True, the League idea "has not been officially accepted by the Allies so far," but that is a minor consideration. As a matter of fact, after a year of investigation and consideration, the two Parliamentary Commissions of England and France, are now hopelessly deadlocked on the whole proposition, but that doesn't feaze Josephus in the least. Quite likely he doesn't know it, but if he did, it would make no difference. Isn't the President for it?

Colonel Repington, the British military expert, does not seem to be greatly impressed by our Administration's solemn apprehension of a German uprising if we should make the German people mad. "The fact is," he remarks, "there is substantially nothing to rise up. The whole of the able-bodied German population has been placed in the field, together with much of it that is not able-bodied. Nothing is left behind except wounded men and young boys. The population has been combed to death."

The President to the Democratic Candidate for Senator from New Jersey:

These are times when it is particularly necessary that men who would lift affairs to a new plane of action and humane achievement should stand together and see to it that in all public counsels they are adequately and truly represented.

And here we had supposed we had been lifted already to a plane so new and so high that we ought not to think of changing.

"I particularly crave the support of New Jersey!"
Alas, republics, too, are ungrateful.

An Unfit Commission

WE do not look for infallibility, nor for impeccability, even in one of the President's Commissions. But we do think that we have a right to expect something better than has been shown in one of the most important of those bodies and one in whose work such blunderings as have been committed are peculiarly unfortunate and mischievous.

The Federal Trade Commission began its career unfortunately. The first thirty charges of unfair business methods which were presented to it were found to be so baseless that the Commission had to dismiss them as false. It is doubtless to its credit that it did thus dismiss them; but the circumstance was not auspicious of great beneficence on the part of the Commission. If nothing but false charges was presented to it, little good could come of its activities.

Something very bad has indeed come of them. Apparently getting tired of hearing and dismissing false charges, the Commission decided to go into the "J'Accuse!" business itself. So it took to slangwhanging wholesale against business firms. Mindful of the sensation which was produced by the "embalmed beef" scandal during the Spanish war, and supposing that the public would rise to the bait of other like charges, it began attacking some of the chief meat-packing concerns which furnish food for the army. They were trying, it declared, to palm off upon the army meat unfit for human food. Its supposition that the public would rise to this was correct. Its charges were widely exploited in the press, and the public prepared to turn the heaviest batteries of wrath upon the culprits.

But the charges were untrue. We have that on the authority of the Commission which made them, and which has now withdrawn them, confessed their baselessness, and exculpated the concerns against which it had made them. It is true that some meat was rejected by the Government examiners, but that was not because it was bad, but because it was not the kind that had been specified in the contracts. Mutton, for example, might be rejected because it was not the beef which had been ordered, without the slightest reflection upon its quality as perfectly good mutton. It is true, too, that some bad meat was offered, and was rejected; but it was not offered by the concerns which the Commission had accused of so doing. In not one of the first seven cases taken up was the Commission able to substantiate its charges, and so the charges had to be canceled. But as the truth can never overtake a lie, those concerns will doubtless continue to suffer the suspicion, in the mind of the public, of having furnished "embalmed beef" to our soldiers.

We should like to know how much more such work it will take to discredit the Commission. There is nothing more mischievous, at such a time as this, than to exacerbate the relations between the Government and the great industrial and commercial concerns upon whose activities the Government and the whole nation depend for essential supplies. We need not raise the question of motive; nor suggest in the least degree any ulterior purpose in thus damaging the reputé of big business concerns. If it could be unhesitatingly granted that the Commission had acted in good faith, without malice or self-seeking, it would still be scandalous for such a body to continue doing work so badly.

We trust that the President will not feel called upon to

commend this Commission as he did one of the least efficient members of his cabinet, as one of the ablest Commissions he has ever known. He certainly must take cognizance of the gross mismanagement of this Commission's business; mismanagement so gross as to constitute a moral indictment of the Commission as unfit longer to exist in its present form.

From the *Evening Post*:

APROPOS OF A CERTAIN PICTURE IN A CERTAIN WAR-WEEKLY

Said the Colonel to the Colonel: "This man in the White House is really getting away with it."

Replied the Colonel to the Colonel: "That is the Devil of it."

Asked the Colonel of the Colonel: "Can we do anything about it?"

Rejoined the other: "There is my war-weekly."

Said the Colonel with the blunt nose: "Bully, I have an idea."

Answered the Colonel with the pointed nose: "Let us have it."

Asked the Colonel of the Colonel: "Great, isn't it?"

Rejoined the other: "Just a moment. I am thinking."

Said the Colonel with the great future behind him: "Are you afraid?"

Answered the Colonel without any future at all: "They got Debs for less than half of that."

Asked the Colonel of the Colonel: "Are you scared of that Professor?"

Rejoined the other: "Why, no. We can say that we meant it to be a patriotic utterance. I will print that picture."

From which we infer that the picture was printed. But why lug in Colonel House?

Wheat Needs If Peace Comes

IT will be wise to give very careful consideration to the recommendation of the President of the Federal Grain Corporation concerning next year's wheat crop, before it is finally acted upon. Mr. Barnes opposes any increase of the wheat acreage; partly because it would at the expense of other necessary crops, and partly because if a larger wheat crop were thus secured, and if then peace came and opened other sources of wheat supply, a considerable appropriation from Congress might be required to make good the present price guarantee. Both arguments are seriously and benevolently meant, but it is not certain that either is absolutely unanswerable or convincing.

Doubtless it would be bad policy to increase the wheat crop disproportionately, so as to glut the market with that grain and to cause a scarcity of other essential products. It remains to be demonstrated, however, that such a result would inevitably follow any increase of wheat acreage. We have not been informed of any present lack of other crops, nor has it been demonstrated that it would not be possible to maintain or even to increase their acreage while further increasing the acreage of wheat. There are vast areas still unplanted for any crop. By utilizing them it might easily be possible to keep all other crops at the present standing while materially increasing the yield of wheat.

The second objection made by Mr. Barnes is still more vulnerable to criticism. It is an objection in itself of dubious validity based upon two successive hypotheses. If peace comes, and if it opens other sources of wheat supply, then a larger crop here might make wheat so plentiful that prices would naturally decline and Congress would have to make a big appropriation to pay the farmers the price they have offi-

cially been promised. Now, to take this last item first, we are not at all sure that it is a convincing objection to an increased yield. When Congress or anybody else makes such a guarantee, an obligation is incurred, and a risk is run that it will cost something to discharge it. We can scarcely imagine that when the price of wheat was guaranteed the President or Congress or anybody else confidently depended upon the crop's being kept at so low a yield that there would be no inclination toward lower prices. It would not be an unmixed evil if an appropriation had to be made to maintain the price to wheat-producers. There would be compensation for it in the lower prices to consumers. Of course such a system would be intolerable as a permanence, but a single incident of that kind might well be accepted as "all in the day's work" of war.

But even this objection rests upon the hypothesis of the restoration of peace before another wheat harvest is garnered and marketed. Well, we are eager enough for a right kind of peace. We certainly should not postpone peace in order to keep up wheat demand and wheat prices. But it would be altogether imprudent to base so important a thing as a determination of the people's food supply upon so uncertain a factor as the prospects of peace.

Yet if peace were to come, there is little if any reason for supposing that it would immediately open copious new sources of wheat supply, or that it would lessen for some time the demand for that grain. Extensive wheat areas of Europe have been so ravaged by the war, and so depopulated, that it will take them much more than a single season to regain their former productiveness; and the condition in which countries will be left by the war will actually increase rather than decrease their demand for bread. Before the war Germany imported yearly about 100,000,000 bushels of wheat, and even Austria-Hungary imported 15,000,000 bushels. We suppose that they will want such supplies again, the moment the war is ended. Of course, it may not be incumbent upon us to consider their needs in the first place. But they cannot be altogether ignored, while the condition of those countries is in a measure symptomatic of that of all the rest of Europe.

With all our increased production, and with all the "wheatless days" and "substitutes," from which other countries have suffered far more than we, there has been scarcely enough wheat to go around. Obviously, it will be highly desirable to abandon all such practices and to provide an abundance of pure wheat bread for all, at the earliest possible moment. But there is, we believe, little reason for supposing that our present supply and that of all the rest of the world, for at least a year after the making of peace, will be sufficient for that end.

Is it not odd that Mr. Wilson should quite vehemently oppose the candidacy for the Senate of Mr. Baird, Republican, because he voted "wrong" on woman suffrage, and say not a word in criticism of Messrs. Saulsbury of Delaware, Bankhead of Alabama and Shields of Tennessee, Democrats, who did likewise?

This is the real acid test of a Congressman: If he was, in the President's words, "pro-war but anti-Administration" he is N. G.; but if he was anti-war but pro-Administration, he is O. K.

The Senate and Peace Treaties

Senator Key Pittman, of Nevada, in a political broadside which is said to have been sanctioned if not inspired from the White House, makes the amazing statement that the reason why a Democratic Senate is necessary is, that a Republican Senate might refuse to ratify the peace treaty and other treaties which the President negotiates. Does that mean that the President hopes to secure a two-thirds Democratic majority in the Senate? That is something which would stagger even the optimistic shades of Mark Tapley. Yet if not, what becomes of the treaties? A hostile minority, provided it is more than one-third, could, as experience has more than once shown, prevent the ratification of a treaty just as effectually as a majority. That was why Texas and the Hawaiian Islands were both annexed through the expedient of a Congressional resolution instead of a treaty, an expedient which has always been regarded as of dubious legality. Of course there is not the slightest reason to suppose that a Republican majority in the Senate would for a moment dream of rejecting or demurring to a proper and patriotic treaty. And whatever the Senator from Nevada may think, we are quite sure that the President, despite his intense and incorrigible partisanship, would rather submit the foreign relations of this country to the advice and consent of Henry Cabot Lodge than to the Dependent Father of Edsel Ford.

The really serious feature of this episode, which we must regard as most regrettable, is the dragging of our foreign relations into party politics, and the insinuation that the nation is divided on lines of domestic faction in its attitude toward the rest of the world. That was the case in early days, when the young republic was divided between "Gallicans" and "Anglicans," and it came very near to being the ruin of us. We had hoped that that madness was past forever, and we must consider it deplorable and ominous in the last degree that there should now, at this supreme crisis in our affairs, be an attempted recrudescence of it, under the pretended authority of the President himself.

Possibly one reason why the election of a Democratic Congress is not generally conceded to be "imperatively necessary" is that the passage of the Woman Suffrage amendment has not yet proved to be so "vital to the winning of the war" as the President professed to think.

The disloyalist Norris managed to get Senators Borah, Johnson, Lenroot, Cummins, Kenyon and Jones to write letters to Nebraska Republicans approving his candidacy for reelection, but not a syllable, be it said to their credit, could he draw out of Roosevelt, Taft, Root, Crane or Hays.

From Bulletin 39, page 5, of Mr. Creel's Sample Four-minute Talks:

Belgium, brave beyond words to express, *mute*, still calls in clarion tones!

Three cheers for the clarion *mute*!

First he mixed the decks, then he gummed the cards, and finally, in despair, he passed the buck. So ends the note writing for the present.



“ DE 10

“ Now, in the names of all the gods at once, Upon what mat
Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world Like a Clo



America

AC? ”
th: our Caesar feed, That he is grown so great? * * *

The Week

WASHINGTON, October 31, 1918.

"HERE'S a state of things!" Tremendous doings in all parts of the world, with politics, once "ad-journed," come back with a rush to overshadow them all. The Liberty Loan is subscribed; Foch has smashed the Kriemhilde line and the Hunding line; the Italians are killing and capturing Tedeschi by the thousand; the Serbs are sweeping back into their own land, and they and their Allies—would we were among them!—are making the beautiful blue Danube a stream of fear and woe to their oppressors; Ludendorff is retired; Russia is bracing up and showing strong symptoms of casting into limbo the whole unclean trinity of Czarism, Hunnism and Bolshevism; we ourselves have handsomely disposed of at least a few of the Bolsheviki within our gates, "to encourage the others"; King Albert—hats off, to a king whom even sternest democrats may honor!—has re-entered Bruges and has his face turned toward Brussels; Colonel House is in Paris; and the Blond Beast of Berlin sends another note and meditates innumerable others in answer, rejoinder, retort and what not else to the President's maladroit invitation of such a serial flood. But all these things are overshadowed and obscured by the President's declaration of war against the Republican party, and his demand for a Democratic majority in each House of Congress as an essential condition of his continued conduct of negotiations with a Power with which negotiations are impossible.

Leaving this last and translucent event for special consideration elsewhere, it is here to be observed that all news from the various war fronts continues to be most favorable. There is hard fighting on the Western front, where the Germans are offering desperate resistance to the Allied advance; but in spite of it all, the Allied advance continues, at times slowed down, yet unchecked and irresistible. French, British and Americans, Belgians and Italians, are all pressing forward with equal efficiency. There never was a finer example of team work in the world, nor a more successful.

Two things remain in doubt. One is whether Foch means to keep up the campaign during the winter, or will presently enter a state of at least semi-hibernation. This will depend in part, no doubt, upon the weather, with the chances favoring continued activity. The other is whether and where the Germans are preparing a line of defence. Will their stand be made in eastern Belgium, or on the German frontier, or at the Rhine? There is as yet no indication.

The successful renewal of Italian activities on the Piave and elsewhere is highly gratifying. It may be that no very great progress will be made. A winter campaign in the Alps is almost unthinkable—though indeed some quite unthinkable things have already been accomplished in this unthinkable war. But the important point is to apply pressure against the Central Powers on all available fronts, and especially to add to the demoralization of the fast crumbling Austro-Hungarian realm. For that realm is doomed. Whatever else happens or does not happen, Austria-Hungary must vanish from the map. Austrian Poland must join the reconstituted independent Polish nation. Bohemia and Moravia will be an independent Czecho-Slovak state. Triest and Trent must go to Italy. Bosnia is marked for Serbia, Transylvania for Roumania, and Croatia and Slavonia for an independent Jugo-Slav common-

wealth. Probably Hungary proper will become quite independent of Austria, while the Teutonic provinces of Austria may get along as best they can among the other humbled, scourged and debt-burdened German states. It ought to be kept clearly in mind that such a disposition is what Austria is practically acquiescing in when she makes overtures for peace. For if it is to be peace on the basis of the President's Fourteen Articles, that is what they mean. On the other hand, if it is to be peace on the revised basis of his later note to Austria, referring the matter to those most directly concerned, there is no question what that will mean. Austria-Hungary disposed of according to the taste and fancy of Italy, Serbia, Poland, Roumania, Czecho-Slovak and Jugo-Slav, would be scarcely more than an unfragrant memory. For such a consummation, *All' armi! Italia!*

Colonel House has arrived in Paris, with a status which seems not to be clearly understood. He himself disclaims any commission to negotiate for an armistice, which of course is highly proper. That is a matter which, according to the President's own declaration, as well as according to well-established precedent and to common sense, must be left to Field Marshal Foch. Beyond making that quite obvious disclaimer, Colonel House is diplomatically mute. For we really cannot accept the statement of *La Liberté* of Paris, that he told its reporters that he had arrived "as the official representative of the United States and the President," and that consequently "it is no longer a question of a private mission, but an official representation accredited to the European Allies." We have pretty diligently and patiently followed the course of transactions under the big dome, and we have not heard Colonel House's nomination reported to the Senate, nor his confirmation voted by that body. A certain somewhat neglected public document known as the Constitution of the United States provides that the President shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint, ambassadors and other public ministers; and we must confess ourselves at a loss to understand how any man can be an official representative of the United States to a foreign Power except through that process. We must therefore regard our Paris contemporary as having most unfortunately misapprehended Colonel House's explanation of his mission. He is not—he cannot be—an official representative of the United States. He can be and probably is the personal representative of the President; but he is not even his official representative, since the President has no authority to delegate his official powers to any other person, unless "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Colonel House will presumably be able to make known the President's mind to officials of the Allied Powers, with an exceptional degree of completeness and accuracy—at any rate, as it was at the time of his departure from Washington; and he will be able to report to the President in like manner the wishes, purposes and sentiments of those Powers. That he can make any binding compact or perform any official function is of course entirely out of the question. He cannot do so any more than could John Lind, or William Bayard Hale; or Deacon Job Trotter of Squedunk.

The question inevitably arises from these considerations whether it is on the whole the part of wisdom for the President thus to appoint personal representatives. He is not sup-

posed to be a personal ruler. He is a constitutional President. He is to represent the nation in its foreign relations. He is not to represent himself as an autocrat. The agents through whom he conducts his negotiations should therefore be, not his personal representatives, but the representatives of the nation, approved and accredited by it according to law. When plenipotentiaries come together to negotiate a treaty or for other business, the first thing they do is to show to each other their credentials, and it is only after these have been found to be sufficient and in due form that they proceed with business. What credentials can Colonel House show? Certainly none from the American nation or its representative Government. We are afraid that he is in danger of some embarrassment.

This phase of the case is invested with the more importance because of the demands which the President has just been making, and very properly, for national and popular authority for those with whom we are to deal in negotiating with Germany. He has made it clear that he cannot discuss peace with a Chancellor or Minister who is merely the personal representative of the Kaiser. He can recognize only someone who is representative of the people of Germany through their popularly elected Reichstag. That, we say, is quite right. But if a mere personal representative of the Kaiser is to have no *locum standi* in our international councils, what standing are we entitled to demand for a gentleman, however accomplished, who is the mere personal representative of the President? "The President's emissary" is what Colonel House is called by the Laurentian mouthpiece of the Administration. What would be said of "the Kaiser's emissary"?

Now we are back again at the old time, the real time, in which the clock dial approximately agrees with the sun. The change backward was made like the change forward, without a hitch. Never, perhaps, was so great a reform, effecting so great a saving, achieved with so little effort and so little friction. If only all our war measures could have been executed with equal facility! But this, while adopted because of the war, will not be limited to the duration of the war. Its good results will assure its repetition every year hereafter.

There are judges in some of our courts, praises be! We had occasion to comment admiringly upon the good work of one in Chicago the other day, in sending to their proper places a gang of I. W. W. criminals. A fine companion piece to that performance was executed by Judge Henry D. Clayton in New York on Friday, when a quartette of Bolsheviki came before him for sentence. The terms of imprisonment prescribed were admirable, but what most tickled our fancy were the remarks of His Honor in making those prescriptions. Beginning with the warning that he would not permit any stump speeches by the convicts, the Judge curtly shut up one who began babbling about "democracy" with the retort, "You don't know anything about democracy; the only thing you understand is the hellishness of anarchy." To another: "This is one time when you are face to face with the laws of the United States." Then to and concerning the whole gang and their railings against "capitalism," he said: "After listening carefully to all they had to say, I came to the conclusion that a capitalist is a man with a decent suit of clothes, a minimum of \$1.25 in his pocket, and a good character. And when I tried to find out

what the prisoners had produced, I was unable to find anything at all. So far as I can learn, not one of them ever produced so much as a single potato. The only thing they know how to raise is hell, and to direct it against the Government of the United States." If anybody suggests that that was rather informal language to be uttered from the bench, we reply that such words are worthy to be written in gold, in a land which has heard a million times too much sloppy sentimentality from half-baked sociologists who would exalt the names of Lenine and Trotzky above those of Washington and Lincoln. Our respects to Judge Henry D. Clayton, and may every Bolshevik in our country be compelled to pass under his Rhadamanthine rod!

The Japanese Government is about to send an important trade mission to this country, to study trade conditions here and to promote commerce between the two countries. We really cannot recall the names of the members of the authoritative trade mission which our Government is sending to Japan; or to any other country.

Ludendorff is dismissed because he failed to reach either Paris or the Channel Ports. What is to be done with the Crown Prince for failing to take Verdun? And to the Kaiser, for failing to keep that Christmas dinner engagement in Paris?

We would not minimize the success of our Liberty Loans. But we must, in justice, call attention to the fact that while we have thus raised about sixteen billions, France, with less than half our population, has raised nearly twenty billions.

Germany's debts are now computed to exceed her assets. Therefore she is financially insolvent. For more than four years she has been morally insolvent. It now remains for the Allied Powers to appoint a receiver to wind up her affairs.

Was ever anything more cynically, stupidly, brutally Hunnish than the sending hither of a shipload of German-made toys for the Christmas gifts of American children? We wonder if it was sent in token of the children murdered on the *Lusitania*, or of the Belgian babies bayoneted in their cradles and borne about the streets thus impaled as trophies of German valor, or yet of the children of other lands to whom poisoned candies were distributed by the same gentle and child-loving Huns? The shop-keeper who would sell or the parent who would purchase a German-made toy should be scourged with whips of scorpions by all the children of the land.

The office of the Politicalmaster-General is reported to be sending out, on official letterheads, letters to postmasters urging their active interest in the election of Democratic candidates; which of course means that "politics is adjourned."

Solf, the Hunnish Foreign Secretary, tells the Poles that President Wilson's peace terms do not mean that Dantzig will be ceded to reconstituted Poland. Who made Solf interpreter of the President's meaning?

Befogged Phrase-mongering

WHY the President resorts to Delphic obscurity when it comes to enunciation of specific terms of peace is a question which many have pondered in vain. It certainly is not for lack of command of language. If Mr. Wilson has demonstrated his possession of one gift more than another that gift is ability to express himself in impeccable English and with a precision and lucidity of utterance which leave no room for speculation as to just what he means. If he is obscure, the inference necessarily is that he wishes to be obscure. If he has enveloped those memorable twenty-three points precedent to peace in a fog of generalities, we can see no alternative to the conclusion that he did so of set purpose.

And if that *were* his purpose, he surely has succeeded in attaining it. Jack Bunsby at his best could hardly have surpassed the hopeless obfuscation of more than one of these vague "points" on which, it seems, we are to determine just what these four years of horror are to mean in their final outcome.

Not all of these remarkable Presidential generalizations, to be sure, are thus obscure. Unfortunately more than one of them, if they mean anything, mean that which many of us would regard as little short of disaster. Take, for instance, Group I, Article 3, of the 23 Commandments handed down on January 8th, February 11th and September 27th of this year, respectively. That Article provides for the removal, so far as possible, "of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance." This means Free Trade, pure and simple. It means throwing our markets wide open to all the world, Germany included. And the corollary to this proposition is that we return without undue delay to that condition of closed factories, thousands of idle artisans and all those concomitant incidents to creeping industrial paralysis, such as free bread lines, free soup dispensaries and pinching want among workingmen and their families, to which the Wilson Administration had reduced the country when the war came just in the nick of time to save that Administration from being pitched neck and crop out of power by such a political upheaval as probably would even have surpassed in explosive violence that which followed the Free Trade experiments of another Virginia Wilson a decade or so before. As the Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, formerly Secretary of the Treasury, has recently reminded us, President Wilson for years, by pen and voice, has been an ardent apostle of Free Trade and the uncompromising advocate of an American tariff halted abruptly at that line beyond which lies tariff protection to American industries and the consequent protection of the American workingman from competition with the ill-paid labor of Europe and the Oriental countries.

Holding to these Free Trade convictions, President Wilson in this Article 3, of Group I, puts them to practical application once more, notwithstanding his unfortunate experiences of only a few years ago. With a singular loyalty to the Bourbon ideal of learning nothing and forgetting nothing, he goes straight back to just where he was when his academical political economy Free Trade theories, under practical application thereof, had goaded the country to the verge of something like desperation and had driven his party so close

to the verge of an overwhelming repudiation at the polls that it required nothing less than a world upheaval to save it.

To ask if Germany will accept this Free Trade Third Commandment is to ask a starving man if he will eat; to ask a man choking with thirst if he will drink a glass of clear, cool water fresh-dipped from the moss-covered bucket. With peace declared today, Germany would emerge from the war not merely with her industrial equipment intact, but with her productive capacity doubled and redoubled by the millions upon millions of dollars' worth of machinery, raw materials, and manufacturing supplies of all kinds which she has stolen from Belgium and France and shipped home, carefully boxed and crated, ready to be set up and rushed into swift action the moment the war is ended.

And that is not all. In order that she might plunge still more unhampered into the coming world trade war, she has left those centres in France and Belgium whence heretofore her strong competition had come in so hopeless a plight of wrecked and plundered chaos that for years to come they will be utterly impotent to enter the competitive lists against her. Those provinces of France which, from mining and manufacturing activities, paid one-quarter of all the taxes of the country, are out of the running for indefinite decades ahead. And so, of course, with Belgium. This was not done in the mere brute wantonness of war savagery. It was done of set, national purpose to clear the way for that flood of Hun wares with which it is planned to swamp the markets of the world the moment the war barriers are down. This Article 3 of Group I of the President's peace conditions deliberately blocks the erection of any protective tariff obstacles to the full sweep over us of the impending Hun Free Trade flood.

And what would be the result here at home of this beautiful programme? Precisely what every attempt in the past at experiments of like nature have demonstrated to be inevitable. Furnace fires put out, the wheels stopped in American factories representing millions of investment and giving employment to thousands of now prosperous American workingmen. For these, our American workingmen, there would be just two alternatives—either to permit our American factories to limp along with our own labor accepting the starvation wages Germany will be enabled to impose upon her impoverished workingmen, or to become beggars and public charges. Thus would the ante-bellum Free Trade millennium be restored. Thus would the industrial clock be put back to where it was when it took an international cataclysm to save the present Administration from the resistless wrath of an enraged electorate! Once more we would have the cheery days of charity bread lines and charity soup kitchens; once more we would have the end of a perfect Free Trade Day!—"Der Tag," that all Hundom might well toast and celebrate!

Now, of all the President's twenty-three articles of faith, this happens to be about the only one that is not enveloped in more or less dense linguistic fog. But there is still another which seems to be only too clear in parts, though somewhat hazy as a whole. This is Group I, Article 2. It reads:

Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

Here we have three things—one that does not exist and

probably never will exist; another of origin as hateful as its meaning is beyond definition, and the third wholly objectionable *per se*. Closing the sea "by international action for the enforcement of international covenants" predicates that League of Nations which has no existence and which every passing day more and more clearly indicates never will have an existence. "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas" is a rehabilitation of that hypocritical "Freedom of the Seas" Hun cant which so long nauseated the world. But it comes in this case with a specification which gives it a real meaning and that meaning distinctly unacceptable. It is the one thing that is definite enough to save the entire Article from that tantalizing uncertainty which so effectually befogs almost all the remaining 21 Bunsbrian deliverances. Absolute freedom of the seas outside territorial waters in time of war and in time of peace means, if it means anything, that there are to be no more wartime blockades. Territorial waters extend three miles from the shore line. Had this sagacious provision been in force at the outbreak of the present war it would have meant that vessels bearing contraband of war would have been able to sail with impunity into the covering protection of German shore batteries. It would have meant that the blockade which has had its slowly disintegrating effect on German morale and which has so desirably emphasized Germany's isolation as an outcast among nations, would have been impossible. It would mean that in case we ourselves were at war our superb navy would be impotent to strike where and in a way that might be most effective. As a pure and simple pacifist, boys-out-of-the-trenches-by-Christmas proposal, it might be acceptable to the commandeered candidate in Michigan for the United States Senate. It is difficult to imagine its having any weight in any other quarter.

Taking the remaining 12 points of Group I by and large, there is not one of them through which a coach and six might not be driven with slight risk of dislocating the joints of the structure. Article 1 demands that the covenants of peace shall be open with no private understandings on the side. In other words, a reassertion of the axiomatic proposition that the days of round table distribution of plunder among international crooks is over. Article 4 demands "guarantees" as to disarmament. What guarantees? With whom are they to be pledged in pawn? What court is to decide a question of penal forfeiture? How is the forfeiture to be enforced? Altogether a pretty sizeable field for discussion.

Article 5 emerges from the obscurity rather too much in some ways and not enough in others. It deals with colonial claims. They are to be adjusted on the principle of the interests of the population concerned having equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is asserted. In other words, government is not to be with the consent of the governed if there be a counter claimant in the field whose "claims" are agreeable! This proposition would seem to be about equally balanced between obscurity and a tentative effort to promote wrangling.

Article 6, dealing with Russia, has our old friend "acid test" in it and it is about 150 words long, but if there is any acid test that will bring anything but linguistic windings in and out and round about and getting nowhere we confess inability to discover it. Article 7—always in Group I—deals with Belgium. It is aggravating to a degree. It says Belgium must be evacuated and "restored." Of course it

must be evacuated. But what does the President mean by "restored"? Does he mean merely that Belgium's national existence must be "restored"? Or does he mean that the millions of property destroyed and stolen must be restored and that Germany must be penalized in heavy money indemnities, so far as money indemnities will go, to repair the unspeakable outrages to which the Belgian people in their persons and property have been subjected? If he does mean this, why does he not say so? Why be mealy-mouthed about it? Is he afraid of hurting the Hun's feelings? Is he afraid of weakening the Hun's "will to peace"? In Article 8, the President was equally unsatisfactory as to Alsace-Lorraine. He said the wrong done France in 1870-71 must be "righted." It seems now that he meant that Alsace and Lorraine must be given back to France, from which country they were stolen by the Huns some fifty years ago. Why he could not have said this in the first place, why he had to leave it to his Lawrence-Creel chorus to interpret a meaning from it which he might just as well have made clear at once, is incomprehensible.

With ability surpassed by no man for lucidity of expression, the President, whenever he comes to discussion of peace with the Hun seems to have a habit of leaving a vague zone within which a vacillating swing to one side or to the other is possible. It pervades and vitiates more or less every formal specification of terms he has enunciated. Every article in Group I is tainted with it. It is equally manifest in all the four Articles of Group II and in the five articles in Group III. It is not a whit too much to say that it has in the past and does even now compromise the irrevocable determination of this country to win the war by a victory over the Hun that is crushing, complete and by the Hun confessed. More than once it has caused uneasiness among our co-belligerents as well as here at home, and, just in proportion that it has done this, it has brought hope and consolation to Potsdam. It has been provocative of note-writing; it is pregnant with danger of tiresome discussions inevitably barren of results. It has opened the way to Hun propaganda here at home and it has given a fulcrum for the Hun's astounding capacity for applying the leverage of lies to the heartening of his own populace. Even now it spreads over us something like a brooding cloud of uncertainty as to our fixedness of purpose, when of all times a resolute clarity of expression might have decisive weight in shortening the struggle of which all the world is so weary.

TO A PATRIOT

Not his the craven's rôle, nor any share
In spiritless delay unleaderlike.
Far-seeing, long he warned us to prepare
Our thews for righteous combat—and to strike!
Exiled from France by malice partisan,
Upon her shrine he laid with solemn pride
Four sons, each to the core American.
One fell in godlike battle. Far and wide
The nation mourned, and rendered homage vast
To father and to son, mirrors of bold
Lincolnian knighthood. Honor, ye who cast
Ballots of freedom, men of freedom's mould!
Under such leaders rise and smite the foe,
Within, without, till victory's banners glow.

HARRY TORSEY BAKER.

The Insolence of the Hun

WHAT is the gist of this succession of Hunnish peace notes, culminating in the almost incredibly impudent falsehood of Sunday last? "The President is aware of the far-reaching changes which have been carried out and are being carried out in the German constitutional structure." That means, as formerly explained, that the constitution has been amended so as to give the people's representatives full power of war and peace, and to make the Executive responsible to the Legislature. If that were true, it would be significant. But it is not true.

Concerning the latter allegation, so far as the world has been permitted to know, absolutely nothing has been done. Not a step has been taken toward making the Ministry responsible to the Reichstag. No constitutional provision to that effect has been so much as drafted. No resolution to that effect has been adopted. No Ministry has been formed on that basis. The existing Ministry was formed in the old way, at the sole will of the Kaiser. Simply saying that it has done so does not cause the leopard to change its spots. Simply saying that this is a responsible popular ministry does not make it any the less the mere creature of the Kaiser.

The former statement, that power of war and peace has been vested solely in the Reichstag, has a shadow of foundation, but it is an entirely deceptive shadow. It is true that a resolution providing for some such constitutional change has been adopted by the Reichstag. But what does that amount to? The Reichstag cannot by simply a resolution change the constitution of the Empire, any more than our House of Representatives could thus amend the Constitution of the United States.

Let us suppose, however, the process of constitutional amendment to be completed, and this abortive resolution of the Reichstag to be made a part of the organic law of the empire. What would that amount to? It would extend to the Reichstag the power over declarations of war that has hitherto been supposedly exercised by the Bundesrath. But what does that amount to, with a Hohenzollern on the throne?

And yet the sceptered perjurer who still sits there has the insolence, through his subservient stool-pigeon Solf, to tell the President that the powers of war and peace have been taken from himself and vested in the people!

Austria's Peace Plea

THE Austro-Hungarian plea for peace is plausible and specious, but inconclusive and calculated to deceive.

It expresses adherence to the President's point of view concerning the rights of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs; but we can detect in it no hint of a readiness to enter into negotiations with the Governments of those peoples. If the Hapsburg Government really, as it now pretends, recognizes that "the Czecho-Slovak National Council is a de facto belligerent Government clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks," and if, as it also pretends, it concedes that they and not the United States "shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny," it ought to address itself to that Czecho-Slovak

Government and not to us. At least it should ask the President to place it in communication with that Government.

The fact that it conspicuously omits to do anything of that sort irresistibly suggests that it aims to preserve its rule over those peoples, and to enter into haggling discussions with us as to the degree of nominal autonomy which we think ought to satisfy them as mere Austro-Hungarian provinces.

Again, this Hapsburg propaganda professes a readiness to enter into negotiations for peace and for an immediate armistice upon all Austro-Hungarian fronts "without awaiting the result of other negotiations"; which is assumed to mean without waiting for similar action on the part of Germany. But has Austria-Hungary, then, denounced and abrogated the treaty of alliance which binds her to Germany and binds her to wage war and to make peace only in concurrence with Germany? If so, a specific declaration to that effect would be of interest and of practical value. If an armistice is declared "on all Austro-Hungarian fronts," what will become of the Austrian and Hungarian troops which are fighting in France and on the German front? And how will the armistice affect the German troops which are fighting in Italy and Serbia on those Austro-Hungarian fronts?

I have this day, October 19th, received through the mail, the WAR WEEKLY for the week ending August 31, 1918. I enclose the envelope in which it was received, which appears to bear date, New York, August 28, 1918. It appears, therefore, to have taken three days in August, thirty days in September, and eighteen days in October, a total of fifty-one days, for your WAR WEEKLY to make the journey from New York to Washington. Things are evidently improving.

So writes a United States Senator from the capital. But he has nothing on us. We promptly replied:

We received on October 23 your *Congressional Record* for October 14, thus beating the *Record* itself.

It was the number which contained somewhat critical observations by Senators New, Brandegee, Lodge, Cummins and McComber and, we have not a doubt, was held up deliberately by the Politicalmaster General.

By the way, why does the *Official Bulletin* wrapper or why does not the *Congressional Record*, bear the direction to Postmasters: "Handle as Letter Mail"?

The United States can turn out more tanks in a given time than England and France combined. Germany has always been hopelessly out of the competition. Is our War Department ordering tanks in quantity? —*The Times*.

Ordering them, yes; but not getting them. The "American tanks" exploited by the newspapers as being in service were made abroad. It is the airship breakdown over again. See the WAR WEEKLY of October 26. The machine-gun situation is nearly as bad. Mr. Baker's own apologist says:

The Germans have enormous concentrations of machine guns, in some places one to every yard of the front. Their supply of machine guns is astonishing and far outnumbers the American supply. Every foot of ground must be fought for by the Americans against the most stubborn resistance. The victory here will surely be well earned by the boys.

"Unfortunately," remarks the Boston *Transcript*, "the 'astonishment' of Mr. Baker and his defenders will not bring back to life the gallant dead in the Champagne and elsewhere on the American front where lack of machine guns lengthens that casualty lists by many hundreds, it may be thousands, of names. Mr. Baker was urged to stock up with as many machine guns as could be bought of the best type available. He would not do it."

Letters From Our Readers

"SPOILSMaster-GENERAL"?

SIR,—I note that in the WAR WEEKLY you frequently mention "Political Master General. I assume you refer to A. S. Burleson, officially known as Postmaster General. Why not call him by his right name—"Spoilsmaster General"? Take for example the Railway Mail Service, the jugular vein of the Post Office Department. Of the fifteen Division Superintendents that were in office when the Spoilsmaster General assumed the pressure, thirteen have been removed or demoted. Of the fifteen assistant superintendents, fourteen received the same treatment, and of the one hundred and eighteen chief clerks, ninety per cent have been removed or given other assignment, and their positions given to persons of the Spoilsmaster General's political faith, notwithstanding they were in the classified service and supposed to be protected by the Civil Service Law.

The above statement can be verified by the records of the Post Office Department.

Look at these appointments at this critical period:

Otto Praeger, Second Assistant Postmaster General of Texas, handpicked by the Spoilsmaster General, is of German descent, who has shown his sympathy for the Fatherland in demoting three American Division Superintendents of Railway Mail Service, and promoting persons of German ancestry to their positions.

Peter J. Schardt, of German parentage, was sent to France to supervise the mails for the Expeditionary Force. Comment on the Railway Mail Service in the United States under Praeger is superfluous, as everybody that has business with the Mail Service knows the conditions.

Cleveland, Ohio.

GEORGE W. PEPPER.

[We know nothing about the appointments mentioned, but frankly we regard Mr. Praeger as a competent official who is handicapped by his environment.—EDITOR.]

IRELAND, ENGLAND, AND GERMANY

SIR,—New York City is a very large one; and because of its size, it is safe to say that few of its inhabitants know of half of its periodicals, and that probably not one knows of them all.

Until the latter part of August, 1918, your WAR WEEKLY was unknown to me; and it then came to my notice in a rather novel and long distance way—as an inside wrapper of a parcel from Philadelphia by way of the Burleson route. I read nearly every word of that copy, and instinctively felt I had at last come across an opponent of Ireland's independence whose pen was firmly grasped, well directed, and ready, willing and able to demolish the arguments of any and all Sinn Feiners who dare advocate independence for Ireland through self-determination.

Long and wearily have we Sinn Feiners searched for a knight of the quill who would attempt to expose the folly and unjustness of Ireland's claim to independence, with a pen dipped, not in vitriol, but in good American ink, and guided by logic and reason. Up to the day I received my wrapper copy of your WAR WEEKLY, my search had been in vain, and I feel certain that is also true of all other Sinn Feiners. Although there was nothing in that copy about Ireland, I felt there soon would be, and for that reason bought and read a copy of every issue since. In your last issue, Oct. 19, 1918, my expectations were realized, but disappointedly. For although there is something in it about Sinn Fein, what you say is far below the expectations aroused by reading your virile articles on the war. You barely reach the low level of other anti-Irish Americans. "Crazy Sinn Feiners of Ireland," is unworthy of your pen, and should be far beneath the reach of a man of your reputation. You know it is not argument; and you know it is rhetorical billingsgate. You know the Sinn Feiners who died for Ireland during Easter Week, 1916, were not crazy; and you know that the men who were shot to death in true Prussian style were men of mental endowments and educational attainments not inferior even to yours; and you know, further, that they were slaughtered for attempting to do what you applaud Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs for attempting to do—free their native land from the political rule of an alien race. You know that hundreds of Irishmen and women have been deported from Ireland, also in true Prussian style, and are suffering in four English prisons for daring to say their native land ought of right to be free and independent.

You know your "to substitute the rule of this Potsdam Yahoo for the bond which attaches Ireland to Great Britain," would not stand a moment's analysis of the most obtuse. For while you use "bond" and "rule" to convey an impression that there is a distinction between the relation of Ireland to England, and the relation of our enemies to the peoples subject to their rule, you know there is none, and you cannot get away from the fact that in each case there is a rule of subject peoples against their will, might against right.

Hope springs eternal; and although the first of your statements about Ireland that I have read is extremely disappointing,

because it is vituperative and not argumentative, I still hope you are what your WAR WEEKLY lead me to believe—different from the ordinary anti-Irish American. Because of that hope I am going to take the liberty of asking you to: Give a single reason against Ireland's right to independence that cannot be advanced to justify the subjugation of any small nation by a stronger?

New York City.

JOSEPH FORRESTER.

[Referring to the alleged difference between the British-Irish Union, and the subjection of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, *et al.*, to Prussia, our ironical but esteemed correspondent says, "You know there is none." In like vein we might reply, "You know there is"; and there would be as much or as little argument in the one as in the other. Before we are asked to accept his arbitrary dictum that there is no distinction between the two cases, we should like to be informed when the great majority of both the leaders and the rank and file of the peoples subjected to Germany have expressed their entire contentment with a continued and permanent status under the Prussian crown. We ourselves cannot recall the incident.—EDITOR.]

MILK, SOCIALISM, AND THE Y. M. C. A.

SIR,—I have just read your article, entitled "The Press Must Be Free", which meets my approval, and I also want to approve and to thank you for your article in last week's issue of your WEEKLY, entitled "A Belittling Misnomer", on the use of the word "Aristocracy".

Now, I want to call your attention to a book from the pen of Walter Rauschenbusch of the Rochester Theological Seminary, which is published by the Methodist Book Concern, entitled *The Social Principles of Jesus*. This book was copyrighted by the Y. M. C. A. and is being used as a text book by the Y. M. C. A., and to some extent by the Methodist Episcopal Sunday Schools.

To my mind this book ought to be investigated, and I do not know of anyone better able to handle such a work than you. The book is, to my mind, pure socialism, and I am very anxious to know how in the world the Methodist Church and the Y. M. C. A. came to endorse such propaganda.

I do not know much about politics, but one of the most common arguments of the socialists is that milk should be distributed by one concern, instead of having a dozen concerns all distributing milk in one block. This, they argue, would do away with a lot of unnecessary expense, and if all business were handled in this way, there would not be near so much work and the working people would have lots of time for leisure. Now, I am an American citizen, and I claim the right to deliver milk, or anything else, in any block or any city in the country, and I would like to see this bureaucrat who expects to rise up under a Socialist régime tell me where or where not I am to deliver milk or other merchandise.

But in the meantime, I wish you would get the book which I have mentioned above and see if you can tell why my boys are obliged to study socialism or else stay away from the Methodist Sunday Schools and the Y. M. C. A.

Chicago, Ill.

FRANCIS A. GROVES.

CONVICTIONS

SIR,—As one of the readers of the WAR WEEKLY I desire to express my appreciation of the position which you take every week in relation to affairs at Washington.

So far as I know, your publication is the only one in the country of any standing which expresses itself according to the editor's convictions. The general feeling seems to be that one cannot differ from Mr. Wilson and remain a patriot, and that feeling is promoted constantly from Washington.

In my judgment, every time the President has spoken originally, he has made a mistake, as illustrated by his "Peace Without Victory" and other declarations, and especially his first reply to Germany's recent peace proposal.

However, one must be careful in expressing himself, even though one has been strongly pro-Ally from the beginning of the war. Your editorial in the issue of October 12th under the head "The President at Politics" is especially appropriate, because I am sure that we have never had a President who played politics more consistently and continuously.

Personally, I have been in favor of Woman Suffrage, but when the President made his demand upon the Senate, immediately I expressed the hope that the bill would be defeated.

When you say, "we may not question the sincerity of the President," you have more faith in his sincerity than the writer. In everything but politics I believe him sincere.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

PHILIP ROETTINGER.

Letters From Our Readers

LOST—50,000 WORKING DAYS

SIR,—In the matter of slacking and strikes in shipyards I desire to call your attention to the fact that in all Seattle shipyards, except one, the men have been out on Saturday afternoons for the three Saturdays last past and, unless some change occurs between now and next Saturday, they will be out on that day, or four Saturday afternoons. The men call it "taking a half holiday", although it is in effect a strike because they all go out together.

It is not that they refuse to work on Saturday afternoons, but they want it declared a half holiday so that they may draw double pay.

One yard has granted the demand and is paying double time for Saturday afternoon and the men remain at work in that yard.

It is estimated that 25,000 men are out under this order every Saturday afternoon. For the four Saturdays this means 50,000 working days lost in building ships!

JOHN W. ROBERTS.

Seattle, Wash.

EVIDENCE OF DISLOYALTY

SIR,—Enclosed please find check for subscription to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for another year. I consider it by far the superior of all things published, except your WAR WEEKLY. Your fearless pen, above all others, has been largely responsible for the recent shameful exposures of graft and mismanagement on the part of certain incompetents and watery-jointed pacifists in trusted capacities, and the value of this service alone to our country during these critical times exceeds exaggeration. The universal phrase, "cowed press", applies not to the publications of a Harvey, for which blessing a nation hungry for an open, fearless "freedom of the press", and a discussion of vital issues, arises and thanks Almighty God! Personally, I seriously question the Americanism of any man who criticises your work or the influence of your editorials. The Kaiser nor his friends will ever criticise incompetents and misfits in office over here, or demand their dismissal, but with loyal devotion stand by and support them. Any criticism of you for such is to my mind *prima facie* evidence of one's disloyalty.

JOHN H. CALDWELL.

Mammoth Spring, Arkansas.

GENERAL WOOD

SIR,—The writer is a constant reader of the REVIEW, also the WAR WEEKLY, and a booster of both these fearless journals. Traveling through the west, I hear all kinds of stories. The latest gives as a reason why General Wood has been placed on the shelf and not allowed to have a hand in the War proceedings, which he is so capable of doing, that he has had a stroke of paralysis, and is not able to take up the duties.

This is passed around by a partisan of the Administration, and I cannot believe it at all. As I want to be right, I hope that you can tell me there is no truth in the story. They must have some excuse, but this is beyond belief. If you can tell me the truth in this matter, I shall appreciate it very much.

HENRY S. WINANS.

Denver, Col.

[There is nothing in it.—EDITOR.]

WE ARE HAPPY TO DO SO

SIR,—In the November number of the *Metropolitan Magazine* there is an article by Theodore Roosevelt in which he pays a wonderful tribute to the boys of the A. E. F.

"May I not" suggest that you call the attention of your readers to it?

Washington.

S. O.

BITTERS

SIR,—My friend from Omaha writes: "Do you take a dose of George Harvey once a week? But maybe that isn't too often, bitters being so scarce now."

To which I reply:

"I do take Harvey's bitters regularly, and with zest. Your Uncle Samuel, too, finds them beneficial—a toxin against 'Too Proud to Fight', 'Peace Without Victory', and similar disorders. Long ago I concluded that in this emergency he is the most useful private citizen in these United States.

This is my earnest conviction, and perhaps there is no harm in my saying so.

CHARLES L. GILCREST.

Des Moines, Ia

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES IN POLITICS

SIR,—WAR WEEKLY, No. 40, week ending October 5th, 1918, p. 7, "Government Employees in Politics":

Now we submit that it would not comport with public morality or welfare to create such a class, suffering such political disability. The experiment was, we believe, made in England many years ago, the permanent employees of the civil service actually being excluded from the electoral franchise, but it was found to be pernicious and was abandoned.

As a student of politics and an earnest participant therein, I hope you may be able to verify your surmise in regard to the English experience in disfranchising civil servants of the permanent class, and direct me to the source of your information. Practically disfranchised all my life, due to necessary absence from home at election time, being in the Naval Service, I have not found ground for complaint. But I have found, and am still imbued with the belief, that the fathers of our system of government made a profound mistake in not limiting the franchise for those in government employ. Our cities would be better governed if their many employees had no vote for city officials. Our state governments are continually expanding, and the officeholder is becoming a political asset, while our general government with its continually expanding activities has now become a cause for apprehension if not of positive danger. You would soon lose control of your business if the employees had a dominant voice in selecting their paymaster. Government is mainly a business which should be managed for the benefit of all the people, its fate independent of the will of the office-holders of the employed class. Surely New York City is in itself a sufficient argument for the disfranchisement of its employees.

Lowell, Mass.

WM. P. WHITE.

[There may of course be differences of opinion concerning the experience of Great Britain in disfranchising civil servants, but we believe that the preponderance is to the effect stated in our article. Such disfranchisement here would, in our view, be contrary to democratic principles. Doubtless the voting power of office-holders is sometimes misused. But after all, the office-holders and civil servants form only a small minority of the electorate; so that it is only through the indifference or the connivance of the non-official majority that they can do any harm.—EDITOR.]

CAPT. AL. ROBBINS PROTESTS

SIR,—A trio of retired admirals, some ancient mariners, and a host of deep sea sailormen got their first view yesterday of one of the new emergency wooden cargo ships built by the Government for transatlantic use. She was being towed from sea up Narragansett Bay to have her engines placed. It has been widely reported that this ship was built in sixty days. She looked it! Despite fresh paint and new flags, she appeared just what she is—3,500 tons of flimsy construction. We have been told with pride by the Emergency Fleet Corporation that there is nothing composite about this ship and her sisters. We believe this also! With wooden superstructure amidships, wooden deck house and chart room, wooden navigating bridge supported on wooden stanchions—she is as frankly wooden a piece of fabrication as a dry goods box, and about as seaworthy.

To the sea-born and sea-descended "Yank" this strange construction does not appeal. The sailor knows his wooden sailing ships and the sailor knows his steel steamships, but a wooden steamship for the North Atlantic is a ship to which only a non-seafaring Government Emergency Fleet Corporation could be accessory.

Point Judith Light, Rhode Island. CAPT. AL. ROBBINS.

A POST-BELLUM CREED

SIR,—Can there be terms too "humiliating and unreasonable" for such beasts?

The only rightful terms are "unconditional surrender."

Are we to play false to our brave men now risking and, alas! too often heroically giving their precious young lives for the cause of liberty, while we, though doing what we can, are in comfort in our peaceful homes?

When the war is over Germany disappears from my horizon. I formulated my creed to an English friend early in 1916 as follows:

I will never set foot on a German ship or on German soil again.

I will never make another German friend.

I will never eat, drink, wear, buy or even touch anything which has been polluted by a German hand.

What the Government may do I know not, but these are my firm resolves.

Philadelphia.

W. W. KEEN.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

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The President and The People

WE do not consider that the President need feel humiliated by the result of the election. Undoubtedly, upon his own hasty and ill-timed interpretation, he has ample cause for mortification. But is not that consequence attributable, in all fairness, rather to a mere error in judgment or statement upon his own part than to any lack of public confidence which would seem to be implied?

Mr. Wilson demanded from the people a vote expressing either unqualified approval or unqualified disapproval of all his acts and purposes. It was an unwise thing to do, of course; that is now apparent; and necessarily he must pay the penalty. But was it not also unfair to both himself and the people? Was not the test which he insisted upon one to which he not only ought not to have subjected himself but upon which he could not hope to obtain a right judgment?

So it seems to us beyond the shadow of a doubt. The challenge was both too broad and too explicit. No option of differentiation was left to the electors. It was all or nothing, right or wrong, take me or leave me for better or for worse. Driven into a corner after this fashion, what could a free people do other than they did? We cannot see.

Nor upon reflection, in our opinion, will the President find the verdict so severe as at first blush it probably seems to be. His pride suffers no doubt, as it deserves to suffer from overreaching, but even though his spirit be chastened there is no real occasion for his heart to be downcast. Nothing could be further ever from the wish of the people than to humiliate their President. If they could have voiced their appreciation of his untiring service, they would have done so gladly with right good will.

They did not even repudiate his leadership.

If they could have voted to uphold it without impairing their liberties, they would have done so with substantial unanimity.

It was not Mr. Wilson's leadership that the people objected to; it was his attempt at usurpation of powers which they never vested in him and never will vest in any President. To have done so would have been to betray their country and the principles whose preservation has made their country the best in the world to live in. Mr. Wilson must realize this. At any rate, he did realize it—none better—when he was more keenly interested in patriotic philosophy than in partisan politics.

"No one, I take it for granted," he once wrote, "is disposed to disallow the principle that the representatives of the people are the proper ultimate authority in all matters of government, and that administration is merely the clerical part of government. Legislation is the originating force. It determines what shall be done; and the President, if he cannot or will not stay legislation by the use of his extraordinary power [of veto] as a branch of the legislature, is plainly bound in duty to render unquestioning obedience to Congress."

That is the great principle which this Democracy has sustained steadfastly from its beginning and which Mr. Wilson compelled it to reiterate at the polls last Tuesday. We hope to live to see the day when openly he will rejoice at the stern rendering of this essential decree, which obviously he, too, would have supported with vigor before his personal ambition became involved.

Meanwhile, he may rightfully derive no little comfort from the reflection that it was his interpretation, after all, his best if not his latest, that the people confirmed when, somewhat reluctantly even upon his gracious assurance that he

would accept their judgment "without cavil," they quietly put him in his place, self-pledged henceforth "in duty bound to render unquestioning obedience to Congress."

May we not, in passing, suggest the possibility that, with the extraordinary farsightedness so frequently accredited to him, this is the very outcome which Mr. Wilson sought? It seems hardly credible that one so versed in the thought of the country could have anticipated another. Some, we know, imagined that his demand for a servile Congress as "imperatively necessary" would not be denied at this crucial time, but surely the most casual recollection of the extremely slight consequences which ensued from abrupt rejection of woman suffrage as an equally "vital necessity for the winning of the war" afforded small basis for this opinion.

There had just appeared, moreover, unmistakable signs of vigorous thinking throughout the land, as indicated by the sharpness with which the country overrode both the subservient Press and the surprised President and enforced a complete *volte face* in the compromising negotiations with Germany.

The universal call for "Unconditional Surrender" and the growing disaffection with Colonel House's exclusiveness as guardian of the interests of the Republic also were manifestations of a recrudescence of Americanism not lightly to be ignored.

So, somewhat tentatively we confess, yet with high hope, let us dream a dream that the whole proceeding was shrewdly designed to return to power the representatives of the people and thus to demonstrate anew the faith of a Good Prince in the Republic of the Fathers.

A happy, happy thought! We pass it on.

Perhaps we say it who shouldn't, but the fact remains that as long ago as September 21 we reached the conclusion from a painstaking analysis of the political situation—the first made by any public journal—that "despite common acceptance of the supposition that the Democratic majority in the Senate cannot be overcome, we expect the Republicans to carry both Houses of Congress."

The defeat of Swagar Sherley, the ablest Democrat in the House of Representatives, is a truly regrettable circumstance.

C. C. Daniels, brother of Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, said:

"I am convinced that the figures to-night illustrate the trust the American people have in President Wilson. The effect will be felt and appreciated in all of the allied nations. This election is a bigger defeat for the Germans than even the elimination of Austria-Hungary."—*The Herald*.

The Lord forgive us! We knew that Mr. Baker had a brother, but never before heard that Josephus was likewise blessed. Not unlike either, we should say, judging from the sapience of his observation.

Edsel! Edsel! Where have we heard that name?

Mr. Hughes Reports

"If it is not dealing with futures too remote," says the *Herald*, "may we not venture the prediction that in the next issue of his admirable, if at times unforgiving WAR WEEKLY, Colonel George Harvey will call attention to the fact that the aircraft situation laid bare by the Hughes report is the same aircraft situation over which Secretary Newton D. Baker so stridently shouted his historic 'All's Well.' And again, Colonel Harvey may be expected to call attention to the fact that the inefficiency of aircraft organization revealed by the Hughes report was pronounced efficiency by Mr. Newton D. Baker."

Oh, yes; we do all that, although in truth our interest in the subject now is slight. This journal was the first and only one to propose that Mr. Hughes be designated to make the investigation away back in April, and three weeks later, somewhat to our surprise and greatly to our satisfaction, the President adopted the suggestion. Naturally we find the universally acclaimed outcome highly gratifying as an indication of what might have been saved to the country if many other like suggestions had been as promptly heeded.

There is nothing new in the findings of Mr. Hughes. They simply confirm in every particular all that we said in many columns and emphasized in many pictures of the utter incompetency of Mr. Baker as an administrative officer. It is not worth while now to recapitulate at length the great array of facts which we dug up and set forth from time to time in such fashion as to draw from the Secretary himself a stinging official rebuke and from a misguided Press no little disparaging comment upon our resolute endeavors to achieve essential reform.

We may perhaps recall, however, that as early as February 2 we registered our conclusion, based upon painstaking inquiry, that "however clever" Mr. Baker might appear "as an advocate," as a Secretary of War, he would prove "an irremediable failure." This judgment was, of course, in sharp contrast with the President's sweeping designation of his admiring friend as "the most efficient public officer" he had ever known. But it was a question of facts rather than of opinion and we persisted in getting and presenting the facts which in the end most reluctantly the President was compelled by an indignant public to take into account.

"The controlling facts and the conclusions in relation to the matters reviewed have been stated under appropriate headings," says Mr. Hughes. "It would be impossible to restate them in a brief summary. The defective organization of the work of aircraft production and the serious lack of competent direction of that work by the responsible officers of the Signal Corps, to which the delays and waste were chiefly due, were matters for administrative correction through unification of effort under competent control. The provisions of the criminal statutes do not reach inefficiency."

We put it in slightly different words as early as February 23 when we said flatly that "since the beginning of the war Mr. Baker has been allowing grossly inefficient bureaus to grow up around him without realizing to the slightest degree the fact that he was surrounded by men who were totally unfitted for their posts." And again on March 23:

Our worst fears concerning the aviation programme have come true. It has gone the way of the other programmes outlined by the War Department. The gentlemen who were entrusted with this

vital section of the military machine have promised us everything that was to be desired, and now that the date of fulfillment is at hand we find that they will deliver virtually nothing. Our experts have proven to be amateurs and out of their labors they have brought a great mass of industrial confusion and administrative chaos. Where we were led to expect great achievement we now find little more than promises for the future. Where we were led to expect great results we find innumerable excuses. Where we were led to hope for a great army of men in the air we find aviators on the ground without combat planes, guns or equipment. We are told there is no basis for honest complaint because tremendous things have been accomplished and that this will be established by developments—in the future. What a familiar sound it all has! How typical it is of all the promises made by Mr. Baker—perched on the top of the pyramid of confusion he has jumbled together and calls a war machine!

We showed from his record that General Squier, "more to be pitied than censured," was wholly unfitted for his place and was "spending money like a drunken sailor," to no real purpose whatever; we proved from a simple comparison of promise and performance that Mr. Howard Coffin was a confirmed and dangerous optimist; we frankly viewed Colonel E. A. Deeds askance and warned the Department to beware of him; and we added despairingly then—on March 23—that "the pity of it all is that virtually every one in Washington realizes the needs of the situation, except the President, and the little group of timid souls who are occasionally admitted to the White House."

Mr. Hughes reprehends particularly the lulling of the country into a sense of security through the concoction of "false and misleading statements with respect to the progress of aircraft production for the purpose of publication with the authority of the Secretary of War." We put it less gently. We said they lied, knowingly and brazenly lied; and, while conceding that the Secretary probably had been deceived into signing the lie, we warned him that the responsibility for letting it continue to live after we had called his attention to it would be his and his alone. Mr. Hughes touches upon this phase most politely when he speaks of these as "matters for administrative correction under competent control," but we seem to detect a tinge of regret in his succeeding declaration that "the provisions of the criminal statutes do not reach inefficiency."

One thing we did not discover. We exposed the secret contract of the Secretary's brother, and with the aid of Senator Frelinghuysen, compelled the Secretary to cancel it. But we were too gullible altogether when we accepted at its face value this statement by Mr. Baker:

My brother generously resigned from the company and arranged for the termination of his financial interest in it on the basis of the return to him of his actual cash outlay, with interest, but without profit; his only compensation being for time actually devoted to the affairs of the company on a reasonable salary basis.

The "reasonable salary basis" was found by Mr. Hughes to be \$7,000 a year for a gentleman who probably never earned a third as much before. But Mr. Hughes discovered further that this was not "his only compensation." He received in addition a lump sum of \$15,000 of money paid by the United States. We suspected something of the sort at the time, but there was no way of finding out; and then we will leave it to anybody if we were not justified in accepting such a statement from a Secretary of War. Nevertheless, we ought not to have missed a bit of graft like that, especially since it would never have come to light at all but for Mr. Hughes.

But the saddest feature of all the wretched business is this. Mr. Hughes says:

We have not as yet sent from this country to the battlefront a single pursuit or combat plane, as distinguished from the heavy observation or bombing planes, and, after giving due weight to all explanations, the fact remains that such pursuit planes could have been produced in large quantities many months ago had there been prompt decision and consistent purpose.

It might have been done—and wasn't; that is the horror of it. The result was that we had thousands of aviators in France for months ready to fly and no planes. And when the hurry call came for our soldiers to go in to save the line they had to go without adequate guidance and protection from the air. How many lives were sacrificed in consequence there, in addition to those lost needlessly in our aviation camps, God only knows. The Boston *Transcript* made a rough estimate the other day, but we only glanced at it and threw it away; it made the heart sick.

The only further point which we wish to make—and this we do frankly in justice to ourselves—is that every fault of importance recorded in the Hughes report was depicted in this journal while there was yet time to correct it. And what did Mr. Baker do? Disdainfully ignoring the facts as presented, he attempted to create a diversion by denouncing that presentation as "a malignant attack" upon himself and wrote a letter to a fellow Pacifist in Congress accusing us of "helping our enemies by his [our] extraordinary and depressing lack of information,"—such as indicated above. That was in May. On August 9 Mr. Baker appeared before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and demonstrated his own exceptional knowledge of the same, most vital matters in his own department after this fashion:

Senator New. Has this country produced any combat planes that are now in use with our forces abroad?

Secretary Baker. I can not answer that. I do not know.

Senator New. Is it not a matter of official record in the War Department that there are no American-made airplanes now in use by our Army in France?

Secretary Baker. It was some time ago. I do not know what the present status is.

Senator New. You are Secretary of War.

Secretary Baker. Yes.

Senator New. And that is certainly a very important bureau of the War Department, is it not?

Secretary Baker. Obviously.

* * * *

Senator Reed. If that is a correct statement of affairs, why is it that an order has been issued to stop shipment of these planes?

Secretary Baker. I do not know that it has been issued.

* * * *

Senator Frelinghuysen. Have you read the cablegram of Gen. Pershing?

Secretary Baker. Yes.

Senator Frelinghuysen. Do you consider the defects pointed by him to be minor?

Secretary Baker. Some of them.

Senator Frelinghuysen. Not all of them?

Secretary Baker. I do not know enough about it; I am not an expert and I do not know the effect of many of the things described by Gen. Pershing.

And so on and on and on. Ah, well, we have already declared our intention to bother no more about Mr. Baker. In point of fact, we should have paid no attention to the Hughes report but for the *Herald's* passing observation. When it comes to pass, as it has just come to pass that the most conspicuous and by far the most eloquent member of the Cabinet is not permitted to make a single speech in a campaign like that which has now happily ended, he surely appears sufficiently discredited from within to call for no further comment from without his little fold

Some Wilsonian Fog Dispelled

THE Allies have read the riot act to the President. That, stripped of camouflage, is the purport of Secretary Lansing's (euphemism for the President's) note to the Swiss Minister. Since his inept note-mongering has unfortunately made necessary some intimation of peace terms to Germany beside the historic American prescription of Unconditional Surrender, the Powers plainly declare that they will not be bound by the President's much-vaunted Twenty-Three Commandments, as a whole, save in their own interpretation of them. What the President had in mind, or thought that he had in mind, when he emitted those wondrous nebulae, the Powers are not interested to inquire. But they make it quite plain what they themselves have in mind, on at least two of the most important points.

One is that of Restoration. Under the President's futile expression in Article 7, Group 1, of the would-be Law and Prophets, the word might and quite probably would have meant nothing but the restoration of Belgian, French, Serbian and other possession of and sovereignty over the ravaged and desolated lands. Not so, thank God! our Allies. They accept the word, but they make plain that they mean by it that Germany shall make compensation for all the damage she has done to the civilian population, so far as such compensation is possible. She must pay for Louvain, she must pay for every farm ravaged, every cottage destroyed, every fruit tree wantonly cut down. Kipling, in his "Eyes of India," makes one of his soldiers say of France:

"Each village keeps a written account of all that the enemy has done against it. If a life—a life, whether it be man or priest, or hostage, or woman, or babe. Every horn driven off; and every feather; all bricks and tiles broken, all things burned, and their price, are written in the account. The shames and the insults are also written. There is no price set against them. Each village keeps its own tally and all tallies go to the Government to be filed. The whole of the country of France is in one great account against the enemy."

Now the Allies say, that account shall be paid in full, to the last centime. It is well. If it bleeds Germany white for a century to come, it is well.

As for the other point, that astounding Article 2 of Group 1, "relating to what is usually described as the freedom of the seas," the Allies with admirable discretion cannot at this moment trust themselves to speak of it. What they make clear is that the obvious interpretation of it, and the one which the President apparently thought he had in mind, is utterly unacceptable to them and is not even to be considered. Therefore they dismiss the whole subject, they practically wipe it from the President's programme as a boy's blunder is wiped from the blackboard with a sponge. They will attend to that in their own way when the proper time comes, entirely unbound by anything which the President has said upon the subject. (Seeing, by the way, that the President's Personal Representative was present when the Supreme War Council of the Allies thus threw the "freedom of the seas" into the wastepaper basket, it is to be wondered what he thinks of the statement of his dithyrambic biographer that he was the author and inventor of that doctrine.)

We might have wished that the Allies had extended their revision of the Twenty-Three Commandments to the other

twenty-one. But this will suffice. *Ex pede Herculem*; which being interpreted means that when the time comes for dictating peace France and Belgium and Great Britain and Italy are going to have something to say in the matter; as they should. The President may talk; they will act. And while they may regard it as no business of theirs if the President wants to impose free trade upon America as an essential condition of beating the Hun, we have a notion that France and Belgium may be inclined to put their own interpretation upon that Article 3 of Group 1, which would instantly admit Germany, with her wealth of loot, to commercial competition with the countries whose equipment she has stolen.

The old ditty, "Remember, remember, the Fifth of November!" assumes a new significance. It was on that date that a breath of fresh, clear air from Versailles dispelled some of the fog which had arisen from the Potomac Flats.

GOVERNOR MCCALL'S BELATED PROTEST.—*Headline in the World.*

Hardly! Indeed, the lamentable defeat of Senator Weeks clearly indicates that it was timed with exceptional accuracy. Another obvious deduction is that Mr. McCall has definitely buried all hope of future political perferment.

Woodrow Wilson remains President of the United States, and the people, though much besought by opposition leaders, have not been moved to express their disapproval of his Administration.—*The Times.*

Thanks and again thanks! Elsewhere we struggle manfully to demonstrate the same proposition, but somehow, as we read it over, our argument seems less convincing than usual. Hence our relief at this determined assurance from our most highly esteemed Institution.

Now if only Colonel House would run for something!

Mr. Hughes would make no comment, preferring to wait for the complete returns.—*The World.*

A prudent man, withal!

Although not well posted on the New York political situation we have a suspicion that Mr. Smith will make a very good run. Everybody seems to be sick of Mr. Whitman.—*The WAR WEEKLY of Nov. 2.*

It may be close in Ohio.—*The WAR WEEKLY of Nov. 2.*

When you come to think of it, God always *does* save the Republic.

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Now Unmuzzle the Press!

WITH the end of the war should vanish every excuse for that unconstitutional muzzling of the press to which the country with amazing patience has now so long submitted. There is no longer danger of news leakage that might be of informative value to the enemy. He is not in a position to make use of it if he had it. There is no longer danger of treason preachments. They would be perilous only to those who were fools enough to utter them. The only conceivable purpose for continued gagging of the press might perhaps lie in the political exigencies of the party in control of the Administration. How far force of habit may lead those in authority at Washington along that line of endeavor remains to be seen. Clearly it is a road just now very far from safe for the particular brand of Democracy involved.

The Administration's policy of free press suppression has been so gradually and, in some instances, so adroitly imposed that the general public probably has not fully realized what an alarming growth this most hateful form of autocracy has become. In an article in the last number of the *North American Review* Mr. Richard Barry presents the matter in a plain narration of fact which is startling. He clearly shows that, all but unconsciously to ourselves, we have grown into a timid acceptance of a form of coercion utterly at variance with all our traditions and convictions. By citation of specific cases in point he demonstrates that under strained applications of the Espionage Act, the supervision of the military censors, the direct orders of the War Industries Board, and the adroit manipulations of the Politicalmaster General, the great masses of the American people find themselves about as effectually barred from full, free, unsupervised access to the news of the day and uncensored interpretive comment thereon as Potsdam itself might desire.

One of the most flagrant instances of this arbitrary coercion was the wholly illegal and, incidentally, in its puerile absurdity, superlatively ridiculous attempt to suppress the report of the Senate Military Affairs Sub-Committee on aircraft production. Here was a matter of vital importance to all the people in the country. Over \$360,000,000 of their money had been squandered or stolen with nothing to show for it but a scrap heap. The disgraceful story had long had free circulation abroad. The report itself had been printed almost in its entirety by the *Montreal Star*. Yet efforts that were hysterically fanatic to the verge of comic opera buffoonery were made to prevent American papers from printing at home and circulating in foreign countries matter that had become of world-wide notoriety. The Associated Press, long cowed into abject submissiveness to Administration dictation, ventured to send out only about a column of denatured condensation of matter that filled an entire newspaper page. The *New York Times* was the only paper that carried the report in full, and the schoolmaster's ferrule fell sharply across its knuckles for its hardihood. Its entire foreign edition was arbitrarily and without prior notification suppressed. The wholly meek and unaggressive *Christian Science Monitor* was denied circulation for three days for printing the document, a public document, it is to be borne in mind, and supposedly open to every American citizen. The 30,000 copies which the *Detroit News* circulates in Canada were seized and held up at the border because

they contained a report which Canadian papers themselves were carrying in full. As Senator Lodge put it: "Our enemies know the contents of the report; our allies know the contents of it; the only people who do not know about it are the people of the United States."

There was just one thing which saved this performance from bringing down on the Administration an outburst of wrath that would not have been easily suppressed. There was a clumsy, sprawling, sheer idiocy about the whole affair which appealed irresistibly to the easy-going American sense of humor. Instead of roars of rage, it provoked shouts of laughter.

And yet the matter was very far from being a legitimate subject of merriment. It was in reality symptomatic of an obsession for autocratic control of free speech which was taking too dangerous a hold on those in authority at Washington to be lightly laughed away. How far this obsession was capable of going was illustrated by still another case cited by Mr. Barry. This occurred just before the Maine election of last September. Two editors printed matter during the campaign which was presumably advantageous to the Republican party. They were Republican papers. Their editors thought they had a right to urge the election of Republicans of sound war record in the place of Democrats. They were speedily advised of their error. Each was called to the telephone by local Administration officials who notified them that if further matter of the nature mentioned was printed their papers would be suppressed. Of course they could have resisted. Had they been financially strong papers they might have done so. But, for a financially weak paper, a fight with the United States Government with its then freshly delegated war-time powers of persecution was a serious matter. It was too pregnant with possibilities of ruin to be risked.

Rarely, however, did the Administration autocrats venture so far as this in their campaign of free speech suppression. They generally went about it on broader lines and by more roundabout methods. The Politicalmaster General was something of an adept at this. First he promulgated the Postal Zone Rate Law. By this sweeping edict the metropolitan papers lost tens of thousands of readers. But the news suppression involved was not confined to these subscribers alone. It extended to the hundreds of thousands of readers of smaller papers which were dependent upon the metropolitan dailies for those extended news dispatches and comments which their own resources did not permit them to command. But by edict of the War Industries Board even the metropolitan papers, no matter how large their resources in money and trained correspondents, had been obliged to curtail news space and space for comment on current events. Mr. Baruch cut down their supply of print paper. As he himself put it: "In the eyes of the [War Industries] Board there is no distinction between a newspaper and a factory." Quoting Mr. Barry: "In other words, to Mr. Baruch (who so far as this matter is concerned is for the moment the spokesman of the Government) there seems no difference between a Free Press as guaranteed by the Constitution and the production of toy balloons."

But even with the Postal Zone Rate Law in force the editor of the small interior paper was not wholly cut off from access to the metropolitan newspapers with their better news service equipment. The good old newspaper custom of ex-

changes was still in vogue. If the editor could not afford to subscribe at the enhanced zone rates for the big dailies, he could get many of them in exchange for his own sheet. But the eagle eye of the free press suppression autocracy soon detected that weak link in the fetters. By specific order the sending of free exchanges was prohibited. Conservation of print paper was the excuse.

This left the interior papers high and dry. They had only the news service organizations to rely upon and these services, like the Associated Press, were completely at the mercy of the Administration, which swung over their heads the threat of cutting off even their censored news at the source. But the lines were not even drawn tight enough at that to suit the censor autocracy. An edict was promulgated forbidding the starting of new papers. This, of course, was preposterously unconstitutional on its face. A case carried to the Supreme Court would have smashed the ruling once and for all. But who, in these days of enormous cost for everything, wanted to begin a new paper with a lawsuit against the United States Government in times of war?

And yet there was one instance of revolt against this preposterous edict. The Butte, Mont., *Bulletin* had long intended to change from a weekly to a daily. Washington forbade it. The *Bulletin* was preparing to defy the order when it was notified that if it did so it would be cut off from fuel, light and raw material. The Democratic Administration at Washington won. The *Bulletin* was a paper suspected of Republican leanings.

And while all this was being done on the plea of conservation of print paper, thousands of tons of such paper was pouring into the waste paper baskets of the country from the continuous-performance output of creel slush and creel creels. And in the meantime the Politicalmaster General, in August last, had taken over full charge of the telegraphic news service wires that he might, as he said, "provide the press with the most efficient wire facilities *under Government control*." And he did it. The "Government control" we have italicized tells the whole story. The Politicalmaster General can now supervise every item of wire news, expediting that which meets his political approval and sidetracking that which might tend to make the world unsafe for Democrats.

The gayety of nations is enhanced by the proposal, which appears to be seriously put forward by various prohibitionist clergymen, that one William Jennings Bryan be exhumed from the dust pile and placed at the head of our Peace Commission. This is understood to be the same Mr. Bryan who negotiated a lot of futile treaties calculated to restrain the country from preparing for a war which it saw coming, who played ducks and drakes with our foreign service for the benefit of "deserving Democrats," and who practically sent word to Germany that the President was just talking for buncombe in one of the most serious, important and momentous of all his diplomatic utterances. We would be willing to give a large red apple for the privilege of seeing his name sent to the Senate for confirmation as a peace plenipotentiary.

Hunger is hastening the downfall of the Bolshevist régime in Russia.—*A. P. Dispatch*.

We know a very eminent man who once said that nobody could be a patriot on an empty stomach.

The Lesson of Austria

WE shall soon see if the Prussian Hun is capable of learning the two-fold lesson which Austria now presents. We say Austria, rather than Austria-Hungary, because after all it is Austria that, through the Hapsburg dynasty, has dominated the whole empire; though indeed a certain faction of the Magyars has shown itself apt and eager in taking the Hapsburg cue. But now for Germany; which in turn has been dominating the Hapsburgs.

The German Socialist organ, *Vorwaerts*, of Berlin, may be assumed to speak for the German people as much as it is possible for any of the "reptile press" to do. It, if any German paper, should be able to read and interpret the writing on the wall, and to sympathize with the uprising of popular rights. Yet what is its comment upon the self-assertion of the Czecho-Slovaks?

It admits that the history of that people proves the impossibility of destroying even a small nation. But with a crass stupidity of which none but a Prussian Hun could be capable it utterly perverts the application of that principle to the German case. If it has thus been impossible, by years of Austrian oppression, to destroy the Czecho-Slovak nation, it exclaims in effect, what fools are they who purpose to "tear to pieces the German nation of seventy millions!"

Were they, then, fools who thought to tear to pieces the Austro-Hungarian nation of fifty-odd millions? Indeed, their folly seems to be triumphant. There was, of course, no such nation, but a congeries of diverse nations or peoples, artificially and against their will held together by autocratic bonds. The same is true of the impudently-pretended German nation. There is no such thing. There are Danish provinces, whose Danish nationality Prussia has no more been able to destroy than Austria that of the Czechs. There are French provinces, which remain indomitably French as much as in 1870. There are Polish provinces, which have never been reconciled to the act of Frederick the Great Thief. The history of the Czechs, as *Vorwaerts* truly says, proves the impossibility of destroying even such small nationalities. The present example of the Czechs gives warning that those nationalities will resume their independence.

Nor is there anything like homogeneity or national solidarity in what remains of Germany after these alien provinces are lopped off. North German and South German, Low German and High German, have little in common. Between Bavaria and Prussia there has never been love, but generally hatred. Hanover has never been reconciled to the Prussian conquest, nor has Saxony forgotten or condoned the Prussian spoliation of her realm. The history of Germany is a record of antagonisms and wars among the various states and groups of states. And in the very act which Prussians arrogantly and ignorantly affected to regard as confirming the solidarity of the empire, the empire in fact proclaimed its lack of solidarity when it refused, despite his entreaties, blandishments and all but demands, to make the Prussian king "Emperor of Germany" and insisted that he should be merely "German Emperor."

The first part of the lesson which Germany has to learn from her demolished partner and victim is, then, that real nations, however small, are indestructible, and that artificial and unjustly-formed empires, however large, have no security beyond the strength of the sword.

The other part is this, that the vanquished must reckon with the former victims of their crimes. Austria was not permitted to make terms with America. The bitterness in her cup was that she was compelled to sue for peace to Italy, whom she had despoiled, oppressed and outraged, and the Czecho-Slovaks, whom she had for generations held in serfdom. And as Austrian woman-floggers once lorded it in Venice and Milan, so, by the decree of Nemesis, Italian soldiers may occupy Vienna and hold it as hostage for the Tedeschi's fulfilment of the dictated terms of peace. So may it be! And so must Germany learn this lesson, that it is with France and Belgium primarily that she has to deal. She must sue for peace to the nation which she robbed and "bled white" in 1871. She must beg clemency of the nation whose neutral rights she treated as a "scrap of paper," whose cities she burned, whose citizens she robbed, whose babes she bayoneted in their cradles, whose matrons and maids she ravished, whose peaceful populace she massacred. It is for Wilhelm Hohenzollern to beg his life of Albert of Belgium.

Such is the two-fold lesson which the demolition of Austria-Hungary writes in characters of fire upon the walls of Potsdam. We shall see if the Hun, though he be a fool, can read and comprehend it. Though in fact that will little matter. Read or unread, learned or unlearned, accepted or rejected by the stubborn criminal, the lesson will be enforced, inexorably, remorselessly. The doom of Austria will be the doom of Germany; only the more drastic and tremendous in proportion, as Germany has been the greater sinner against the laws of humanity and of humanity's God.

Black Slaves of Prussia

THOSE who may be tempted to regard the terms imposed on Germany concerning forfeiture of her colonies as severe, who would mete out "impartial justice," with "no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just," should read "The Black Slaves of Prussia," a letter written by the Rt. Rev. Frank Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar, which Senator Lodge has caused to be printed as a Senate document under the title named.

Bishop Weston writes to Lieutenant General Smuts, K. C., pleading with the General, who is of course familiar with South African conditions, to exert his influence to prevent the restoration to Germany of her African colonies, saying, "The President of the United States has given the authority of his great country to this solemn pledge," that the war will continue until liberty is established throughout the world, but that there are signs "that some in England" and elsewhere "are ready to end the war before liberty is established."

The Bishop then relates in detail the fearful abuses to which the Germans have subjected the natives in Africa, abuses comparable only with the frightful outrages perpetrated in the Congo under the infamous rule of King Leopold of Belgium. The essential political difference is, of course, that those abuses occurred in the Congo when that unfortunate country belonged to the Belgian Crown (Leopold) and lacked the protection of the Belgian constitution and parliament, whereas the outrages perpetrated in the German colonies have been under the rule of the Kaiser, the Bundesrat and the Reichstag.

Slavery in its most infamous form has characterized the entire period of German misrule, according to Bishop Weston, who says of conditions prevailing before the war, "in ordinary peace time," that while the Germans were efficient and, in civil matters, more or less just to the natives, "their failure is due to their inbred cruelty, which they encourage their African underlings to copy. They rule entirely by fear, and cruel punishments are their means of spreading terror throughout the land." He describes the most inhuman floggings and also a form of punishment, inflicted for trifling offenses, which consists of "a band of iron passed around the head and tightened by means of a vise-like screw, so as to press more especially on the temples. The agony is unspeakable."

Regarding flogging, the Bishop says, "It is a disease, this flogging. It makes the Germans feared everywhere; but it poisons the German mind and the mind of the African underling. . . . Vicarious punishment the German loves, making parents and wife suffer for the faults of son or husband. And this is not for local offenses in which connivance is suspected, but for crimes done miles and miles away." He declares that "Germans on tour require as a rule to be supplied with a young girl at each sleeping place," and says that a German who desires an obedient concubine can always buy one.

Summing up his report, the good Bishop says, "German rule is impossible. The German does not understand the elementary principles of humane government. He is efficient, he is polite, he is correct in his behavior and in his official attitude, but he is German. And being a German he sees a native as a tool; he is cruel and inhuman, and under him the African must become a slave or die. . . ."

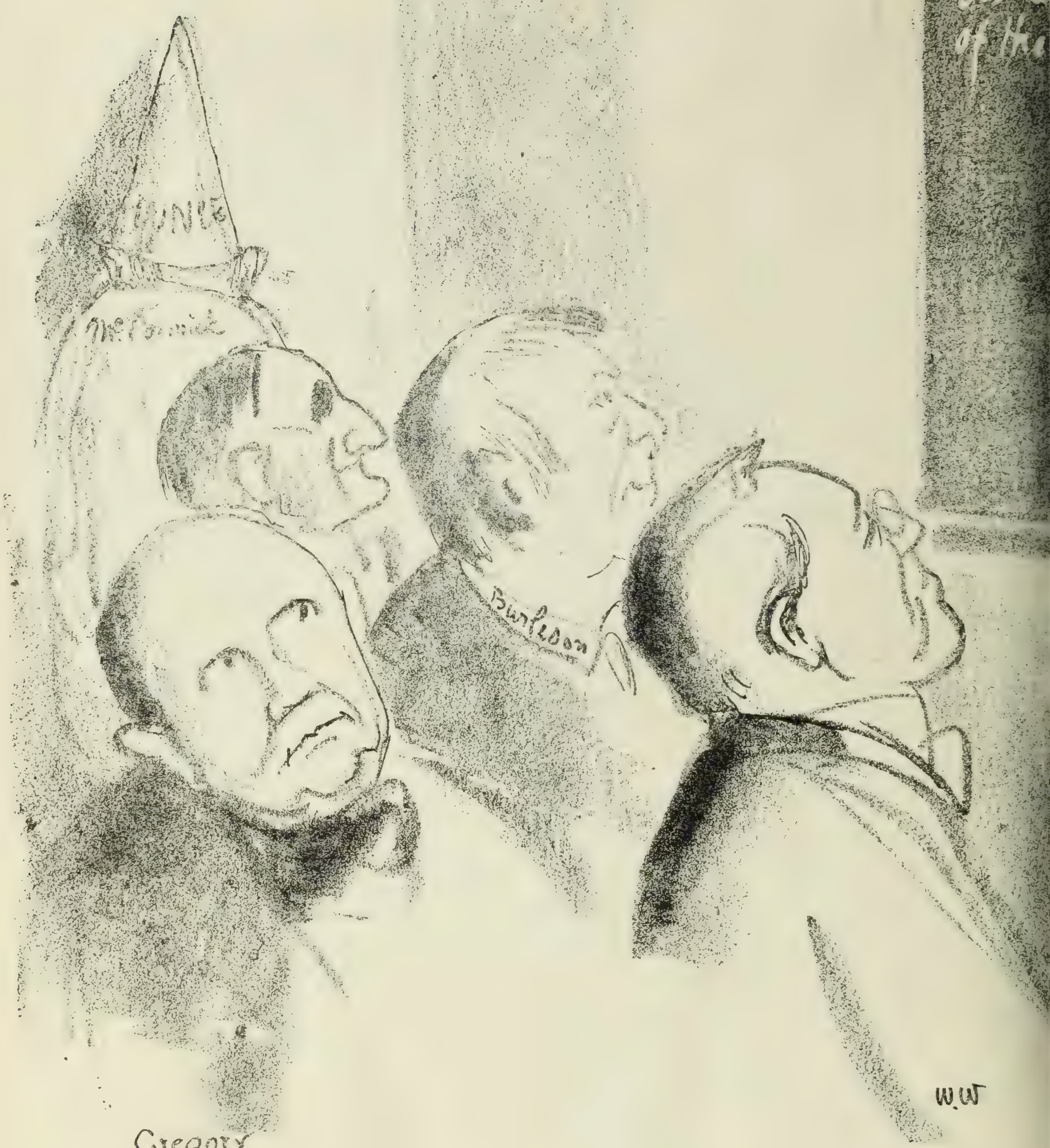
This document can be obtained without charge by applying to the Senate Document Room, the Capitol, Washington, D. C., asking for Document 296, 2d session, 65th Congress.

THE PARASITE

No matter what the end may be
Thy fate is sealed, by God and man;
Thou can'st not from His agents flee
To save thy hide—nor can thy clan.
Thou and all thy whelps art doomed
Thy throne is rotted, and shall fall,
And thy gross carcass be entombed
Where loathsome vermin crawl and brawl.
For years, thy subjects toiled and tilled
To feed and clothe thy gangrened line—
For what? Just to be maimed and killed
To glut thy impious "right divine."
Think'st thou to profit by shed blood
Of virgin, widow, orphan, "clod"?
To float to glory on its flood
Beneath the great star eyes of God?
Thou Corsican, in times of peace;
Thou craven, when war's bugles blow;
Thou gander of Germanic geese;
Thou barnyard cock, all comb and crow.
Why art thou slinking in the rear,
And sleeping in thy well-made bed,
Impervious to sneer and jeer
Unlike King Albert with his dead?
A king—an Emperor? What, thou?
Thou comic opera, medalled king,
With CAIN red branded on thy brow,
Thou foolish, barbered, strutting thing!
Thou hideous monster of conceit,
Ten thousand years thy shriveled soul
Shall moan in darkness, whine, and bleat,
Out there, unshrived, 'twixt Pole and Pole.

—JOHN ERNEST WARREN.

See
All
them
vested
of the



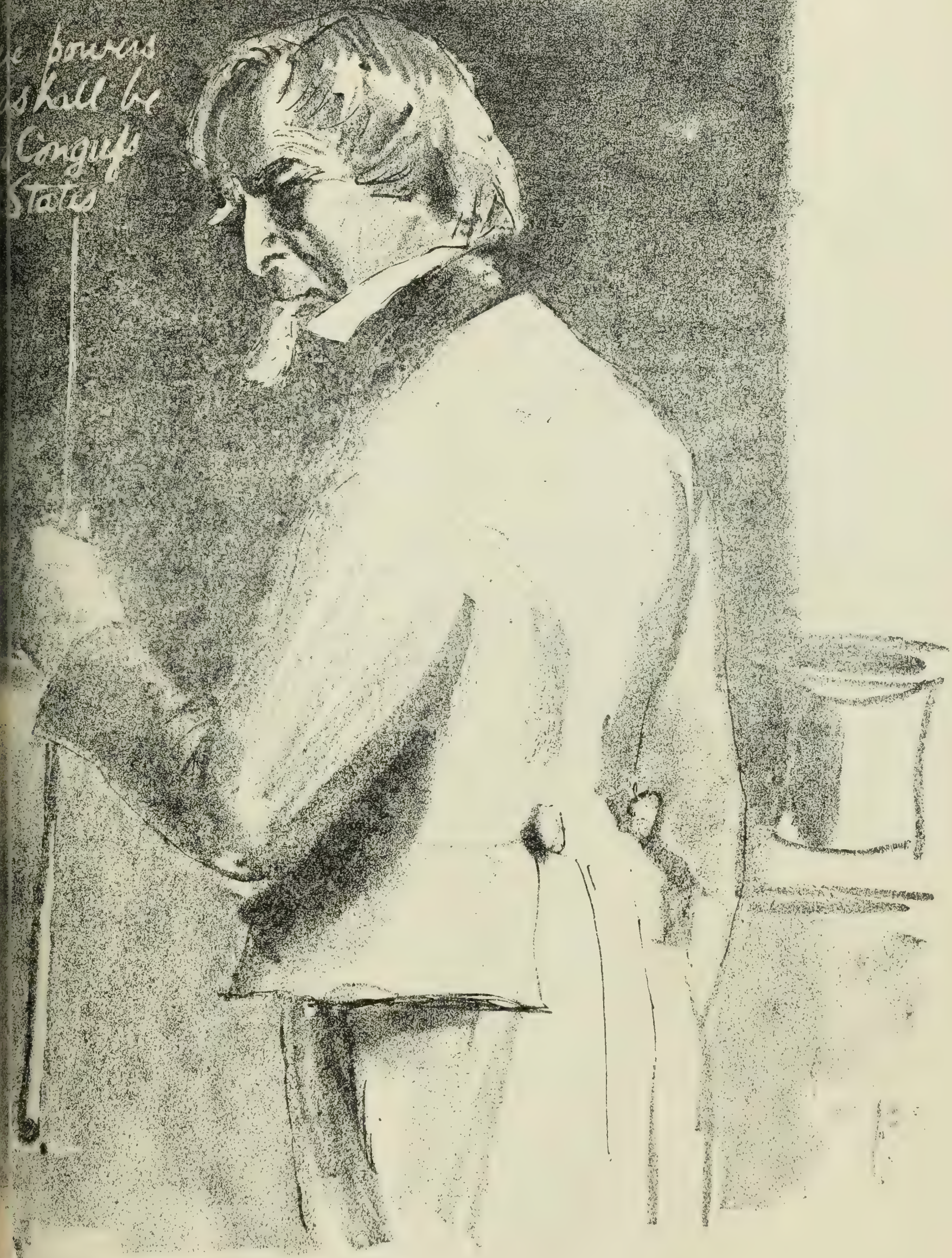
Gregory

W.W

THE OLD SCHOOLM

Constitution of the United States of America

*the powers
shall be
Congress
States*



TER COMES BACK

The Week

WASHINGTON, November 7, 1918.

EACH day confirms the estimate of the problems and perils of peace as greater than those of war. The military victory of our Allies and ourselves is assured. But it is coming so swiftly and in proportions so gigantic as to cause serious misgivings as to our readiness for it and our ability adequately to deal with its issues and results. Such reassurance and consolation as there are must be found in the continued activity of the Allied armies and in the hope that they will save the situation in the council chamber as well as in the field.

The terms of the Austrian armistice are drastic, but not too drastic. There is nothing in them that savors of mere vindictiveness or of a desire simply to humiliate the fallen foe. Indeed, in those respects they present a chivalrous contrast to the terms which Austrians and Germans have hitherto imposed upon the victims of their conquests. But they are thoroughly practical and effective from the military point of view. They put Austria-Hungary completely out of the war—on land, on sea, under sea, and in air. Her army must return to her own territory, demobilize, and surrender half of its guns and other equipment; all Allied prisoners must be released without reciprocity; a substantial part of her navy must be surrendered and the rest disarmed and tied up; her aircraft must be put out of commission; Pola and the Danube forts must be occupied by the Allies; and, perhaps above all, the whole empire, with its railroads and waterways, must be yielded to the free use of the Allied forces, thus opening the way to an attack upon Germany from the south and east. This, we say, is admirable, so far as Austria-Hungary herself is concerned. As an earnest of what terms will be prescribed for Germany herself when her time comes, it is reassuring and inspiring. Trust Foch! His business is not to make it easy or pleasant for Germany to get out of the war, but to make it safe for the Allies to let her get out. Has Diaz scourged the Tedeschi with a whip of small cords? Foch will scourge the Hun with a whip of scorpions!

The doom of Belshazzar has become that of the Hapsburgs. Of this cataclysm, two features are especially gratifying. One is the puissance of the Italians, who, having splendidly recovered from their momentary lapse of a year ago, have been punishing their old oppressors on an epic scale. "Italy," quoth the typical Tedesco of the last century, "is only a geographical expression." We commend to the shade—and to the successors—of Metternich consideration of the extent to which Italy is henceforth to be a "geographical expression" at the head and on the eastern shore of the Adriatic and in the Trentino. The other feature is the apparently complete failure of the characteristically Hunnish attempt to create dissension between the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs. Thus Fiume was surrendered by them to the Jugo-Slavs in the hope that the Italians would demand possession of it and that the Jugo-Slavs would refuse to give it. The trick did not work. The understanding between the Italians and Jugo-Slavs is apparently as complete as it is among the rest of the Allies. That may not mean that there

will be no difficulty in remaking the map of Europe. It does mean that that task will not be undertaken until the map is cleansed of its Teutonic blots, and that then it will be approached in a spirit of reasonable coöperation.

The surrender of Bulgaria and the abdication of Ferdinand the Fox were not sufficient. Boris has in turn been driven to abdicate after a nominal reign of thirty days. Well, perhaps, as Bismarck cynically remarked to the first modern Prince of Bulgaria, his crown "will be an agreeable souvenir." We may hopefully expect that the peasants' republic which has succeeded the pinchbeck "Czardom" will be less obstreperous than the itching-palm Coburger always showed himself in the solving of the complicated problems of the "lumber-room of Europe."

Gladstone's "bag and baggage" policy seems likely to be executed at last. It is unthinkable that the Turk should be permitted to retain a foothold upon the soil of Europe. What will be done with Constantinople is as yet an unanswered question of prime importance, by no means unanswerable. The suggestion, by the way, that it should be made a free city under Belgian administration is well worthy of serious thought. But in any case it can no more be left to the Turks than Jerusalem can be restored to them. In Anatolia there is an extensive region so purely Turkish in population that it may doubtless be properly left to them; perhaps with their capital at Brusa and an outlet to the Sea of Marmora at Mudania. But all of Thrace, the shores of the Straits, the Aegean coast and islands, Armenia, Palestine and Mesopotamia must pass forever from the unclean sway of the Tribe of Othman.

There were, of course, precedents for the sending of a "personal representative of the President" instead of an official representative of the United States Government. There was Mr. Blount, "Commissioner Paramount" in Hawaii; and there was Mr. John Lind in Mexico. But contemplation of their examples will not afford Colonel House much aid or comfort.

Russian affairs are marked with a single salient feature, of unspeakable grewsomeness, in the announced purpose of the Bolsheviks to devote Sunday next to a general massacre of all the intelligent, respectable and thrifty population of the empire. This monstrous threat is regarded most seriously by those best informed, and the reality of the danger is apparently confirmed by the impudent demand of the Bolshevik chiefs for the immediate withdrawal of all Allied forces from Russia so as to give the Reds a free hand. The thing is, of course, intrinsically not only possible but strongly probable. It would be nothing but a logical and consistent extension of the policy of Lenine and Trotzky. Those worthies and their criminal retainers murdered the Czar at one extreme of the political scale and the venerated "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution" at the other, with uncounted hundreds of innocent and estimable men and women between them; and we know of no reason why they should not commit any other crimes which their savage and bestial natures suggest and which the failure of civilization to inter-

vene may have left within their power. These are the creatures of whose susceptibilities we were recently urged to be most careful, lest we should drive them into the arms of the Huns.

It is recalled that in 1887, when he was urging his ruthless campaign of repression and oppression against the Poles, hoping to crush forever their aspirations for a restored nationality, Bismarck said to the Reichstag that if ever the White Eagle of Poland should come to life the Black Eagle of Prussia would be doomed. It is an interesting circumstance that the White Eagle did come to life at Chateau Thierry, when and where the Polish Legion first formally and under its own flag took part in the war, side by side with the Americans, and that since that eventful day the war has steadily gone against the Prussians. The restoration of Posen and West Prussia, with the port of Dantzic, to reconstituted Poland will complete the fulfilment of Bismarck's forebodings.

The last few days have seen an extensive and somewhat acute eruption of references to "German public opinion," as though it were a newly discovered microbe or an infallible method of squaring the circle. Some men seem to consider what the "German people" think and say as of immense significance and importance; and are prepared to hold that if they now repudiate the war and declare their purpose to be good, we should take them at their word, forget all that is past, and let them prescribe the terms on which peace is to be made and they are to be received into a cucumber-sunshine "league of nations." We should like to know why this alleged "public opinion" of the Huns should be regarded any more now than at the beginning of the war? At that time there was just as much "public opinion" as there is now, and it was just as enlightened; and it was then just as clamorous for war as it now is for peace. The pretence that the German people were fooled by their Government and were hoodwinked and led into the war against their will is simply impudent flub-dub. Of course, the Kaiser and his pals lied to them, but they knew that he was lying, and he knew that they knew it, and they knew that he knew that they knew it. If their "opinion" is now any different from what it was in 1914, that is not because they have found out any truth which was then concealed from them, but simply because they find that their own chosen policy of world-conquest is a failure and they want to stand from under when it collapses. They are not repudiating the Kaiser so much as they are hypocritically reversing themselves. We say "hypocritically," because there is not a scintilla of evidence that they are at heart now any different from what they were four years ago. To accept their word and to trust them would be as disastrous a blunder as to trust William the Damned himself.

Bavaria is reported to be putting forward a reversionary claim to the German imperial crown when William Hohenzollern is compelled to relinquish it. We have an idea that the answer may be very much like that to the small boy's request for the core of the apple: "There ain't goin' to be no core"—or imperial crown. Nevertheless, the claim is plausible and has some basis in historic fitness. The Wittelsbachs are a much older and more honorable family than

the Hohenzollerns, and have produced some men and women of real genius in the useful arts. Of course, they have mostly been more or less crazy, and a good many of them have been criminal. But so have the Hohenzollerns. A philosophic friend defines the difference between them as being that the Wittelsbachs are radically insane with incidental criminality, while the Hohenzollerns are radically criminal with incidental insanity.

German banking and commercial men are urging acceptance of the Allies' terms for an armistice. They were formerly most zealous for inexorable prosecution of the war and for no peace save that dictated by "our good German sword." Their tone has changed, but not their mind. Formerly they wanted to loot the world at the point of the sword. Now they want to loot it through trade conducted with the tremendous advantage of the goods which they have stolen and of the ruin which they have wrought to their competitors' industries. In other words, they want to gain in peace what they failed to win in war. It is our business to prevent them from doing it.

From Belgium and from France and England the demand is growing that individuals, where specifically identified with Hun atrocities, shall be punished as criminals. Pretty careful records of the names and deeds of a good many of these savages have been kept, and, if the crushing of the Hun is made as complete a job as it should be, there is no reason why the guilty ones, if they can be caught and identified, should not be made to suffer the full penalties for their crimes. They are not soldiers; they are criminals. They are savages, to be sure, but they are not ignorant, irresponsible savages. Besides, their deeds in hundreds of instances were such as any ordinary herd of roaming wild men bands would themselves repudiate and punish if committed by any of their members.

And it is not the Hun private soldier and subordinate officer who are the guiltiest perpetrators of the foul things which have made the very name of German and Germany a stench in the nostrils of civilized mankind. It is those higher up who are the worst scoundrels of all, and upon them should fall the heaviest punishment.

There is an abundance of precedents in past wars for the application of fitting penalties. A renegade Hun named Wirz was once upon a time hanged right here at home for letting loose his natural Hun instincts on our helpless Northern prisoners during the Civil War. And Wirz, unspeakable beast as he was, looms as an angel of mercy and light compared with scores of the "officers and gentlemen"—Heaven save the mark!—of the Hun armies who have dishonored the name of man during the past four years.

Austria-Hungary is now paying for the "scrap of paper" which she made of the Treaty of Berlin when she stole Bosnia and Herzegovina. Germany will presently have to pay for the "scrap of paper" which she made of the Belgian neutrality treaty. Mightily expensive, some mere "scraps of paper" are!

With the end of the war supposedly in sight, Edsel's Father should be getting ready to haul down the flags from the tops of his factories.

Indemnity From A Bankrupt

INDICATIONS multiply that Germany is a fiscal as well as a moral bankrupt. Long ago it was pointed out that the almost incredibly extravagant inflation of her currency, which began at the beginning of the war and increased at a reckless ratio, put her in grave danger of such a result. Indeed, it made that result practically certain if the war were considerably protracted and ended in defeat. The Government was playing a desperate gambler's game, and counting upon military victory to save its wild financiering. If it won in the field, it would exact enormous indemnities from the conquered nations, "bleeding them white" to recoup its own treasury. (We all remember the threat to make America pay for the war!) If it were defeated after the first year or two of war, it would still be able to cover its liabilities. But if the war ran on for four or five years and ended in German defeat, the end was obvious from the beginning.

That end now looms big and dark. The refusal of the people to subscribe the ninth war loan, last month, and their evident purpose to hoard what little gold remained to them, called attention to the serious state of affairs, especially to the enormous increase of the imperial bank's currency circulation and the proportionate decrease of the gold reserve. But still more ominous is the comparison between the gross assets and the gross liabilities of the empire.

At the beginning of the war the total wealth of the empire was estimated at about \$80,000,000,000, and the total debts to be reckoned against it as liabilities were less than \$13,000,000,000, or, say, 16 per cent. That was an enormous proportion of liabilities, judged by the American standard, yet it of course left the empire easily solvent. But four years of war have disastrously altered the ratio. There has been an enormous increase of liabilities, and at the same time, despite wholesale and shameless "profiteering," the productive or available wealth of the empire has greatly decreased. At the present time the national wealth is estimated at not more than \$50,000,000,000, while the liabilities have risen to more than \$57,000,000,000; showing a deficit on the national balance sheet of more than \$7,000,000,000.

It may be observed, by the way, as a matter of contrast, that the wealth of the United States at the present time is reckoned at more than \$200,000,000,000, and the total liabilities at much less than \$20,000,000,000; liabilities being thus less than ten per cent of assets, or considerably less than Germany's at the beginning of the war.

If these figures, put forward by excellent authorities, are approximately correct, Germany is financially bankrupt. The question then arises, What will be the bearing of that fact upon the exaction of indemnities from her as conditions of restored peace?

To this we answer, None at all. Her bankruptcy is no business of ours. All we are concerned in is her payment of the demands of justice, her surrender of the money and property which she has stolen during her four years of unbridled loot, and her compensation for the damages which she has wantonly and purposely inflicted upon others. It is not our fault that she has squandered her wealth in vain attempts to conquer and to loot the world. She herself began the desperate gambler's game, and having lost she must pay her losses.

It does not matter to us how white she is bled. Her conduct in looting Belgium and France has deprived her of even the slightest title to consideration. She levied vast tributes upon conquered cities, and compelled payment of them by holding citizens as hostages and sending them out to be shot in default of payment. It did not matter to her how much she impoverished her victims. Neither will it matter to us how much it impoverishes her people to pay the indemnity which they justly owe. We say there is no ground for sympathy for the German people in their impoverishment, even if their loans to their own Government are repudiated and their burden of taxation is increased tenfold. They were eager for the war, for the sake of expected loot. They exulted in the plunder which their thievish armies sent home to them. They gloated over the prospect of looting Paris and London and New York. Now let them pay the penalty of their overreaching greed.

Germany will emerge from the war a bankrupt. But that is no reason why she should not be required to pay indemnities to the last dollar. The claims of those whom she has wronged, plundered and despoiled have precedence over all other obligations. She must pay them first, and until they are paid she must give ample hostages for their full payment.

That New "Declaration"

THERE was undoubtedly something inspiring in the spectacle which was recently presented in Independence Hall, when the representatives of more than fifty million people hitherto held in oppression adopted a "new Declaration of Independence." It was a fitting place for such a gathering. It was a fitting thing for it to get its incentive and initiative from the American example. And the various articles in the "Declaration" were in the main appropriate. Most of them were wholly admirable. But at least one of them was so far a controversial matter that we must gravely question the wisdom of inserting it. It is not well to mix an unsolved problem among axioms.

We refer to the sixth paragraph, calling for "a league of the nations of the world," the purpose of which is to be to secure "genuine and practical coöperation to secure justice and therefore peace among nations." With the ends aimed at we are, of course, in hearty sympathy. We believe, also, that the securing of peace is dependent upon the securing of justice. Moreover, we know that some thoughtful statesmen, for whom we have the highest regard, are in favor of some such league. Yet it cannot be denied that others of equal authority have serious doubts of the practicability of it, and that therefore the proposition is distinctly controversial and is not appropriately to be bracketed with such a proposition as that "governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed," or that peoples and states have the right of self-determination.

"A league of the nations of the world" is the resounding phrase. The "new Declaration" does not say whether that means all the nations or merely a self-selected part of them. It must mean one or the other. If it means all nations, then we are to receive into that league for peace through justice the criminal and unrepentant Power which regards treaties as mere scraps of paper, denies that small states have any rights that great states are bound to respect, and refuses to recognize the moral law as binding upon or applicable to

Governments. It seems to us that such membership in it would make of such a league a ghastly farce. If, on the other hand, the league is to consist of only certain selected nations, then we are to have an alliance of a certain group of Powers against the rest, which of course would mean the formation of an opposition league among the others.

It will be recalled that a few years before this war there was formed at The Hague a very extensive "league of the nations of the world in a common and binding agreement for genuine and practical coöperation to secure justice and therefore peace among all nations." Never before in history had so large a league been formed, or had there been made so apparently binding an agreement for coöperation for justice and peace. Yet when the time came for that league to show itself efficient for the purpose of its creation, the thing burst and vanished like the veriest soap-bubble.

We are not pessimistic. We are not reactionary. We do not despair of the validity of treaties and the efficient authority of international law. Much as they have been violated and trampled underfoot in this war, we have faith to believe that one result of the war will be to vindicate them and to establish them more securely and authoritatively than ever before. But we cannot help feeling that this specific project of a league of nations is still entirely too vague, too undetermined, and too much a matter of honest but serious difference of opinion to be worthy of rank among the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence. It may properly be put forward for careful consideration, and as an object of pious aspiration. But just because the poet's vision of "the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue" has been so literally realized is no sure proof of immediate realization of his other vision of a "federation of the world."

ONE RECRUIT TO OUR CREDIT (From the New York Herald)

Everybody who is anybody in Washington is chuckling over the latest stories about Captain Donald McGregor, recently of the *Herald's* Washington staff and now in the Signal Corps, and John Kirby, now a private in the army, who is another well-known Washington newspaper correspondent. Everybody who is anybody in Washington knows the two newspaper men well.

Kirby, runs one of the tales, was enthusiastic about the war, of course, but not much more so than the average patriotic citizen until he began perusing with growing interest the war editorials of Colonel George Harvey. When the newspaper correspondent read for the first time one of the Colonel's editorials he wondered if newspaper owners were going to use asbestos to print the editorial pages upon.

The second editorial he read left him trembling but quiet. The third, and Mr. Kirby took a walk about the White House to see if he could find any bomb throwers prowling around. The fourth, and Mr. Kirby gnawed his thumbs and tore his hair. The fifth, and he went out and bought an armful of books about army life and all the manuals of arms he could find. The sixth, and Mr. Kirby went to the nearest recruiting station and began firing questions at a bewildered sergeant.

That night at an impromptu gathering of Washington newspaper men Mr. Kirby arose and made these few but passionate remarks:

"Gentlemen of the press: In an exhaustive investigation of the entry of newspaper men into army and navy life I have yet to find one reporter who has not, by careful and judicious use of his journalistic genius and prestige, obtained for himself shoulder straps, commissions or a snug berth of some sort.

"Gentlemen, many of our tribe are now gum-shoeing about in quest of the elusive German spy, and, as far as I have been able to learn, have so successfully shooed said spies that even regular detectives can't find the Hun in hunt any more. Others of my profession, gentlemen, have joined the navy. Needless to say, they are quite at sea now. But I cannot find any representative of the press who has joined the army—as a private. I believe the National Press Club ought to have at least one private in the war. Therefore, to-morrow I don khaki and take my place in the ranks."

Where Credit Is Due

NEWSPAPER articles declaring that solely to the army is due the credit for transporting American troops to France have appeared recently in so many quarters as to arouse serious suspicion as to their inspiration, and naval officers who realize that Secretary Baker is cherishing a minute Presidential boomlet, and who understand the relations between that official and the creel, are deeply suspicious as to the inspiration of these unfounded reports.

Even the usually well informed Boston *Herald* has recently fallen a victim to this form of deception. In a comparatively recent issue of the *Herald* appeared a page article describing the transportation of the American troops overseas as "a miracle of management," in which appeared this statement:

There is a vague impression in the public mind that the navy is taking them [the troop] over. The navy is not. It is not even bossing the job or paying the bills. Those things are being done by the army transport service, which is part of the army. And the army transport service has built up and is operating the enormous organization of which I am writing. The invaluable service which the navy is performing is almost entirely police work.

The article gives no indication of its authorship except the line stating that all photographs are "copyrighted by the Committee on Public Information."

The statements quoted are absolutely false. The navy has been and is transporting the great bulk of the troops going overseas, as well as their supplies and equipment. Early this month the navy had transported 810,000 troops, as against 52,000 transported by the army. The fleet which has performed this work is known as "The Cruiser and Transport Force of the U. S. Atlantic Fleet." Its commander is Rear Admiral Gleaves, who was placed in command when it was organized in July, 1917. The nucleus of this fleet consisted of three navy transports, to which were added 16 German ships, overhauled, repaired, manned and placed in commission by the navy. The army was operating a number of transports, chartered vessels, and these were added to the Navy Transport Force which manned and operates them, as regular navy vessels. The transfer of the last army transports was effected early this year, and since that time the navy has manned, repaired, and outfitted the entire fleet, handling it as an integral part of the Atlantic Fleet. The Navy Transport Force now numbers forty-three troop ships, which includes some which have been turned over to it by the Shipping Board.

There also exists in the navy the Naval Overseas Transportation Service, popularly known as the "N. O. T. S.," of which Commander Charles Belknap, U. S. N., is director. This service has general supervision over the Transport Force, and also mans and operates the cargo fleet by which is transported the supplies and equipment of the American Expeditionary Force. The N. O. T. S. operates a fleet of nearly 400 cargo vessels.

Since the organization of the Navy Transport Force all troops sailing to join the expeditionary force have been transported by it, with the exception of a small number which, from time to time, it has been found possible to accommodate in what otherwise would have been waste space on certain army cargo ships.

It is regarded as unfortunate, from the standpoint of

historical accuracy, that such inaccurate reports as those referred to should gain circulation, but even more regret is felt because of the injustice done to one of the finest bodies of men in the American military service, the naval reserves. All the ships under the N. O. T. S., both troop and cargo vessels, are largely officered and almost entirely manned by naval reservists. It is estimated that there are 50,000 enlisted men and approximately 5,000 officers in this service. Their work calls for the utmost courage. Week in and week out they travel back and forth through the danger zones, infested with hostile submarines, keeping the sharpest possible lookout in all sorts of weather, patriotically serving their country for \$30 a month and no overtime pay. The secrecy which military expediency dictates must attach to their work robs them of much of the glory which attaches to the work of the army, although their part is not less necessary or courageous. Under these circumstances, it is especially regrettable that there should be an organized effort to rob them of the credit due them, even for so worthy a cause as to exploit an infinitesimal Presidential boomlet.

The anxiety endured by the wives and families of these young men, who know that they are constantly braving the dangers of weather and submarine, and who have little opportunity to receive news from them or to learn their whereabouts, is not less keen than that of the relatives of the soldiers in France, and many of them feel keenly the effort of a bureau of the Government to take from them and donate to the army the credit which should attach to their good work, especially at a time when there is credit enough for all in the faithful performance of duty by soldiers, sailors and marines.

AMERICANISM FOR YOUNG AMERICA

(From the *St. Joseph Gazette*)

There is assuredly need of the appeal which Col. George Harvey makes in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY for better instruction in the public schools of Americanism.

To be sure, it is a popular thing just now to make such demands. It is the wish of teachers and pupils generally, moreover, to comply with them. Just now, it is popular to be patriotic.

But it has not always been so. It has not been so for more than five years of the last forty years of American life. Very soon after the close of the Civil War we adopted an apologetic manner of discussing American history in the schools. We took such good care not to hurt anybody's feelings that very quickly we fell into the habit of going around the world in conducting student historical research, and permitting the young to be graduated before the time should be propitious for taking up the consideration of the history of our own land.

Naturally, that tourist plan of teaching economics and racial facts caused us to lose interest in our own land. We made it the fashion for young people in American schools to know more about Germany and France and England and Italy than they learned concerning their own country. We always injected a few flamboyant sentences into our school text-books regarding the superiority of American ideals of government, but for every statement of this kind which we offered in the recitation room, we made available there hours of argument by long-haired and ill-kempt foreigners on the desirability of America becoming like the "cultured and the historically rich lands of the old world."

We should blush now at the course which education pursued in these United States from half a century back to the first year of the European war. Maintained by public taxes, our schools—more than any one other factor in our national life—made Americanism a thing apparently deserving of being flouted by the up-coming Americans.

So it is high time for a permanent course along wholly different lines to be planned and pursued. It should not be merely a hysterical accompaniment of war activities of the government, but rather a far-visioned scheme for making the greatest country on earth thoroughly known to every generation of its youthful citizens—so well known that youth shall love it for its greatness not less than for the sacrifices which its people have made in its behalf.

Lord Northcliffe's Peace Programme

LORD NORTHCLIFFE'S views of the indispensable terms of peace were set forth at length in a cable despatch to the *New York Sun* of Sunday last. There are thirteen imperative conditions laid down in the Northcliffe ultimatum, and it is but fair to say that each and every one of them is as clear and specific as each and every one of our own Fourteen Commandments from High Quarters is enveloped in a fog of fine language too dense for penetration. Both the Prussian and the Austro-Huns had not a moment's hesitation in accepting the Fourteen Commandments. They opened up vistas of interminable discussion, and that was precisely what the Hun wanted. Were Lord Northcliffe's thirteen indispensable peace conditions accepted by the Huns there would remain nothing more to be said. The war would be over and all that would remain to do would be to determine the details of reducing the international criminal to military impotence and to arrange for his payment of the staggering bill for damages imposed upon him. Lord Northcliffe demands:

First—Complete restoration of territorial, economic and political Belgium. Full reparation, by material reconstruction, by replacement and by compensation, in such form and measure as shall be by the Allies prescribed, for the damages inflicted on the persons and property of Belgians, so far as the outrages involved can be materially measured.

Second—Evacuation of the French provinces and compensation for all civilian losses, as in the case of Belgium.

Third—Restoration to France of Alsace-Lorraine.

Fourth—Readjustment of the northern frontiers of Italy along the lines of nationality; the eastern Adriatic frontiers to be determined in accordance with the principles embodied in the Italo-Jugo-Slav agreement in Rome by the Congress of April, 1918.

Fifth—Assurance to all the peoples in Austria-Hungary of their place among the free nations of the world and their right to enter into a union with their kindred beyond the boundaries of Austria-Hungary.

Sixth—Evacuation of all territory formerly included in the boundaries of the Russian Empire and annulment of all treaties, contracts and agreements made with subjects, agents or representatives of enemy Powers since the Russian revolution.

Seventh—Formation of an independent Polish state with access to the sea, and indemnification to Poland by the Powers responsible for the havoc wrought in that country.

Eighth—Abrogation of the treaty of Bucharest, evacuation and restoration of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro, the associated Powers to aid the Balkan States in settling finally the Balkan question.

Ninth—Removal so far as practicable of Turkish dominion over non-Turkish peoples.

Tenth—The people of Schleswig to be free to determine their own allegiance.

Eleventh—Replacement of the merchant tonnage illegally destroyed by submarines. Under this head Lord Northcliffe remarks that in spite of repeated warnings and in defiance of pledges given to the Government of the United States, then a neutral, the Central Powers outraged common

humanity and international law by persistence in submarine piracy. The question of punishment for this involves two branches to be dealt with separately: restoring destroyed ships, or their equivalents, and compensation to victims and their families. These questions can not be made matter of discussion or negotiation. They must be in the nature of penal assessments duly imposed.

Twelfth—Creation of tribunals before which individuals charged with offenses against the laws of war or humanity may be arraigned and brought to impartial justice. Lord Northcliffe foresees the difficulties in the way of fixing responsibility in individual instances, and he recognizes that belligerents in actual war may hesitate to punish adequately those who in normal times they would unhesitatingly condemn.

To meet this problem he proposes that the tribunals act in a measure as do our Grand Juries. It would hear evidence and, in case of the establishment of a *prima facie* case, turn the accused persons over to their own countries for trial, judgment and punishment. Lord Northcliffe believes that sterner justice would be done if the nations "which desire to purge themselves" condemn their own criminals than if the punishment were left to other nations, which might hesitate to be severe "lest they should invest the individuals punished with the halo of martyrdom."

Thirteenth—The former colonial possessions of Germany "lost in consequence of her illegal aggression against Belgium," in no case to be restored to Germany.

It was Germany's illegal aggression against Belgium which brought Great Britain into the war and it was Great Britain which wrenched most of Germany's colonies from her. From the first Germany has proclaimed that the fate of her colonies would be decided on the western battle front. On the western battle front it has been decided. For Germany there is nothing left save to accept the decision which she herself invoked.

Lord Northcliffe indicates three stages by which we are to pass from a state of war to a state of settled, abiding peace, and the thirteen indispensable peace conditions just cited constitute the second stage. The first stage is the cessation of hostilities. This may come by armistice or by surrender. But whether by armistice or surrender, there can be no question as to the "honor" of the German people, or any adjustment of conditions to any supposed strategical or actual strength of the Central Powers. To the extent that Germany recognizes this, to the extent that she yields without haggling over conditions and without sullen obstructiveness in carrying those conditions out, to that extent will our fundamental distrust of her spirit and motives be modified in subsequent stages of the creation of a condition in the world in which there shall be an opportunity for the legitimate development of all peoples. The establishment of this condition is the one goal for which honest and far-seeing men are striving in the final settlement of that awful world tragedy on which the curtain is so soon to be rung down.

The armistice stage and the stage of surrender and acquiescence in the conditions imposed may be consecutive or concurrent. If concurrent the quicker will the way be cleared for the third and final stage. With the advent of this third stage comes the end of the era of dictation and the beginning of the era of coöperation. This will be an era, also, of Commissions—Commissions on food rationing, on raw materials

distribution, on assignments of shipping for getting the soldiers home, on restrictions of armaments, and so on, indefinitely. The whole world, the inter-relations of all the nations of the earth, is to be reconstructed. A new policy is to be evolved whereby, as Lord Northcliffe puts it, "a league of free nations will replace the old system of a balance of rival Powers."

And all to be done by Commissions and by coöperative international endeavor. A sizeable job. Lord Northcliffe admits that it is.

Hamstringing the Telegraph Service

THE Burleson blight is already falling upon the telegraph service of the country just as it has already fallen with such disastrous results upon the mail service. Our telegraphic night letters may no longer be telephoned or delivered by messenger. In that case they might possibly get through in time to be of some use. The Politicalmaster General's method of averting a result so radically at variance with all Burlesonian precedents is as simple as it is deadly in its effectiveness. He throws the telegrams bodily into that wide and weltering sea of chaos, the Post-office. They go into the overworked letter carrier's pouches and take their chances of being cast up at our doors with other mouldering epistolary remains which now and then reach us after the hands from which they come have long turned to dust. It is but a step from this to putting all telegrams, as well as the night letter ones, in the mail bags, and probably we might as well make up our minds to that impending Burlesonian achievement to the end that we be reconciled to the worst when the worst comes.

Still another rather ingenious device to promote public annoyance and to discourage telegraphic communication is the great Burlesonian idea of refusing to furnish copies of telegrams for confirmation of charged items. This is a money-making arrangement in two ways. It saves ink or wear and tear of typewriters for one thing, and there is always the chance of getting in a charge for a message which was not sent. Naturally the non-receipt by the addressee of a telegraphic message would be of no avail as evidence against a Burleson charge for transmission. The percentage of telegrams lost in transit by mail naturally would be strongly presumptive against any claim that a particular message charged for was never sent. Thus do a hamstrung telegraphic service and a hamstrung mail service beautifully interlock.

In this case the method of public annoyance and the barring of a check against false or erroneous charges is quite analogous to the Politicalmaster General's device for preventing an incontestable record of the time consumed in the transit of letters in his remarkable mail service. He did that by forbidding the stamping of the date of receipt at postoffices on the backs of letters. In one instance, indeed, this precaution was carried to the extent of even changing the mailing date itself after it had once been stamped on a letter. But that was a case of distinct embarrassment to the Politicalmaster General's Department. The letter in question was delivered to the person to whom it was addressed something like a year after that person had attended the funeral of the man who had written it!

Letters From Our Readers

FOR ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND

SIR,—Life has been simpler and easier since I discovered the *WAR WEEKLY*! Instead of laboriously writing my friends what I think about affairs, I buy a copy of the *WEEKLY*, mark my pet sentiments expressed as I could not express them, and forward it. Alas, that is not so possible away from New York, and I am afraid it is sadly true Mr. Burleson does not approve of you. My copies arrive over a week late or not at all.

Words are lacking to express my appreciation of the work you are doing. You are such a good mustard plaster for Washington! It may take several applications to accomplish results and the results may often be heavily coated with camouflage, but if one watches reforms, one realizes the tocsin was sounded in the *WEEKLY* some time previously.

I am going to ask if you will not advise boldly an alliance offensive and defensive between Great Britain and the United States as the quickest and surest way after the war is over to straighten out a very much messed up world? Why waste good grey matter and precious time evolving complicated and insecure Leagues of Nations or United States of the World when a simple alliance of English speaking races will be infinitely more satisfactory in accomplishing the punishment of Germany and preserving a lasting peace? Imagine Mexico or Venezuela or any other Hun-soaked nation daring to rear its head after we, with our combined armies and navies, had signed such a treaty! France and Japan and Italy would surely want to enter in some measure into such an alliance, and when the world has settled down a bit, we might be able to work gradually into a congress of world states wherein a measure of disarmament would be possible. But for the first years of reconstruction, nothing will be needed so much as military police, and what nations will be so well fitted for that rôle as Great Britain and the United States?

We know how long it takes for an idea to be sifted and balanced politically in Washington, and we know that German and Sein Fein propaganda will be all for the vague leagues of nations which may eventually include Germany and obscure sharp issues. A dispatch reached this town last night which stated that at a meeting of business men in Mannheim the name of President Wilson was applauded vigorously. Has Bernstorff perhaps broken loose again and given orders that President Wilson's desire to separate the people of Germany from their rulers be coddled and stimulated by such twaddle in the hope of making us soft in our verdict when that outcast among nations is brought to the bar? In any case we cannot begin the counter-acting propaganda for this alliance too soon. The stupid fear of "entangling alliances" surviving in those who do not realize that the pre-war world is dead and buried, forever, will have to be met by utilitarian arguments. They want peace and want it as quickly as possible, with the prospect that it will last. Here is an easy way.

Do use your inimitable pen to drive the desirability of such an alliance home!

HARRIET GAYLORD.

Mt. Clemens, Mich.

[We are still agin it.—EDITOR.]

DENMARK AND KULTUR

SIR,—I came from a little country across the North Sea, called Schleswig,—since the dawn of history a part of Denmark until the Prussian Invasion of 1864.

In my childhood and youth, I witnessed many things similar to the experience of the people in occupied Belgium and France. This little country of Schleswig for centuries had stood as a bulwark between Scandinavian civilization and German Kultur, and the people there are still Danish.

My father, in defense of his personal liberty and right, carried three law suits with the German Government as defendants, through all the courts. He lost these three suits, and we know now there could be no other outcome with the understanding we have of the German's view as applied to right and wrong. They broke my father and he did not survive, but they could not crush his spirit. He possessed considerable of that same indomitable will and courage that I find in your wonderful writings, and many of us thank you for the great service you are rendering.

Denmark could not have entered this war without being crushed. She is but a small country without large-caliber cannons, and a German dreadnaught might shoot clear across her. But I am told that a greater number of boys of Danish birth can be found in America's splendid army of liberty than fought, all together, in the Danish armies against Prussia and Austria in 1864, and I sincerely hope, when the time of reckoning comes, that those Danish people of Schleswig may go back to their mother country.

W. F. JENSEN.

Salt Lake City, Utah.

LIBERTY AND PROHIBITION

SIR,—The Committee on Public Information has been spending large sums of money for sending agents to various European countries to convince the people of those nations that we are sincere upholders of liberty, democracy, justice and respect for individual rights.

Imagine the feelings of an Italian who has been reading Mr. Creel's exposition of American democratic principles, when he learns that in the free United States a grape grower who crushes grapes and makes wine is committing a crime for which he can be sent to prison for a year! What will the millions of British workingmen, who have defeated the attempt of the prohibition fanatics of their country to abolish the use of beer, think of free America, where a farmer who squeezes the juice out of his apples and makes cider is liable to the same punishment? Will the Russian people, to whom we are sending missions to assure them of our devotion to the cause of human liberty, believe us when they find that we are depriving at least 30,000,000 American citizens of the right to drink a glass of beer or wine?

Liberty, democracy, the rights of the individual! Is a law that puts in jail a woman who makes wine out of currants grown in her garden consistent with these principles?

WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

New York City.

THE REASON FOR A THEFT

SIR,—In your leading editorial of the June issue of *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*, page 804, you make this statement: "Alsace and Lorraine were stolen in 1871 chiefly for the sake of their iron mines."

In the November, 1917, issue of *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*, page 696, Sydney Brooks makes this statement: "When Moltke in 1870 insisted upon, and Bismarck against his better judgment assented to, the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, the main thought in their minds was that of securing a strategic frontier."

Will you kindly tell me which of these two statements is the correct one?

WM. A. DUKEY, JR.

Oella, Md.

[Both. It is a fact of record that German engineers "spied out the land" of the Lorraine mining region some years before the war, and that the industrial necessity of those mines to Germany was urged as the chief reason for provoking the war. But when the war was won, Moltke insisted upon taking much more than the mere mining region, for the sake of a "strategic frontier."—EDITOR.]

ABSOLUTE TRUTH

SIR,—The greatest thing in the world today in politics, in the writer's opinion, is the absolute truth which is being shown in the articles published by Mr. Harvey. He gives the public a chance to decide what is right, and the only man who need dread such publicity is the man who has done things which he had absolutely no legal or moral right to do, and fears publicity worse than anything else in the world. It also gives the public a chance to decide the matter from their own viewpoint after the facts have been explained.

I wish the *WAR WEEKLY* all the success imaginable and know it will receive it.

W. P. COTHARIN.

Springfield, Mass.

FROM STEPHANE LAUZANNE

SIR,—May I express my warm appreciation for the splendid article, "Brutes they remain," which you have just published in the "*North American Review's*" *WAR WEEKLY*?

Every word of it is absolutely true. And I have never ceased to repeat that, if we do not march through Germany now, Germany will march through the world in ten years.

I send you herewith an article in the *New York World* in which I tried to express what all my people strongly feel on the subject.

STÉPHANE LAUZANNE,
French National Committee.

New York City

BALM

SIR,—The *WAR WEEKLY* is—strange as it may seem—balm to the soul in these days when the Polite Correspondence has been resumed. Beat the German Army into old iron and let the precious German people settle their precious family affairs themselves, *afterwards*!

F. V. K.

New York City.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

One year: Two dollars.

Six months: One dollar.

VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING

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. 16, 1918

NO. 46

Te Deum Laudamus

THANKS and praise to Almighty God, Who of His great mercy has shown salvation to this Republic and to all nations!

Thanks and praise to Belgium, the hero nation, who at cost of her own martyrdom stood steadfast at Liège!

Thanks and praise to France, who for four long, weary years dammed back the tide of Hunnish barbarism with a rampart of the bodies of her glorious sons!

Thanks and praise to Britain, who made at Ypres a new Thermopylae, and who for four long, weary years made all earth's seas a greater Marathon!

Thanks and praise to Italy the renascent, to Japan the newly-risen, to Serbia, to Portugal and Greece, to Brazil and Cuba,

blazing the way of Latin-America into the council chamber of the world, and to every nation, great or small, that stood for freedom.

Thanks and praise to the peoples who were not yet free nations, Poles, Czechs, Slavs, Jews, and who not else, who from their bondage struck with fettered hands brave blows for freedom and humanity!

Thanks and praise to the sons and daughters of this Republic, who gave their all to guard its rights and freedom, and to aid all neighbor nations to win a like estate!

Thanks and praise and everlasting glory to Almighty God, Who, of His infinite mercy, hath brought salvation to this Republic and to all nations of mankind!

Peace

*Come, Peace! not like a mourner bowed
For honor lost and dear ones wasted,
But proud, to meet a people proud,
With eyes that tell of triumph tasted!*

THE signing of the armistice means Peace.

That is not always the case. In other wars, such cessations of activity have been futile and have been followed with renewed hostilities. In this case, we may be confident, such will not be the result. The terms of the armistice forbid it. No Government, not even that of the Huns, would comply with such conditions in an armistice if it was not fully resolved to accept peace on whatever terms were offered to it. But even if Germany were ^{be} ^{infinite} intent upon peace, the conditions of the armistice would ^{Germany} ^{Venezuela} her from renewing the war. After releasing her prisoners, surrendering a large part of her military equipment, of her navy, of her submarines and of her aircraft, and putting all the rest of her navy out of commission, evacuating all invaded territory and also all her own territory west of the Rhine, and yielding military possession and control of that river and its fortresses to the enemy, no Boche of them all could be so insane as to resume fighting. But if the war *were* resumed, the result would be speedy and overwhelming.

The peace resulting from this armistice will mean victory for the Allies. Of that there must be no doubt. We mean not alone military victory, which indeed is already won, but a victory which will prevent the Huns from securing in peace the economic advantages which they sought, but which they failed to gain, in war. This, we have hitherto urged, is a matter of prime importance. "Eagerness to acquire property," says Dr. Nicolai, "was originally the cause and object of war." So close are Prussians to primitive barbarism that that has been the cause and object of all their wars; and there can be no doubt that they would vaunt themselves upon having won this war, if they were permitted to retain the industrial equipment which they have stolen and to return forthwith to their old place in the industrial and commercial world. We do not yet know what the terms of peace will be; but we have faith to believe that the Allies will not let the terms of permanent peace fall short of the terms of the armistice. It will be a peace assuring us "that these dead have not died in vain."

It will mean, it does mean, not only the defeat, but the actual annihilation of Germany as an imperial military power. There is no Germany any more, in the sense of the last half century. The Kaiser is gone, the kings and princes and archdukes, and all the "divine right" pretenders, have got out or are getting out. Just how they will be replaced does not yet appear, though the inclination seems, naturally enough, to be toward that Bolshevik system which Germany imposed upon Russia; with, of course, a difference of temperaments, and therefore with an absence of the Reign of Terror which succeeded the abdication of the Czar. The Reds of Germany are likely to be more restrained in their methods than those of Russia, and more regardful of the opinion of the world. They incited their Russian dupes to deviltries which they would not practice themselves. But however that may be, the armistice means irrevocably that there will be no more German Empire, any more than after

1806 there was any Holy Roman Empire. The one flickered and wasted away into nothingness, scarcely perceived. The other is crushed to atoms by a mighty cataclysm. Over both alike fate has inscribed the epitaph: *Germania fuit*.

It means, this armistice, that international morality and the culture of civilization are reestablished as dominant forces in the world, over the discredited and abhorred "Kultur" of gilded barbarism. We need not wait for the final prescription of terms of peace for that. This tentative military armistice, whose design is merely to provide for a safe suspension of operations in the field so as to give opportunity for diplomatic conference, assures that consummation. It involves a confession of German guilt and a repudiation of the results of German crimes. The infamies of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest are undone. The wholesale thefts from Belgium and from Russia are to be restored. It is not a final sentence upon the culprit, but it is an exacted plea of guilty, which will make the imposition of sentence little more than a form.

But it must be an unwavering and inexorable form. That is by no means the least meaning of this epochal achievement. The work which the military arm has so superbly done must now be seconded, complemented, and perfected in perpetuity by the no less resolute civil arm. The first thought of peace must be that of "triumph tasted." The Hun, like the tiger, from his first taste of blood and rapine went on to other and increasingly monstrous crimes. It is for the Allies from their first taste of the triumph of truth and justice to go on inexorably to the completion of that triumph.

It is not surprising that the Hun whines for pity. The cruellest bully is always the most abject coward when he is beaten. So it is not surprising, it is eminently fitting, that the German Foreign Secretary should beg the President to intervene for mitigation of the terms. It is fitting that those who crucified Belgium, ravished France, and strove to murder Serbia and Armenia, should now beg for pity. To all such pleadings the President's righteous answer is written in advance.

The armistice means Peace. It does not mean weakness. It does not mean faltering. It does not mean relinquishment of the full fruits of victory now that we have them in our grasp. It does not mean compromise with sin. It does not mean forgetting the innocent victim in order to sentimentalize over the criminal. It means Peace, but it means a peace based upon justice, and justice means reparation for the victim at the cost of the doer of the crime. It means Peace, but a peace which walks upright with the exultant victor's stride. Before the mighty judgments of Almighty God it is well for man to stand in reverence and in humility. But they who are the vicarious executors of those judgments must bear themselves worthily, with the majesty of their mission.

So shall this armistice indeed mean Peace; and Peace, coming "proud, to meet a people proud," shall usher in a new and nobler era for the world.

Good Faith or Bad Lying?

THE Washington correspondent of the *World*, writing under date of November 11, says:

In this connection it may now be told that the armistice terms were in the President's possession before election. All the time that he was being assailed by those who feared he would be over-gracious to the enemy he had the means of confounding them.

Can this be true? Election day was November 5. At 9 p.m., November 4, Secretary Lansing issued the following statement:

According to an official report received this evening the terms of the armistice to be offered to Germany have just been agreed to unanimously and signed by the representatives of the Allies and the United States in Paris. The report further states that diplomatic unity has been completely achieved under conditions of utmost harmony.

Obviously, if this statement was correct, the terms for Germany could not have been in the possession of the President "all the time that he was being assailed" nor, in fact, in time to influence voters on November 5 by their publication. The terms, moreover, were not delivered to the German plenipotentiaries until November 8. Even though, contrary to Secretary Lansing's official statement, they had been in the President's possession prior to November 4, would he have been in a position to publish them so long before their presentation by General Foch?

The story, clearly designed to evidence remarkable self-abnegation, is ridiculous upon its face. May it not also be a bit of camouflage to divert attention from queer juggling with the Austrian armistice terms? These were given out by the State Department for publication in the *United States only* at 1 p.m., November 4, and the American censors were instructed to permit no word respecting such publication to go out of the country.

Why was that? The Washington correspondent of the *Times* reported as follows:

By agreement between the United States and the Allied Governments, the terms of the Austrian armistice were given out only in the United States. It was explained at the State Department tonight that this was done simply to have initial publication of the terms of the armistice made here. *It was stated that there was no political reason back of it.* No cabling abroad of the terms of the armistice was permitted because of the fact that it was desired that the original publication be made here.

Now what conceivable reason could there have been for "initial publication" in this country alone? It was surely a most unusual proceeding. And why did the State Department consider it necessary to say there was "no political reason" back of it? One fact is certain: The wily Democratic managers thought there was much political effect to follow it, as witness the following, also from the *Times*:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4.—Telegraphic reports received tonight from State Chairmen and others throughout the nation by the Democratic National Committee indicated that sentiment had been strongly crystallized in favor of the Democratic candidates for Congress by the publication of the armistice imposed on Austria-Hungary and the belief that Germany would accept terms that would weaken completely her military autocracy and thereby end the war.

Now there you are. The purpose of the publication is plain. It was to help Democratic candidates. If the Allied Governments authorized it, they connived at a performance designed to benefit one party and to damage another, thus

intervening in our domestic political affairs. Is it conceivable that men of the wisdom and experience of Lloyd George and Clemenceau ever did that? In a word, was there any such agreement? Or did the American Government break faith with its Allies to gain a partisan political advantage?

That is the question, and a most vital question it is, too, on the eve of a great peace conference, wherein confidence will necessarily constitute the chief basis of influence.

Can Nothing Be Done?

WE have received the following communication from a former high official of the United States Government:

NOVEMBER 4, 1918.

SIR,—

I have marked this letter personal, because to use my name in connection with it would specifically point out my son and he would probably be made to suffer; and he has had his share, I believe, so I should prefer not to have the name mentioned. Nevertheless, if you deem it necessary to use my name, why, of course, you are to use it.

1. Although well under age, my son enlisted as soon as the war broke out. The autumn of 1917 he was serving at a camp not far from Washington and we sent him a package containing a necessary part of his equipment. This package went through the postoffice in the regular way as insured mail, and we paid the necessary fee and took the usual receipt.

The weeks passed and at the end of two months the package had not been delivered, and as the boy was about to go abroad we purchased duplicate equipment and sent it to him.

Thereupon we made claim to the Postoffice Department and tried to have the matter followed up, but so far we have received absolutely nothing from that department, except a statement that the matter will be attended to in due time. There is no contention that we did not properly mail the package and insure it.

2. The boy's mother has written to him every week, and I have written to him twice per month, and we have sent to him a total of ten packages, having the necessary permission to do so, but for four months he has not received a single piece of mail whatever, and none of the packages has ever reached him.

Meantime he has been wounded and sent to a hospital, but he is still kept attached to his old regiment and our mail has, generally speaking, gone addressed in care of the regiment itself, although we have tried addressing both to the regiment and to the hospital, and in neither case have we succeeded in getting it to him.

Yesterday we received by return mail three letters which were addressed to the boy in France, several months ago, and although all were correctly addressed, to the regiment to which he has been attached for more than a year, they were all sent back without any reason whatever assigned.

Included in this bunch was a letter written him by his mother on "Mother's Day" and mailed June 12, of the present year.

3. The boy was in France from about the beginning of the year 1918 and he received his pay in February of the present year. From February until July he was on duty with his regiment and received no more pay. He is now in the hospital, where he has been since July, and up to the early part of October he had not received any pay there, his last payment having been made in February last.

I know you have a great many such letters and I have no desire to get into print, but as I am lucky enough to know you personally, I thought perhaps you might care to hear of the gross inefficiency of the Postoffice Department and the War Department, with a view to effecting reform in the interest of others.

All we can do is to express a hope that, the election being over, something may be done by somebody to remedy a condition of affairs which has become as notorious as it is outrageous. From all that we can learn, there has been no improvement whatever since Mr. Baker's secretary wrote cynically that if a soldier did not receive his letters separately he was pretty sure to get them some time in a bunch.

Partnership Dissolved: Me und Gott.

Our Business with the Huns

ABDICATION and revolution are not settlement. That is the essential fact that needs to be kept in mind at this tremendous conjuncture of affairs. The Kaiser gets out. That is something that concerns Germany more than it does us, according to Germany's own contention. For the last year nothing has so raised the protesting ire not only of the Hohenzollerns but of the German people as the suggestion that we had anything whatever to say concerning the German form of government or the headship of the German state.

Of course we never claimed the right in question, beyond insisting that before we could enter into relations with Germany there must be in that country a Government sufficiently authoritative and sufficiently honest and respectable for us to do business with. We had no mind to make a treaty with anybody who regarded a treaty as a mere scrap of paper.

Let us, however, take the Germans completely at their word. It is no business of ours who heads their Government. Very well. It is no business of ours, then, that they have got rid of William the Damned and are trying to organize something that will pass muster as a popular Government. That achievement does not alter our attitude toward them. They did not relax their drive against France in 1871 when Louis Napoleon was captured and the empire was replaced with a republic. On the contrary, they were more savage against the republic than they had been against the empire, and at the end exacted from Thiers and Favre terms more harsh than they would have required from Napoleon. Their old example and their present contention alike deny them the right to look for any favors from us because of the Hohenzollern abdication.

What is immeasurably more important, our own interest and the interest and welfare of the world point unmistakably in the same direction. It was always a foolish thing to pretend that we were at war with the German Kaiser but not with the German people. It was from the beginning axiomatic that the German people were in one of three relationships to the war. They were with the Kaiser in his aggressions and crimes, heart and hand; or they were forced into it by him against their will; or they were deceived, deluded and tricked into it. Our own conviction, based upon the most authentic testimony of representative Germans themselves, is that the first was the truth. But we should like to know which, if any, of the three could relieve the Germans from being held responsible for the war? In the first case, they were the Kaiser's fellow criminals; in the second, they were his helpless tools; in the third they were his dupes. Now when a nation of sixty or seventy millions permits itself to be bossed by one man, or when a nation which vaunts itself upon being the most intelligent and best informed in the world permits itself to be deceived about a perfectly simple and obvious thing, we deny that such servility or such ignorance is a valid plea for immunity.

This is the more to be emphasized because it is already evident that a persistent and impassioned effort will be made, by the Germans themselves and by their pacifist and Bolshevik sympathizers and agents here, to persuade us that they are now entitled to consideration and clemency. It will

be said, it is being said, that now that they have got rid of William the Damned we ought to take them into good fellowship again and forget all that is past. Of course, the premise is a falsehood and the conclusion is insanity. They did not get rid of the Kaiser. He did not abdicate because of their wish or their demand, but because of Foch's guns, which were getting so perilously near that he knew that it was time for him to get out if he was to save his own skin. The German people are not entitled to one iota of credit for it. And as for the other point, why should a gang of criminals receive an immunity bath and be welcome as good citizens just because its nominal leader has dropped out?

Let us have no such criminal folly. Our business is now with the rank and file of the Huns themselves. We still have a personal account to settle with William Hohenzollern, as a personal and individual criminal. But the business of achieving a just and full settlement—for armistice is not yet final peace—and then of exacting indemnities to the last cent and guarantees to the last degree, is now between us and the German people; and save for the change from Kaiser to people—which they tell us is no concern of ours—the character of the business remains exactly the same as it was before the abdication.

Republican leaders in Washington were not only forewarned of Mr. Wilson's appeal to his fellow-countrymen, but were so apprehensive of results that they implored Chairman Hays to take anticipatory action to ward off the blow. But Mr. Hays, like the Ten Commandments, wouldn't budge. "He counselled silence," says the *Sun*, "and now the leaders who wanted him to act are thanking their stars that the perspicacity of Hays intervened and that the reaction from the President's appeal was allowed to work as it did work to the glory and success of the Republican party." But when the hour struck he was cocked and primed and, if anything in addition to Mr. Wilson's own effort was needed to get out the Republican vote, he supplied it in a call to arms which rang out from Portland to Portland. And when it was all over and his prediction had been fulfilled, the White House itself was not "more silenter," as they say down East.

Millions will starve if the transports are surrendered, says Dr. Solf. Millions will be starved by the U-Boats, said Admiral Tirpitz.

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Nations for Empires

CENTRIFUGAL forces are substituted for centripetal; in politics as in industry and commerce. For more than a century consolidation has been the rule. Just as the factory system absorbed the cottage workshops, and then the trust combined a multitude of factories into one corporation, so small states have been merged into larger, and large states have been united into empires. At the time of the French Revolution the present Kingdom of Italy consisted of nearly a dozen independent states, while the separate German States were numbered by hundreds, leagued by the loosest of bonds. Europe contained twenty times as many independent sovereignties as now.

Accretion, annexation, conquest, consolidation have prevailed. States have been reduced in number but increased in size. Hundreds have disappeared from the map; become mere "geographical expressions" and diplomatic memories; their names preserved, perhaps, by the families of "mediatised princes." This process the world has regarded with not always thoughtful approval, and has reckoned it impossible—in the racy phrase of the day—to unscramble eggs. Only the other day *Vorwaerts*, the Socialist member of the "reptile press" of Berlin, declared that the existence of the Czecho-Slovaks demonstrated the impossibility of destroying even a small nation, and the greater impossibility—if the phrase be permissible—of breaking up the German nation of seventy millions.

In this there was an obvious non-sequitur. There is no analogy between the Czecho-Slovaks and Germany. The former are homogeneous, the latter is heterogeneous. The former are a harmonious unit, the latter is a discordant conglomeration of conflicting elements, often brought together by force or artifice. Among even the German elements there are age-long antagonisms and hatreds. High German and Low German are far apart; Bavarians and Prussians have hated each other for many generations. The very act of forming the empire was forced. Prussia first violently conquered and arbitrarily annexed a number of formerly independent states of 1866, and five years later bullied Bavaria and the few other states unwillingly into an empire of which she was to be the ruler. Within that empire, beside these discordant German elements, there are held in bondage millions of non-Germans—French, Danes, Poles, and who not. It is folly to call an indestructible nation that which in 1789 consisted of 360 separate states.

Dissolution, then, is not unnatural. It is simply reversion. And it is to be contemplated with a large degree of cheerful optimism. So far as, in both Austria-Hungary and Germany, it is necessary for the doing of justice to peoples held in alien bondage, it must be welcomed. If it should, however, go further still, and involve the separation even of homogeneous German states, we should not resist nor deprecate it, but, if it is done through the determinative will of the people concerned, approve it. That it may thus be done, to the advantage of all concerned, is by no means improbable.

We must remember that the historic greatness of Germany was that of a Germany of small states, and not of a huge empire. It was among the hundreds of petty principalities, duchies and what not that German culture arose and flourished, while it was in the Germany of one vast empire that

barbarous "kultur" had its rise. It was in a Germany of many small states that Goethe, Schiller, Richter, Lessing, Herder, Bach, Mozart, and their compeers, adorned the world. It is a Germany of one bloated empire that has produced a Bernhardi, a Hindenburg, a Tirpitz. The small states were the home of spirituality; the big empire is given over to materialism.

The reason for the difference is obvious. The small states were void of military ambitions, and could take time to think of the things of the mind and spirit; the big empire, which was formed for the express purpose of military conquest, has given its thought chiefly to war and to the things which make for warlike prowess. To what extent the higher life could be restored by the "unscrambling" process may be problematic; but it may not improbably be tried. We do not mean, nor wish, that the 360 separate states of 1789 may be restored. But there is reason to expect and to regard with satisfaction the transformation of the two big Central Empires into a group of eight or ten independent states, divided on natural lines of race, language, and popular desire for self-determination. Such a consummation would be for the good of their own development in true freedom, democracy and civilized culture, and would certainly be to the advantage of the lasting peace of the world.

What has become of "Der Tag" we neither know nor care. But last Monday was The Day.

The House of Austria

METTERNICH was right. There never was another such empire as Austria. Please God, there never shall be another. It was always an anomaly; it had long been an anachronism. Happily we may now add that there was never another that had quite such a fall.

It was the world's most consummate example of autocracy. In that respect it surpassed even Prussia. Practically, in recent years, the Hohenzollerns may have been more autocratic than the Hapsburgs, because they were stronger; but theoretically they never approximated to the Hapsburg standard of personal rule. The Austrian Empire was simply the family estate of the House of Austria. The historic name and title of the realm was "The House of Austria," or, more fully, "The House of Hapsburg in Austria," down to 1806, when, in imitation of Bonaparte's France, it was proclaimed an empire. But that was a change of name and not of fact or circumstance. Austria and all its appanages still remained the family possession of the Hapsburgs.

The empire was unique, too, in its material composition. It was a congeries of territories alien to each other in race, speech, religion, traditions, ideals, institutions, interests; having nothing in common but the personality of their despot. These the Hapsburgs had acquired during six centuries by inheritance, by marriage, and sometimes by conquest—though they never were notably successful in war; whence "*Alli bella gerant; tu, felix Austria, nube.*" At the time of the French Revolution the House of Austria had political interests in every part of Europe, and ruled over Flemings, Walloons, French, Saxons, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Magyars, Slovenes, Ruthenians, Roumanians, Serbs, Croats, Italians; and dreamed of universal empire.

From 1713 to 1866 the Hapsburgs successively and al-

ternately tried to become masters of all Germany and thus of all central and western Europe, or masters of all the Balkan countries and thus of southeastern Europe and the Levant. In the former design they were balked by Prussia, again and again, until their westward-looking designs were finally destroyed at Sadowa. That turned them toward Salonika and thereafter their faces were persistently turned to the southeast. In that direction they were balked by Serbia. That was why for so many years Austria waged a war of commercial discrimination and political intrigue against that gallant little kingdom. And so it came to pass that in a lawless attempt to overcome that obstacle to their southward and eastward march of empire the Hapsburgs became involved in a disaster compared with which Sadowa was a negligible trifle.

There is no finer stroke of Nemesis in history than this, that after unjustly and oppressively for many years preventing Serbia from having the access to the sea to which she was entitled, Austria herself, through a conflict over Serbia, should be deprived of her own sea coast and be relegated to the inland occlusion to which she sought permanently to doom her neighbor.

From the fall of Napoleon to the beginning of the world war, the Hapsburg realm was considered to be a necessity to Europe. It was a "balance wheel." It "conserved the balance of power." It cared for a number of diverse peoples of which no other disposition could readily be made.

And so forth, and so forth, until the monstrosity became, like many another monstrosity, a fetich, and people thought that the dissolute and depraved old Francis Joseph was the savior and protector of Europe; because by the magic of his personality he kept that realm together and it in turn kept Europe evenly balanced and tranquil. All would be well, they said, so long as he lived; but after him, the deluge—perhaps.

It was the irony of fate that the deluge should precede his death, and that his realm, under his reign, should be transformed from the conservator of peace into the propagandist of war. In that it became apparent—as some who were regarded as cynics and skeptics, and therefore as lewd fellows of the baser sort, had thought all along—that this anomalous and anachronistic Hapsburg family estate had been not a blessing but a curse and a menace to Europe.

Now the thing is swept into limbo, and the proud House of Austria, which for centuries had claimed precedence over all other dynasties in the world, is compelled to plead for terms with the weaker neighbor which it had long despoiled and with the subject peoples which it had long oppressed. But its fall is not altogether without precedent. It is now nearly five centuries since there was another notable fall, physical and material, in a capital which until now has long been a Hapsburg possession. That was when John Zizka and his comrade Czechs literally hove the burgomaster and council of Prague out of the windows of the town hall. Separated by five hundred years, the Defenestration of Prague finds its greater sequel in the fall of the House of Austria.

For sale, cheap: One Good German Sword, irreparably blunted and broken.

More Creeling

IT would not be easy too severely to condemn the issuance and circulation of the false report of the signing of the armistice, on Thursday of last week, or to overestimate the damage which it did. Materially, we are told that it caused direct losses of many millions of dollars to industrial establishments which were completely demoralized and forced to suspend operations for half the day. Sentimentally and spiritually it discounted the celebration which the actual news of peace was to bring, which could never be what it should be after such an expenditure of emotion and enthusiasm over a false report.

The initial responsibility for it rests with, and is manfully acknowledged by, a conspicuous and highly esteemed officer of the navy, who will doubtless long regret his astounding blunder. But some blame rests, also, with the news agency which too hurriedly gave publicity to an announcement that, coming from such a source at such a place, should have seemed so extraordinary as to call for further investigation and confirmation before transmittal to the press. As for some—not all—of the newspapers, their conduct was simply scandalous, in continuing to exploit the falsehood in huge type hours after they had received official denial of it.

The most surprising thing about it, however, was that the false report did not emanate from that Committee of Public Information whose tergiversatory antics long ago prepared the public for almost any misleading invention. The "elaboration" of Admiral Gleaves's report of a naval episode has not been forgotten; and it was a good starter for a career of romancing. The "Fake's Progress" continued with the sheer falsifying of airplane reports in circumstances in which not even the misdeeds of a Deeds can excuse the committee, or its head. Still later came the direct statement that the Secretary of the Navy had urged the House Naval Committee to recommend an appropriation of \$600,000,000 for a three-year programme comprising ten big battleships, six battle cruisers and 140 other vessels; only to be contradicted later with the confession that the Secretary had submitted no estimates whatever, but had merely said that "sometime later he would have a big naval programme to submit." After that it would have been the most congruous and natural thing in the world for the Committee on Public Information to put out the premature report of the armistice.

In view of its past record we must confess a considerable degree of consternation at the statement that while the domestic activities of the Committee on Public Information will cease as soon as the war ends, its propaganda in foreign lands will be continued for some time. We should like to know what the foreign nations have done to us that we should wish such an infliction upon them. We should also like to know what provision, if any, will be made for correcting the egregious "howlers" which the Committee so glibly and profusely emits. It has not so greatly mattered that creelings have been published here, because this public knows pretty well how to regard them. But it is quite another thing to have them published abroad, where they may be taken seriously.

However, the statement that the Committee is thus to continue its work was made by Mr. George Creel; so perhaps it isn't so.

Mr. House at the Peace Congress

PRESUMABLY the rich stores of historical lore accumulated under Presidential direction by Colonel House and his relatives and other assistants will be at the disposal of the great Peace Congress when it meets. For a long time now we have been without definite information as to the progress Colonel House's Commission has made in ransacking history for ethnological and other data calculated to put us abreast of other Powers when it comes to the solution of peace problems.

Commencing most likely at the Deluge, the learned House and his assistants at last accounts had worked their way through the barbed wire entanglements of myth and tradition surrounding the Assyrian, Persian and Egyptian evolution and devolutions, and had got on to something like firm ground in the epoch of Alexander the Great, with the rise and fall of the Roman Empire still to come. The complicated questions growing out of the meteoric career of Mahomet and his conquering hordes, with the collateral racial and political developments in the Balkan peninsula, naturally were still an uncharted field for the House history explorers, and, of course, the intimately important events attendant upon the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, with the attendant emergence into national being of the countries now directly involved in the pending peace questions, was still unexplored territory of inquiry.

As a matter of fact, so far as the public has been informed, the House Commission's rate of progress would have necessitated the continuance of the war for several decades yet before full data, desirable as proper equipment for discussion at the peace table conference, could have been assembled and properly digested. As it is there seems to be nothing for it save Mr. House's appearance at the assemblage with rather a lack in the way of authentic precedents with which to fortify argument for adherence to the Fourteen Commandments. None the less he will have wide leeway in the very nature of the Commandments themselves.

Up to the present moment nobody has been quite successful in making out just what, singly or collectively, they all come to. There is a great deal to be said on both sides of every one of them, so far as any of them present sides, top, or bottom on which to erect arguments of any kind. To be sure, we have been informed that whereas Commandment 3 says free trade, it does not mean free trade at all. What it does mean is explained away to the vanishing point in another baffling fog of language. Admiral Sims undertook an off-hand interpretation of the Freedom of the Seas Commandment and was promptly rapped over the knuckles with the ruler for his pains.

So Colonel House and his History Faculty, even though they have not had time fully to prepare for examination, may yet be able to skim through somehow if they only keep well within the argumentative labyrinth which the Commandments leave so invitingly open.

And in that connection, what a pity, what a vast pity it is that Mr. Bryan's vaudeville engagements on the Chautauqua Circuit will presumably prevent his presence at this memorable gathering! How timely would be the delivery of his great lecture "The Prince of Peace" on such an occasion!

And with what edification would the venerable tiger, Clemenceau, for instance, listen to that composition which has delighted so many excellent old ladies all over the country! Really, without Brother Bryan and the effulgent J. Ham. Lewis, we fail to see how our present home Democracy, in its party aspect at least, is to be adequately represented at that greatest of all historical events. Possibly it might be arranged yet. We do not know definitely how it would be with Mr. Bryan, but we violate no confidence when we affirm positively that if proper pressure were brought to bear on Jim Ham, he would attend.

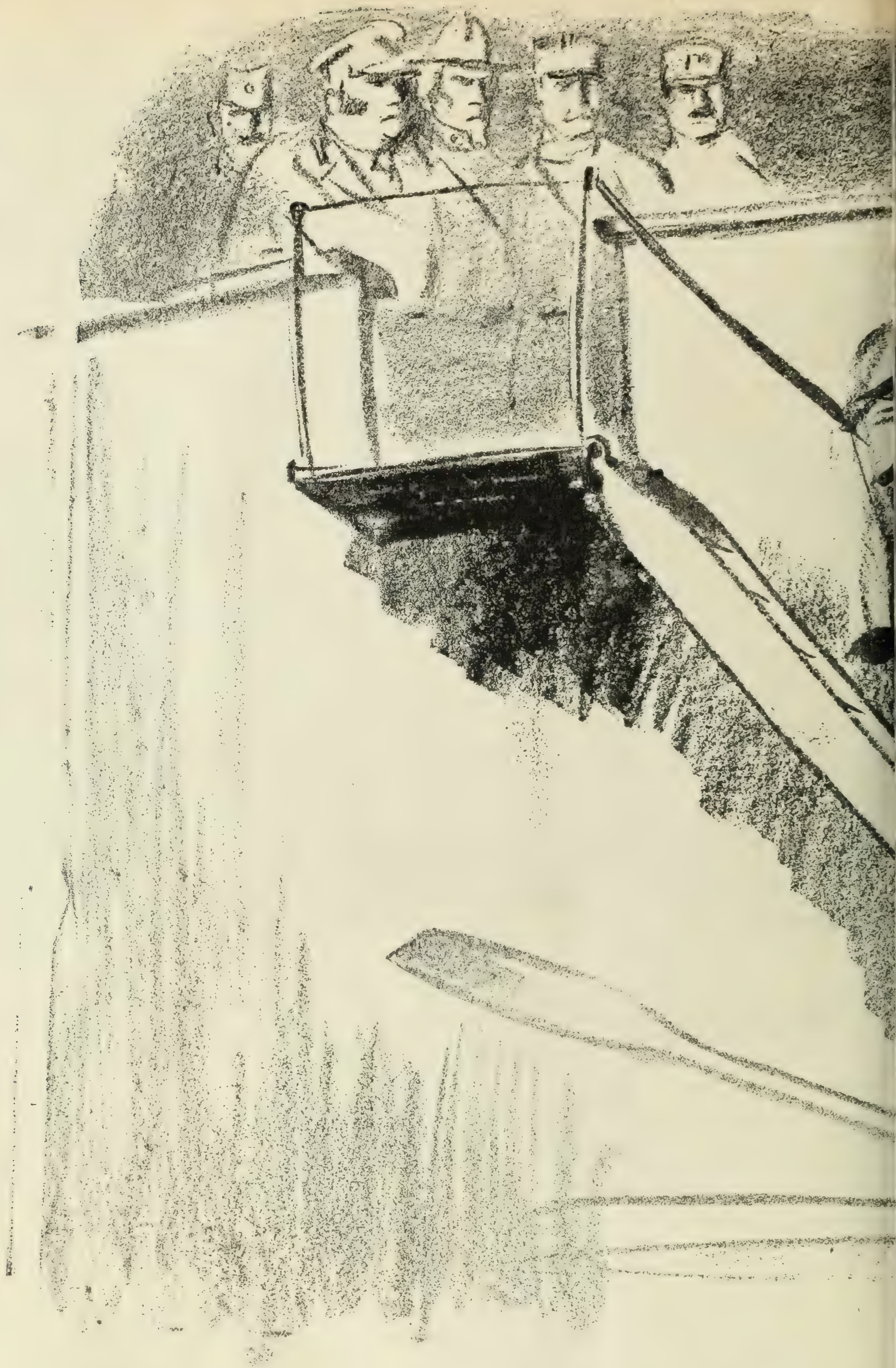
Reparation in Shipping

THE action of the Versailles Council in notifying President Wilson that it rejected his proposed "freedom of the seas" as a peace condition, that it purposed to exact from Germany reparation for the injury it has inflicted, and by implication, that it intends to put its own interpretation on all the fourteen and additional peace conditions promulgated by the President, is an occasion of gratification to all serious students of the international situation, not the less so because, with the customary politeness of European diplomacy, the Allied statesmen unanimously asserted their determination to make the terms of the armistice conform to "the lines laid down by President Wilson," always hastening to quote the single proposition, that the terms would be such as to make it impossible for Germany to resume hostilities.

In this connection navy and shipping men make a very practical suggestion. It is that reparation for merchant vessels sunk by submarines should be made in shipping, so far as the resources of the German mercantile fleet will permit; that the entire German merchant fleet should be surveyed and appraised, and then divided among those who have lost through Germany's unlawful submarine warfare in proportion to the losses each has suffered. Any debit balance could be discharged in cash or a cash consideration, such as bonds, for it is a reasonable assumption that reparation for the physical damage and destruction worked in Belgium and the invaded portions of France will absorb all of Germany's available cash resources for many years to come.

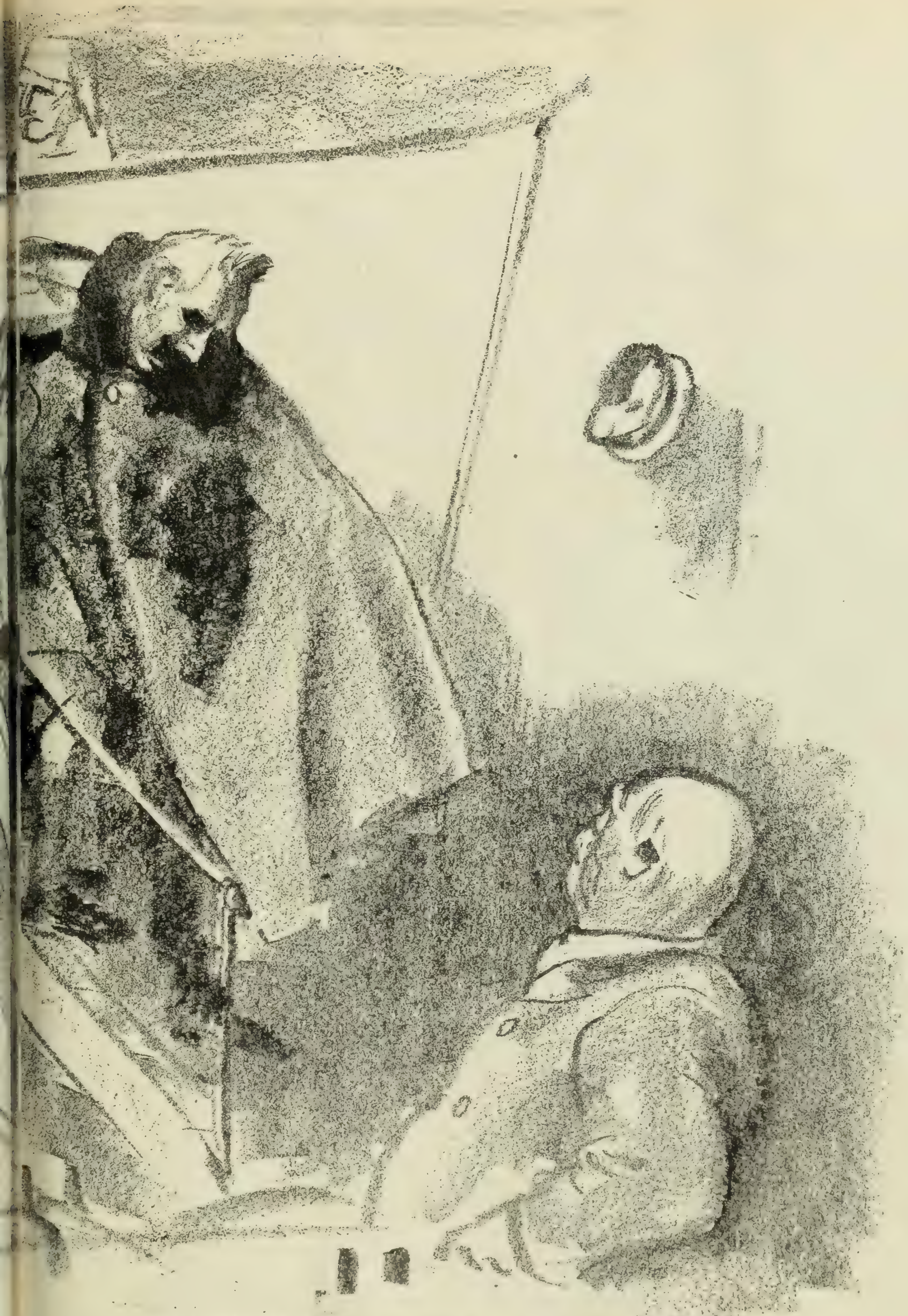
The immediate distribution of the German merchant fleet, and of such of her naval vessels as could be adapted to the purpose, among those whose shipping has been sunk by her submarines, would help to remedy their losses without waiting for such time as Germany can make reparation in cash; it would forestall the efforts, for which it is well known Germany has been long preparing, to recover the foreign markets which she has properly lost through the war. It would also, in the case of the United States, go far toward providing a fleet to be manned by those naval reservists who desire to follow the sea as a permanent calling, and who, it is hoped, will form the personnel of an adequate and permanent American merchant marine.

[Since the above was written, Sir Lambert Worthington-Evans, British Minister of Blockade, has warned all neutral countries not to purchase German ships, as the British Government will decline to treat transfers of title thereto as valid, and because the Allies have a claim on such vessels because of the illegal submarine warfare.]



Twenty-eight years after John Tenniel

THE CAPTAIN



DWS THE PILOT

The Week

WASHINGTON, November 14, 1918.

ABDICATION and Armistice: Those two words epitomize the week's history of the world. Both events were approximately achieved. The Hohenzollern Hun fled from his dishonored throne with the furtive cowardice characteristic of the tyrant. There was no element of dignity or heroism, nor yet of pathos or of pity; nothing to commend him to the charitable consideration of the world. The Beast of Berlin he was in the heyday of his power; the Beast he still remains in craven exile.

The terms of the armistice were what were to be expected from the man whose genius and valor had caused the beaten foe to sue for peace. As wisely and as shrewdly as he planned the battle-front campaign, Ferdinand Foch devised the plan upon which the vanquished should yield themselves to the victor's power. At no point is there a slackening or a withdrawal of the Allies' grasp. At every point there is surrender of the Huns. It is all very, very good.

The question inevitably arises, Who surrendered? Who was the German party to the armistice? We had said, the President had said, that we could make no terms and enter into no compact with the Imperial Government of the Hohenzollerns. Yet as a matter of fact, we joined the Allies in making an armistice with the representatives of that Hohenzollern Government and no others. We did not, however, belie ourselves, since the armistice is in fact not a treaty nor a compact, but rather a surrender. In it we do not take the word nor trust the faith of Germany in anything; and we do not ourselves relinquish anything nor bind ourselves to anything. We simply give Germany so many days in which to deliver over to us her military power and to make a partial restoration of stolen goods to her victims; but all the time we keep the bayonet at her throat. In such fashion it is permissible to receive the surrender of even the most untrustworthy and treacherous foe.

There is, of course, the abdication to be considered in relation to the armistice. The armistice was made, we have said, with a Government which immediately afterward went out of existence. What if its successor should repudiate the act? What if the Reds, the Soviets, the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, or whatever they may be, should declare that they were not bound by the signatures and deeds of the lack-eyes of William Hohenzollern and therefore would not fulfill the terms of the armistice? That is precisely what the Germans instructed and directed their Bolshevik dupes and tools in Russia to do, and what was in fact there done. Indeed, we are told that the German Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils have already sent out messages to some such effect to their agents on the German fleet in the North Sea. It need not cause surprise, and it certainly should not cause dismay. Foch will know how to deal with it. If the Germans do not themselves loyally consummate the surrender which they have promised, the Allies will go in with a strong hand and force the surrender, with an additional penalty for the contumacy.

The question of the place in which to hold the peace conference should be confined strictly to three candidates. Indeed, unless as an understood matter of courteous but otherwise empty form, no others should ever have been mentioned;

one of which, by the way, does not seem to be mentioned at all. One is Versailles, where France was humiliated and the Hunnish Empire was organized; the fitness of this is obvious. Another is Brussels, the capital of the hero nation which at the risk of its own life barred for a breathing space the initial rush of the Huns against the world; than which no place could be more appropriate. The third—of which we need say no more than to name it—is Berlin. We confess that, with all the claims of Versailles and Brussels, we should supremely love to see in some great chamber in Berlin a congress of the Allied Powers with King Albert of Belgium in the chair, with Messrs. Georges Clemenceau and David Lloyd George at his right hand and his left, and with William Hohenzollern as the prisoner in the dock.

The "Watch on the Rhine" has been transformed into the Roost on the Rhine, to which all manner of unclean birds are coming home in flocks. With persistence and with diabolical ingenuity, Germany endeavored to foment dissension, revolution, Bolshevism and anarchy in other countries. She subsidized and directed the "Reds" in Russia, Finland and elsewhere, to the immeasurable detriment of those lands. And now she finds precisely those same elements arising at home and threatening Prussia with Russia's fate. We should, of course, regret to see Germany fall into chaos and anarchy; chiefly because that would probably mean that we should have to go in and clean house there. So far as the Germans themselves are concerned it would serve them right. Their frightened yelpings to us to hurry up the peace processes in order to save them from such trouble deserve no notice but contempt. Of course, for other reasons than that, we would not needlessly delay peacemaking a single hour. But not on that account would we hasten the process for a single moment beyond the limits of prudence and thoroughness. It is not for us to sacrifice our integrity and welfare and to compromise the demands of justice merely in order to save the Huns from suffering something of the evils which they deliberately inflicted upon others.

Amid all the talk about Germany's financial exhaustion and her impending bankruptcy, which doubtless is not without good foundation, we have seen no mention of one very considerable asset of that country which might be made available and which would go some distance toward paying some of the minor indemnities which will be exacted from her. We refer to the very considerable estates and other property of William Hohenzollern and his family, the bulk of which was stolen by him and his predecessors. As the thieving was done in his royal and imperial capacity, it is logical that on surrendering his monarchical dignities he should forfeit possession of the products of his peculations.

That is a highly gratifying report which Mr. John Barrett, Director-General of the Pan-American Union, has just made, that our commerce in both directions with the American countries south of us, was a billion dollars, or 133 per cent. larger in the fiscal year 1917-1918 than in 1913-1914. That is probably the most remarkable example of trade expansion in the history of this country if not of the world. It is, however, as suggestive as it is gratifying, and its most important suggestion is an inquiry as to the

possibility or probability of our retaining that commerce after the war is over, and as to the official or other efforts that are being made to that end. We know that this enormous expansion has been effected chiefly by taking advantage of the opportunities and the necessities created by the war. One of our chief competitors has been eliminated and the others have been handicapped, while the needs of the Latin American countries have greatly increased. But when the other nations are able to resume their competition, what then? We know that they are very busy, and have long been busy, with most authentic and efficient agencies, both private and official, in working for a restoration of their trade, and it is obvious that that would mean a loss of much that we have gained. We should be glad to know, the nation would be glad to know, if equally energetic measures are being taken on our side to retain what we have gained. We have had this enormous increase of commerce practically thrust upon us without our working for it. But we cannot retain it through any such *laissez faire* policy. We must work to hold it, or we shall lose it. Is a billion a year worth working for?

It has been the custom of many more or less thoughtless people to make the great British universities a butt of ridicule as institutions for the production of aristocratic nonentities. In one of his recent propagandist romances Mr. H. G. Wells refers more or less directly to them as of little practical value. Yet we notice that Cambridge sent no fewer than 14,840 of its members to the war, and that of them 2,382 were killed, 3,154 were wounded, and 2,871 were prisoners or missing; a total casualty list of more than 56 per cent. If the universities teach nothing else, they apparently teach patriotism; which is something more than some of our own university professors do—of the Scott Nearing type, for example.

The October report from the shipyards is highly gratifying. It shows the completion and delivery of 77 ships averaging over 5,000 deadweight tons each, or a total of 398,100 tons; the largest month's output yet recorded. The total for ten months of this year is 2,386,835 tons. In one respect this work is more gratifying than that which is being done in airplanes, munitions, artillery, etc. That is, that while it is equally serviceable and indeed indispensable for military contingencies, it is also—as the others are not—of great permanent value for times of peace.

The output of our shipyards is going far toward restoring the ravages of the submarines, though we believe that there is still a deficit in the world's shipping from that of before the war. At the beginning of the war the total merchant marine of the Allied and Neutral Powers measured about 40,050,000 tons, of which 21,404,000 tons have been destroyed. That is something more than one-half of the whole, or more than the entire British mercantile marine. This loss has been replaced by the Allies and Neutrals to the extent of more than 14,270,000 tons of new construction—not counting the October output—and 3,795,000 tons of enemy shipping seized. These figures leave a net loss of 3,362,000 tons as a result of Tirpitzism. On the other hand, of the 6,650,000 tons which the Teutons and Turks had at

the beginning, at least 5,000,000 tons have been either seized or destroyed. How much new shipping Germany has built is unknown, but it is not improbable that she has nearly if not quite replaced her losses. As we suggest elsewhere, it might be practicable to take, as part payment of indemnities, enough of her ships to make good the losses of the Allies and Neutrals.

Germany under the Kaiser has been defeated in war. It remains for us to prevent Germany under the Soviets, or whatever other Government it may have, from being victorious in peace.

The world will applaud the determination of the British Government to do all in its power for the rehabilitation and protection of the surviving remnant of the Armenian nation. The heroic part of that nation in the war has not been as widely recognized as it deserves to be. At the outbreak of the war the Kaiser offered the Armenians autonomy, if they would give their active assistance to his Turkish allies and therefore to him. They refused, not merely because they knew that his promise was not worthy to be trusted, but also for the much more important reason that they were not willing to give aid to what they regarded as an evil cause. To punish them for that refusal, the Kaiser directed the Turks to exterminate them; and that infernal order was carried out, as Mr. Henry Morgenthau has shown us in his intensely interesting and important book, to the extent of murdering somewhere between 600,000 and 1,000,000 Armenians with every possible accessory of rape and torture. Yet those who were left valiantly held out, and did great service in militant aid of the Allies in the Caucasus and Mesopotamia. It would be gross ingratitude for the Allies to fail to do all that it is in their power to do for them.

The proposition of the Allied Industries Corporation to enforce by legislative enactment a country-of-origin label on all goods of whatsoever nature that may be imported into this country, is in every way commendable. It should receive the speedy attention of Congress and be enacted into law. The Corporation is now asking coöperation of commercial organizations everywhere to promote that end, and soon representatives will go to France and England to urge similar action in those countries.

The treaty-making Powers who settle the terms of peace may inject into the final agreement whatever boycott provisions they choose. They cannot control individual action. The boycott will go on just the same. Already in this country alone over a million names have been signed to a pledge to neither purchase nor use any German goods of whatsoever description, and this million represents only a small portion of the great number of those who ultimately will subscribe to the same agreement, and a still smaller portion of the vast host of silent, inarticulate detesters of the Hun and all his works who, with pale faces and compressed lips, have been reading for years of the Hun's bestialities and brutalities wherever his foul presence has been felt.

Will Americans or Englishmen or Frenchmen of this generation ever again sail in the ships, or purchase any goods borne in the ships of the nation that sank the *Lusitania*?

Taking Advantage of Mr. McAdoo

WERE peace to be formally proclaimed on, say, the 1st of December next, for twenty-one months thereafter the railroads would continue under Government control and administration. In other words, the public would continue to endure until the 1st of October, 1920, with such patience as might be summoned to the ordeal any train service and any rates for transportation the autocrat of the railroads might see fit to impose. On that date the railroads would return automatically to their respective owners.

This event would occur in the heat of the next Presidential campaign, an election in which members of Congress will be chosen on whom beyond much doubt very strong pressure will be brought to bear to make Government railroad ownership permanent. In fact this question of Government railroad ownership now seems destined to be one of the great issues of the 1920 campaign. Such ownership is, of course, strongly favored among the rather formidable coterie of Socialists and semi-Socialists with whom the President has surrounded himself.

Hand in hand with this scheme of socialism would naturally go an effort to control also the telegraph and the telephones. The Politicalmaster General has had this management at heart for years. He is now more ardently in favor of it than ever. In a speech in Boston during the recent campaign Mr. Daniels specifically said that the telegraph and telephone lines would remain permanently under Government administration. So they would, perhaps, had the hand-picked, rubber stamp Congress desired by Mr. Wilson been put in power at the recent election.

The battle royal will be over the attempt to make permanent the Government administration of the railroads, to which will probably be appended Government telegraph and telephone control. Plans for an Administration campaign along these lines are already well under way. But, of course, there is to be no political use of the hundreds of thousands of railroad men dependent upon the party in power for their jobs! Mr. McAdoo specifically forbade railroad employees taking part in politics during the recent campaign. That he grossly transcended his powers in so doing is neither here nor there. Little autocratic episodes of this nature do not count. We are getting used to them. They are the natural socialistic outcroppings incident to the incipient Bolshevikery of Government ownership and administration of things in general.

It is only fair to the railroad employees to say that they obeyed the McAdoo edict exactly in the spirit in which it was promulgated. They did not directly take organized part in politics in the last campaign. They only did it through their own employees, who were not railroad men in active service. For instance, a circular was addressed "To the Railroad Employees, State of Nebraska." It was sent out by Division No. 1 Railway Employees Dept. A. F. of L., whose headquarters are in room 328, Bee Building, Omaha. Four paragraphs of this document, which is signed by S. H. Grace, Secretary-Treasurer, Division No. 1, read as follows:

You no doubt do, or should, recall that the railroads of the country are under Federal control, and for a period of twenty-one

months after the termination of the war, if the Railroad Employees desire to see the Government continue the operation, and eventually own, these properties, we must commence at once to prepare for the future.

The State of Nebraska votes for United States Senator at the coming election, and the one elected will have a voice and vote on the relinquishing of the railroads to private ownership or continuing them under Government control. The Democratic candidate for United States Senator, John H. Morehead, has, through the public press in answer to an inquiry, stated that he favors Government operation of the railroads. It is therefore to your interest to vote for him if you are of the same opinion.

Making the world safe for Democracy is the duty all are now interested in, regardless of the length of time it may require to do it; and in order to strengthen the administration of President Wilson, men should be elected to Congress at this time who will counsel and work for him.

In view of the benefits already received from the present administration, we, as Railroad Employees, should show our appreciation and vote for all Democratic candidates for Congress at this time in order to show that we as a class are with our President, Woodrow Wilson, first, last, and all the time.

In a private letter addressed "To the Officers, Railroad Local Lodges, State of Nebraska," Mr. Grace requested that a copy of the circular above quoted be placed "in the hands of each voter employed in railroad service in your Department and your Division point."

Now it is self-evident that Mr. Grace did not contravene Mr. McAdoo's order in thus organizing Nebraska railroad men to vote for Democratic Congressmen. He may be a railroad employee emeritus, but he is not an active railroad employee. He is only an employee of railroad employees. Hence he was not called upon to adjourn politics. Much as it would have pained him to do so, there is no doubt Mr. McAdoo would have felt himself constrained to admit that Secretary-Treasurer Grace was free to work like a beaver to elect Democrats in the last or any other campaign. Had he known of the issuance of such a circular to those boys of his, whom he has publicly said he will not permit to be "kicked around," undoubtedly he would have been sorely wounded in his feelings. But what could he do? His boys seem to have taken advantage of his ingenuous artlessness in things political.

The Washington correspondent of the *Sun* makes this interesting report:

An element which is asserted by politicians to have played a great part in the complete transformation of the situation in Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado is the back-fire anti-Administration feeling engendered through the treatment of Major-General Leonard Wood. General Wood, commanding at Camp Funston, has impressed the National Army men under his command. That impression, favorable to the last degree, was transmitted back home and the resentment was reflected in the voting.

So that chicken came home to roost! After all, as Mr. William sentimentously remarks in the *Boston Transcript*, "Republics may be ungrateful, but they are not inhuman."

Must the War Bureaus Stay?

THAT is a somewhat disquieting intimation which is credited to—or charged against—Mr. Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board, to the effect that Congress will be asked to prolong the existence of a number of the special war bureaus after the return of peace; so that we shall continue indefinitely to have our daily diet regulated by Mr. Hoover and our fuel supply doled out to us by Mr. Garfield, and all the functions of personal and social existence whip-sawed and tinkered with under a system more paternal than any Czar or Kaiser ever ventured to

prescribe. We say that this is disquieting, not because we have any idea that Congress will sanction such work, but because an attempt in that direction will be certain to precipitate an acrimonious conflict between the Administration and the Congress at the very time when harmonious co-operation is most desirable.

It should be remembered that the question of their duration was exhaustively discussed at the time when these boards were created, and as a result it was decided that they should automatically go out of existence with the return of peace. In other words, they were war measures, and should be confined in their operation to the period of the war; which was quite logical.

Now an extension of their term would mean one of two things: Either that a mistake was made when the limitation was put upon them, or that they will really need more time to wind up their business, if indeed the country does not need their continued services in the "reconstruction" period. As for the former, we do not believe that any mistake was made in limiting war operations to the time of the war. As for the latter, if it is true it indicates gross negligence. Either the boards have neglected to keep their affairs in order so that they can promptly be settled, or the Government has neglected to make the necessary preparations for the return of peace. Doubtless some Administrative supervision will be desirable in the work of industrial and commercial readjustment after the great disturbance that the war has caused. But it would be as incongruous to entrust that to war boards as it would be to charge the army and navy with the work of reorganizing our factories and shipping lines.

Not the least danger is that somebody will suspect that the move is an attempt to perpetuate Administrative paternalism *per se*; a suspicion which indeed may have some reason for existence in the admitted desire of certain members of the Administration to see some of the most radical of these war measures made permanent. Once let it be believed that the prolongation scheme has such an object, that it is not a proposal for temporary expediency but for a permanent policy of government, and there will, we believe, arise an opposition of the most formidable character. Such a conflict at this time would be deplorable, and would do far more to discredit the Government than a change of political complexion in Congress.

Obsolete and Unfortunate

THE results of the election serve once more to emphasize the unfortunate and obsolete practice of postponing for more than a year after its election the convening of each new Congress. In the days when members of Congress were obliged to travel by stage-coach to the national capital, and when the members from California were compelled to "round the Horn" in sailing vessels, there was perhaps adequate reason for so long delaying the convening of the new Congress, but it is impossible to discover any such reason at this time.

The American people, on November 5, indicated by an overwhelming vote their unwillingness longer to trust the enactment of legislation to the Democratic party, and their desire that the Congress should resume the part it was de-

signed by the Constitution to play in the ordering of the affairs of the Government, including supervision over the conduct of foreign relations and the expenditure of the public funds. And yet, under this obsolete practice, the mandate of the people can find no expression until December, 1919, unless the President should call the next Congress in special session, which is as improbable as that a schoolboy should summon his taskmaster ahead of time.

There is a popular impression that it would require an amendment of the Constitution to change the date of convening, but the Constitution prescribes that "The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day."

It would, of course, be necessary for an existing Congress to appoint such different day for its successor. Obviously the existing Democratic Congress would not hasten the convening of its Republican successor, nor would it be easy to induce the Republican Congress to alter the date on which its successor shall meet, because it would thereby diminish the measure of its own importance during its short session.

While, therefore, it is entirely desirable that the date of convening the new Congress should be altered, it is obvious that nothing short of an insistent popular demand will ever compel the change, and unfortunately the reasons which dictate such a change are so soon forgotten that there is no such demand when the opportunity comes for effecting it.

And this despite the fact that it is perfectly obvious now, as it has been on previous occasions, that material public benefit would accrue from a change of the date.

Still Opening Private Letters

"MAY we not" hope that with the dawn of better days there may be some limitations placed on the explorations of private correspondence by the Department of the Politicalmaster General? It would, of course, be unfortunate to restrict the diversions with which the salaried unemployed in the Government service have been wont to beguile their tedious hours of idleness. To these gentlemen and ladies of leisure in the various Censor Offices, the reading of private correspondence naturally has been rather a pleasing recreation. But we all have to make sacrifices in these times. So it is hardly too much to ask that this reading of other people's letters be eliminated from the amusement programmes of Government employees.

We all wanted to win the war; we all wanted to stand by the President. So, in the arduous moments when we were endeavoring to find ourselves as a war-making nation and, barring occasional lapses into creeling by the Bakery and certain other unpleasanties, were succeeding so admirably—in those confused and trying days, fool rummaging in private correspondence was accepted as one of many disagreeable incidents to the epoch of upheaval through which we were passing.

Perchance the machinations of a Hun spy might be uncovered by this form of Censorship. To be sure, when the Hun spy was actually caught with the goods on him we generally did nothing with him, save, perhaps, submit him to a little temporary annoyance. But opening private letters was all in the day's work of spy hunting, and good-

natured, loyal Americans let it go at that, no matter how great a nuisance it might be.

But those days have now passed. Is it too much, then, to ask that private letters confided to the Politicalmaster General, in the faint hope that they may reach their destinations in the lifetime of the present generation, be no longer delayed in their deliberate roamings by Censorship autopsies on the way?

The American citizen is a long-suffering and patient person when it comes to enduring things for patriotism's sake. But there is a limit even to his good nature. This wholly illegal opening of private letters, if continued much longer, will get perilously near to that limit. Somebody will rise up in wrath one of these days over some such specific instance as we have in mind, and will ask questions. Furthermore he will ask those questions through the courts. If the plain provisions of the law mean anything, the answer the courts will give to those questions is very apt to prove unpleasant reading to some Censor "somewhere in the United States."

As a specimen of the kind of Censoring now rampant the case may be cited of a letter mailed in New York and addressed to a person in New Mexico who represented an estate there. The letter was sent by the Hanover National Bank, of New York. On the envelope was a plainly printed request to return to that bank if not delivered in five days. After a long interval the letter was permitted to reach the person to whom it was addressed. It had been cut open. Across the opening was glued a paster on which, in large type, was printed the word "Censor." A stamp revealed the further fact that "Censor 601" had examined the contents of the letter and had graciously permitted it to pass.

Title XII, Section 1, of the Espionage Act contains this clause:

Provided, That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to authorize any person other than an employe of the Dead Letter Office, duly authorized thereto, or other person upon a search warrant authorized by law, to open any letter not addressed to himself.

Here was a letter from one of the oldest banking institutions in the United States, bearing on its envelope in plain type its mailing origin, and addressed to a person in New Mexico whose name had not the slightest hint of Hun origin. If unmailable, it should have gone to the Dead Letter Office and thence been returned to its sender. Instead of that, and in plain violation of the law, it was opened and read by somebody styling himself "Censor 601." Possibly this "Censor 601" might be able to show cause why he should not be prosecuted and made to suffer such penalties as attach to the opening of private letters in transit. So far as any light is afforded by the Espionage Act, however, the case against him seems clear.

In endeavoring to penetrate the mental processes, assuming there were such, which made this surprising person suspicious of that harmless routine business letter, there is but one clue thinkable. "Hanover" is somewhere in Germany; ergo, the Hanover National Bank, of New York, would bear watching. The letter was addressed to Carlsbad, New Mexico. There is a Carlsbad in Germany! Aha-a-a! Hist!! A Hun plot!

In the event that Censor 601 is not eligible to lengthened retirement in some Federal penitentiary, we venture to say that his candidacy for permanent abode in an Asylum

For Incurable Idiots would hardly be contested. Meantime, "may we not" again give expression to the hope that the Politicalmaster General, in these quieter days, will use his influence to restrain the feverish activities of the potential criminals and the proven imbeciles who now seem to have full liberty of access to the private correspondence of unoffending American citizens?

Washington's Salaried Unemployed

THE Democratic Administration, said the Roosevelt-Taft statement, having spent billions of treasure and exercising more absolute power than any Administration in our history, must give an account of its stewardship.

We know already some of the items of flagrant waste and worse than waste which will have conspicuous place in that formidable accounting.

But there still remain vast fields as yet but partially explored. Representative Madden, of Illinois, gave a glimpse into one of them in the course of a recent debate in Congress. He revealed a state of affairs in the War-Risk Bureau which literally caused his fellow Congressmen to gasp for breath. The subject under discussion before the Committee of the Whole was the Deficiency Appropriation Bill. We quote from the *Congressional Record* of Tuesday, October 17th:

MR. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I want to correct a statement I made to the effect that the War-Risk Bureau has 11,000 clerks. I have ascertained that they have 14,000: that they have increased the number 4,000 within the last few weeks.

MR. BUTLER. Does the gentleman mean to say that they have 14,000 clerks in that one Bureau?

MR. MADDEN. Fourteen thousand.

MR. BUTLER. Whew! [Laughter.]

Now, even for what our Democratic friend the New York *World* calls a "slacker Congress," we submit that here was an occasion when "laughter" was anything but timely. Still less amusing did it appear when Mr. Madden launched his staggering indictment of the criminal waste that the employment of these 14,000 clerks involved. He said that he had documentary evidence to show that there was not one of these clerks who did more than one day's work in a week; that clerks supposed to be working at night report for duty at 6 o'clock and immediately thereafter go out to dinner, and "when the theatre is open they go to the theatre and never come back"; that the clerks themselves say they are doing no work, and "laugh on the streets at the ease with which they can get money out of the Treasury of the United States"; that they know their services are not needed; that those in authority know they are not needed; that they are such a throng in the Bureau offices that there is not standing room, much less desk room for them.

And what are they supposed to do, these hordes of salaried unemployed, these pensioned men and women of leisure who put in their hours of labor in dining, going to the theatre and going to bed, only to rise the next morning and begin the bored routine of idleness all over again? They are supposed to do that which if left undone is a treacherous, brutal wrong to our splendid soldiers who have been fighting for our liberties. They are supposed to see to it that the soldiers' allotments are promptly paid. If there is any Department in Washington where, above all things, quick, efficient work

is imperatively demanded it is this War-Risk Bureau, whose duty it is to see that the crying needs for support of the mothers and wives and dependent little ones, whose bread winners have risked their lives on the battlefield, shall be without a moment's unnecessary delay supplied from the funds these brave men are confidently entrusting to the hands of the Administration for that purpose.

And that thing is precisely what the War-Risk Bureau, with its 14,000 clerks doing one day's work in a week, leisurely pensioned Men About Town, dawdling over dinners and killing time at the theatres, are *not* doing. The allotments of soldiers' money to their dependents back home have practically ceased. Wives and mothers dependent upon husbands and sons for support have not in thousands of cases received a penny of the money the absent soldier directed the Administration to give them.

The complaints from these needy dependents all over the country have become a national scandal. They have been pouring in to such an extent that in some instances it has been necessary for Congressmen to employ a special force of clerks, stenographers and typewriters to take care of them. Congressman Denison, indeed, went so far as to suggest that an "expert"—Heaven save the mark!—be detailed from the War-Risk Bureau to the House Office Building to relieve Congressmen of this burden that is rapidly growing intolerable.

And now the Deficiency Bill is asking for over seven million dollars more of the people's money to support these 14,000 whose idleness is as much a shame to many of them personally as it is a disgrace to the Administration. They are not necessarily to blame. They asked for jobs and got them. For Deserving Democrats it was a come-one-come-all invitation. And they all came. Naturally.

The Administration asks for over \$7,000,000 more to pension them that they may continue laughing in the streets, if they think it good taste, at Uncle Sam as an "easy mark."

The Nation's Finances

ONE of the most beneficial results of the election will be the curtailment of the gross extravagance which has marked the appropriation and expenditure of the public funds. Nor will it be necessary to await the convening of the new Congress to enjoy this gratifying improvement. Senator Martin, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, has already announced his purpose to scrutinize more carefully the estimates of the executive departments and to insist upon economies wherever they are practicable.

The bitter resentment which the Administration has shown whenever the committees of Congress have sought to curb its extravagance, or even persistently to inquire into the necessity of the appropriations demanded, together with the public censure meted out by the President to all Democratic Senators who opposed his will (not excluding the always loyal, able and energetic Senator from Oregon, Mr. Chamberlain) have heretofore operated to restrain the Democrats, while the fear of misrepresentation and of even the appearance of doing anything to hamper the President in the prosecution of the war has acted as a brake on the Republicans.

The vote of the people to restore to Congress the legislative function which had been wrested from it, however,

has put courage into the abler and more manly Democrats, and the conviction of the Republicans that their success is largely attributable to the confidence of the people that they stand as one man for the establishment of a permanent peace, will relieve them in large measure of the embarrassment under which they have labored, an embarrassment the greater because of the powerful publicity machine which the Administration possesses in the Committee on Public Information, and the unscrupulous uses to which that institution has so often lent itself.

There is no reason to fear that Congress will withhold any appropriation which is needed to carry on those activities made necessary by the coming period of readjustment—either the existing Congress during the remainder of its tenure, or the Sixty-sixth Congress which will come into being a year hence. But the system of checks and balances designed by the Constitution will be restored. Administrative officials will be required to make plain the necessity of the appropriations for which they ask. And many projects of a primarily socialistic or paternalistic character, almost entirely experimental in their nature, and others dictated solely by political considerations, will be curtailed during this Congress and emphatically rejected during the life of the next.

It is even a reasonable expectation that such abuses as the establishment of a great ammonium-nitrate plant at a place so inaccessible as Musele Shoals, Ala., or the creation of a useless and extravagant armor-plate factory in West Virginia, will hereafter be prevented.

Sunrise in Belgium

(From "The Belfry of Bruges.")

In the market place of Bruges stands the belfry old and brown,
Thrice consumed and thrice rebuilt, still it watches o'er the town.

As the summer morn was breaking, on that lofty tower I stood,
And the world threw off its darkness, like the weeds of widowhood.

Not a sound rose from the city at that early morning hour,
But I heard a heart of iron beating in the ancient tower.

I beheld the Flemish weavers, with Namur and Juliers bold,
Marching homeward from the bloody battle of the Spurs of Gold.

Saw the fight at Minnewater, saw the White Hoods moving west,
Saw the great Artevelde victorious scale the Golden Dragon's Nest.

And again the whiskered Spaniard all the land with terror smote;
And again the wild alarum sounded from the tocsin's throat;

Till the bell of Ghent responded o'er lagoon and dike of sand:
"I am Roland! I am Roland! there is victory in the land!"

Then the sound of drums aroused me. The awakened city's roar
Chased the phantoms I had summoned back into their graves once more.

Hours had passed away like minutes; and before I was aware,
Lo! the shadow of the belfry crossed the sun illumined square.

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

Letters From Our Readers

ITALY AND THE SLAVS

SIR,—Please do not think that I am consumed with a desire to bore you with innumerable letters, but as a student of your WAR WEEKLY I notice in it occasionally things which seem to need a little amplification. In the issue for October 26th, for example, in the article entitled "Reasonable Guarantees", you mention that the military authorities of Italy demanded as an essential prerequisite to the granting of an armistice, that Trent, Franzenfeste, Pola and Cattaro be handed over to the Italian army, and you say further: "That does not mean necessarily that they are to be permanently ceded to Italy, though they ought to be and we expect will have to be. Certainly we hope so."

One thing connected with the making of the peace which will close this war is of more importance than all others. That is, that we must not leave any good grounds for future wars in the territorial adjustments made by the treaty of peace. It has been the custom in treaties which have closed past wars to leave these pleasing grounds for further conflict, but we have, I hope, progressed since then, and we should set a new example in the present case by making a peace which can last for an extended period. This war would in all likelihood never have occurred had it not been for the iniquitous features of the treaties of Paris in 1856 and of Berlin in 1878. Those great settlements were so unjust to the Balkan peoples and states that they really constituted a fine basis for aggression into that land on the part of the Austro-German alliance.

When Italy joined the present war her ambitions were quite frankly directed toward the acquisition of practically all the eastern shore of the Adriatic. Not only Pola, but Fiume, Zara, Ragusa, Spica, Cattaro, Durazzo, and all other important points on the Dalmatian and Albanian shores, were to become "re-united" to Italy, which claimed a sort of right to them by virtue of their possession in the past by Venice and their alleged necessity for the proper protection of the Eastern coast of Italy.

The Italian Government, however, has long since made distinct changes in that policy, has made friends with the Jugo-Slavs, and, by expressing sympathy with the desires of that people for freedom and territorial unification, has impliedly abandoned her intention of taking cities which indisputably belong to the Dalmatian Slavs and the Croats.

It is true that Venice, centuries ago, had certain rights in the Dalmatian ports and islands. It is true that they are to some extent peopled by Italians. But these claims of Venice are of no more validity than that of Germany to Southern Brazil. Venice was also, after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, "Lord of a fourth and an eighth of the Roman Empire", and was in possession of the Morea and parts of Dalmatia, as well as a number of the Aegean islands. Still later, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Venice conquered the Morea from Turkey and held it for a short period. Does that give Italy title to Southern Greece?

The title of Italy to Cattaro is based on its presumed necessity for the defence of the Italian peninsula, and upon its Italian name and partially Italian population. But when we consider that Cattaro is just over Mount Lovren from Montenegro, and is one of the best harbors on the Dalmatian coast; that Dalmatia has been Slavonic for twelve hundred years and that its people are a part of the Jugo-Slavs who we wish to free, then the rights of Italy vanish and are replaced by the perfect title of the Slavs. Not only is that true, but I regard the good feeling between the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs as a sort of quit-claim deed on the part of Italy to all the Dalmatian coast, from Fiume south, including the islands.

It seems to me, therefore, harmful for us to refer in any way to the abandoned Italian claim to the Dalmatian coast and islands.

There is another matter connected with the territorial adjustment which seems to me to deserve a different treatment from that which it has received. I refer to the question of East Prussia. No one seems to wish to give that territory to Poland, and the reason probably is that its population is largely German. However, the history of the German occupation of East Prussia is that of the German occupation of other stolen lands, and the fact that the theft took place a long time ago should not, I think, cause us to fail in the thorough performance of our task of making the Huns disgorge. East Prussia was as thoroughly Slavic as Warsaw, was overrun by the Teutonic Knights, and, upon the secularization of the Order, was converted into a hereditary duchy by Albert of Brandenburg. It afterwards fell to the electoral branch of the Hohenzollern house and gave a name to the present nauseating kingdom of Prussia. In all fairness, it is as Polish as West Prussia, which latter land is simply that part of the conquests of the Teutonic Knights which the Polish republic was able to re-conquer. Let us by all means look into the claims of Poland to the whole of Prussia, properly so called, and let us refrain from leaving that Teuton-governed enclave in the new Polish state.

F. B. LATADY.

Birmingham, Ala.

FROM MR. JUSTICE RUSSELL

SIR,—I have not the honor of your acquaintance, but I cannot refrain from penning this brief note to tell you that the gracious and magnanimous words in your last WAR WEEKLY (October 26, page 3, first column, about half way down) have gone straight to my heart, and it has given me immense pleasure and satisfaction to read them to my friends. If your people value the affection of their neighbors over here they cannot do better than follow your distinguished example. We do not begrudge them—far from it, we gladly accord to them the highest praise for their splendid contribution to the results that are being achieved, and we fully appreciate the difficulties of the problem of intervention that was presented to them at the beginning of the war. But you have said what it would have been ungenerous for any of us to hint, and I must again thank you from the bottom of my heart for the magnanimous and beautiful paragraph which has kindled such warmth, "*nel lago del cor' mio*".

B. RUSSELL.

Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, Halifax.

CERTAINLY

SIR,—By publishing in the WAR WEEKLY of November 2nd the cartoon of the President, with the quotation from Shakespeare, "On what meat doth this our Cæsar feed that he hath grown so great", etc., I believe that you have given yourself away, as the words in the play are spoken by Cassius, whom Shakespeare does not portray as a Roman Patriot, but as an envious, malicious, slanderous and lying schemer who would not stop at anything, no matter how dishonorable, to attain his end, and whom even his own dupe and partner Brutus accuses of having an "itching palm".

Is it not a fact, dear Mr. Editor, that you are not the sagacious oracle you would have us believe you to be? For you have made two vital errors: First, when you believed that Theodore Roosevelt was sincere in his professions of liberalism and progressiveness, and could not find words strong enough to condemn him for it; second, when you thought that Woodrow Wilson was *not* sincere in his liberalism, and could not find words good enough to praise him.

Now that you have discovered your mistake, and have found that our greatest President is a true Liberal, and is honest, conscientious, consistent and steadfast in his convictions, whereas our loudest ex-President is the reverse, you have made a complete somersault, and abuse the greatest Liberal and praise to the high heavens the greatest Opportunist and Egotist. Enough said.

Will you print this letter in your WAR WEEKLY, and oblige.

MAURICE M. UDWIN.

Chicago.

OUR HUNGARIAN FRIENDS

SIR,—You might be interested to learn that the enclosed article ["Hungarians Not Huns"] taken from your fearlessly splendid WAR WEEKLY was reprinted by almost every Hungarian publication in America.

It is a pleasure to know that we have such a gloriously magnificent well-wisher in this country as you are.

ERNEST L. MANDEL,
(Editor of *Magyar Munkaslap*).

New York City.

WE WISH WE COULD

SIR,—Let me thank you for the inspiration your example is to me, and must be to hundreds of other editors, and what a wonderful help the WAR WEEKLY is in these times! I wish you could hear all the words of praise and commendation I hear concerning you and your unflinching attitude on public matters.

Houghton, Mich.

HOMER A. GUCH.

THE "WAR WEEKLY" AS A CHRISTMAS PRESENT

SIR,—I am a subscriber to, and regular reader, of your WAR WEEKLY. The publication originally came to my attention quite by accident. I consider it one of the luckiest "accidents" of my reading career. It is a thoroughly refreshing combination of news and comment; and its manner of administering commendation, criticism, or condemnation, as deserved, is in my opinion most admirable. In recommending it to prospective subscribers, nothing better can be said than to paraphrase the slogan for a well-known automobile, thus, "Ask the man who reads it" . . . all of which leads up to what is really the subject of this letter.

The _____ Company employs 170 managers in charge of its stores; also we have a total of 27 executives, buyers, and superintendents. It has been the writer's custom for a number of years to send these business associates a Christmas remembrance. This year I should like to continue my custom, and at the same time have it rather unusual. I can think of nothing better than to make it possible for each of these men to get your ideas for a year.

Detroit, Mich.

C. B. VAN DUSEN.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

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NO. 47

Ought the President to Go Abroad?

A prince should shun flatterers as he does the pest. . . . The public faith pledged to his subjects should be inviolably observed.—THOUGHTS OF A STATESMAN.

WE do not regard it as certain that President Wilson will really go abroad. Mr. Creel's announcement has undoubtedly created a common impression to that effect, but Mr. Creel has been known to err and Mr. Wilson has been known to change his mind. In any case, at this writing, he only "expects to sail,"—which is a quite different thing from actually steaming away from the post of duty which he assumed in response to the demand of his country.

Frankly, despite the drag upon our imagination, we shall not believe he is going until we receive trustworthy information that he has gone. These are parlous times and nobody can tell what may happen during even the next fortnight. Assuming, then, that an expectation is not necessarily a decision and that a decision is not irrevocable, we cannot yet fetch ourselves to the conclusion that the President is definitely out of his quandary, widely advertised as having arisen from a profound conviction on his own part that they cannot get along without him over there and that we cannot get along without him over here. Consequently the matter strikes us as one still calling for suitable analysis and sympathetic consideration from those of us who profess to possess open minds.

To begin at the beginning, then, the President wants to go. That is admitted officially. It is also a *prima facie* argument in favor of the proposal which should bear heavily upon any just and fair mind. Mr. Wilson has been shut up in the house a long time attending to official duties, elections, etc., and has fully earned a bit of recreation. The change, moreover, would undoubtedly do him good and prove correspondingly beneficial to the country. That, we understand, is the original idea of Colonel House, who speaks not only from personal experience but from observation of the effects upon Mr. Baker.

But the question immediately arises, notably in the mind

of the Hon. Thomas Riley Marshall, what would happen here? Upon this point our neighbor the *Sun* lays much stress, professing to foresee "a contingency which most of his fellow citizens must regard somewhat nervously." Our own apprehension, while far from negligible, is less acute. Strange as it may seem, the fact appears upon reflection that we did manage to get on fairly well for a hundred and twenty years of peace, wars, earthquakes and other ailments of childhood without suffering any serious impediment of growth and, in the ordinary course of events, are likely to have to try again some day. And what if Mr. Marshall should be called upon to perform the duties of Chief Magistrate? That is what he was elected for and, as he himself naively remarked once upon a time, has been waiting for. He is different, of course, but he made a very much better Governor of Indiana than Mr. Wilson of New Jersey and he has a far greater fund of plain, common sense to draw upon. Oddly enough, too, he has a truer imagination. Nobody need worry about Mr. Marshall. He has never failed to make good when confronted by actual responsibility. It is only when he is in the pasture that he cuts up.

But perhaps Mr. Marshall wouldn't be President even for a time. Perhaps we shouldn't have any President in the absence of Mr. Wilson. Or maybe Mr. McAdoo would be designated to perform urgent acts. That is not so unlikely as it may seem when you consider that Mr. Lansing's absence will leave Mr. McAdoo ranking member of the Cabinet. But even that fails to worry us. Mr. Bryce said that Americans would make a success of any form of government. True, as it clearly seems to us as set forth in our disquisition upon the Constitutional phase of the problem elsewhere, the President has no moral or legal right to leave the country during his term of office, but if he should see fit to go we do not know who would be empowered to arrest him at the dock and put him back on his job.

We are aware that one of the Official Interpreters declared the other day that this was a question "which only Mr. Wilson himself could determine," but of that we are not so sure. It might have been so if the recent election had gone the other way, but since the re-establishment of the Republic was decreed instead, we are disposed to think that the Great Court will continue to construe provisions of the Constitution and, as a matter of fact, may have to exercise its prerogative if the President should precipitate a chaotic condition in contravention of precedent and unwritten law. Happily, thanks to the sturdy mental and physical attributes of the older Justices, it is still a dependable body. So while, of course, we should miss the President greatly, we guess we could pull through somehow and charge off our temporary loss, along with other more continuing sacrifices, to the general War Account.

So it really simmers down to the advisability of the President going at all and that immediately raises the question whether he would be going to work as official head of the American delegation or just to show off. At first, the Interpreters asked the public to take for granted that he would step right up to the head of the table, call the meeting to order and direct the whole business. That assumption was based upon sedulously published reports that all of the Allied Governments were imploring him to come and assume a unified command such as our own public recently decided to withhold from him. But since then the film has been changed. Happening to be familiar with the characteristics of some of the most distinguished statesmen hinted at, we were puzzled at the time by their outcry for guidance and have eagerly sought specifications since, but wholly in vain.

Why they should wish or why the Administration should deem it necessary to conceal their names we cannot imagine, but the simple fact is that not one has yet appeared in print and every trail leads straight back to Colonel House, whose eagerness for the visit is conceded by all. In any case, the original programme seems to have been abandoned and the plan now is to make a short call instead of a prolonged visit, deliver an address, press a button to set the machinery going and return home without assuming any further responsibility, the underlying purpose being, we haven't a doubt, to project in striking fashion a virtual candidacy for President of the wonderful League of Nations, which is destined to Dominate the Earth and Ensure a Durable Peace for All Time—if it comes off.

On this question we vote aye. While not yet quite ready to endorse unreservedly the proposal to toss this Republic into the pot of Internationalism, it goes without saying that if the time has really come when we must submerge our independence in a World Government or, as Mr. Wilson put it at Mt. Vernon, in "a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit," we naturally want the U. S. A. to have a voice in the management. If we can get the Presidency, so much the better. And who so promising a candidate as Mr. Wilson? Even though Mr. Taft is the original sponsor of the great idea in America, Mr. Wilson promptly appropriated it and made it his Fourteenth Commandment. He has a powerful advantage over his predecessor, too, in this, that, although under his own construction recently repudiated at the polls, he is still President and his son-in-law has unlimited control of the purse upon which the other Powers continue to fasten longing eyes. As

between the two, Mr. Wilson unquestionably has the better chance.

The President is also in a far stronger position, as head of the army and the navy, to launch his boom with style,—a matter of the utmost importance in appealing to the imaginations of impressionable peoples. This phase of the campaign, we are gratified to observe, is receiving due attention. Indeed, the plans seem to be practically complete. The *World* informs us that he will probably cross on the *Leviathan*, formerly the *Vaterland*, the biggest and most gorgeous ship afloat, with sun parlors, roman and electric baths, a superb plunge, growing roses, fresh milk and eggs from cows and hens in the hold, valets, maids, needlewomen, etc., etc. "There will be no incognito business about it," adds the *World* enthusiastically, from which we assume that the Marine band will be taken along and possibly a company from Keith's for evening entertainment.

Who will comprise "the large official party" is not yet announced, but there will be no limitation as to sex. The *World* was not quite positive on November 15, but noted that "the President's friends expect he will take his wife,"—a supposition subsequently confirmed by the *Echo de Paris*, doubtless with the authorization of Colonel House.

There will be no danger. Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson will be in full command, aided by the familiar "six captains" as of old under Commodore Ruser, and will not leave the bridge night or day. Captain Al. Robbins of Point Judith Light will also be at the wheel in case anything should happen to the complicated steering machinery. But there won't. Admiral Grayson will make a thorough medical inspection before sailing. The size of the official party apparently has not yet been determined, but it is not expected to exceed 2500, including the Tumultys, the high Cabinet ladies, the various relations and Mr. Henry Ford, whose previous memorable experience on a Peace ship is regarded as an asset.

Secretary Daniels, as head of the Navy, will naturally assume personal charge of the expedition from port to port, transmitting orders from the deck of his flagship at the head of the accompanying flotilla of all available dreadnoughts, battleships, cruisers and destroyers, which will be augmented at a given point by the European fleet under command of Admiral Sims. The great ship itself by day will be a marvel of splendor fully dressed in the multi-colored flags of all the nations which are expected to become component parts of the hatching League. At night she will be a blaze of glory from stem to stern symbolizing to all the world afloat the pitiless publicity of universal democracy. From the starboard or, in the parlance of the Secretary's revised regulations, the "right", side will gleam from red, white and blue electric bulbs this striking pronunciamento:

CASUALTIES OF THE GREAT WAR

United States of America 0,100,000

France, 4,000,000; Great Britain, 2,900,000; Italy, 1,500,000

Belgium, 350,000. Rumania, 200,000.

The port, or left, side will be similarly illumined with another highly effective campaign document, to wit:

WHO WON THE WAR?

WE WON THE WAR

Such at least is the present plan. It may be changed. In any case, there will be a gorgeous display of fireworks every evening and a salvo of artillery at sunrise and sunset, Washington time.

The land programme is in process of formulation under the direction of Colonel House himself, efficiently aided by his brother-in-law, his son-in-law, and Messrs. Walter Lippman and Felix Frankfurter. The schedule is not yet complete, but the *World* informs us that there will be "processions and state entertainments," attended by no little difficulty in dodging "decorations reserved for rulers." The *Matin* also announces that a series of magnificent *fêtes champêtre* is being arranged by the people of Paris. Barges exactly duplicating those used by Charlemagne are said to be in process of construction, but further than that we have no definite information.

The *World's* Washington correspondent reports that one of the most "vexing problems" is that of "precedence affecting kings and other potentates," but this is regarded as no more than a minor difficulty easily susceptible to the application of Colonel House's unfailing tact. One suggestion is that the President permit the Prime Ministers, etc., to foregather as planned at Versailles and, of course, see them there and hear what they have to say, but receive the kings and queens at Fontainebleau, which is considered less common and likely to prove more interesting to visitors who have never seen the beds of Napoleon and Pius VII and the bath-tub of Marie Antoinette. The project seems wholly feasible. The *France et Angleterre* is not a large tavern, but the rooms are bright and sunny; and then there are not as many kings and queens as there used to be. Let us see. There would be George and Mary, and Albert and Elizabeth, and Victor and Helene, and possibly Alfonso and Victoria, as they live near by; but they are about all. Wilhelmina is fully occupied at home just now and Manuel is down and out. There are some new kings in the Balkans, to be sure, but nobody knows whether they are married or not and they are subject to change at a moment's notice anyhow. It could be managed, we are sure.

The Washington correspondent of the *Tribune* tries to throw a monkey wrench into the machinery by saying that, although Mr. Wilson would be "the most powerful person in the august drama," he would be, after all "nothing but the President of the United States"; but this hardly deserves attention. It is not constructive criticism in the first place, and we have long suspected the *Tribune* of Republican leanings; let such carping pass.

What really concerns us most at the moment is whether Josephus will be permitted to land. We left him out at sea, but it would seem hardly fair to keep him there, since Baker has been over twice. Perhaps Mr. Creel will in-

form us through the *Official Bulletin*. We really want to know. It might change our plans. Ordinarily we should not think of going; pageants, as a rule, are a bore. But if there is the remotest possibility of seeing Brother Josephus shaking a foot in the Rat Mort or Deacon Redfield marching up the center aisle of the Abbey, we are going and that is all there is of it, even though we have to fly all the way without a passport. Doubtless the official information will be forthcoming presently.

Ah, but what dreams are these! And how strange to find ourselves once more speculating happily in piping times of peace! Maybe the President won't go at all. After all, there is a good deal to be done at home and, as we remarked at the outset, he has been known to change his mind. May we not hope, then, that after thinking it all over he will dismiss the whole silly business from his mind and stay where he was elected to stay, duly profiting from his recent lesson from his fellow countrymen and fulfilling his obligations to the best of his ability in a larger, broader and more satisfying way as "nothing but the President of the United States"?

We still have dubious faith to believe he may. But if he really should insist upon making a holy show of himself, let him go to it,—“without cavil!”

That's what we say.

The Unwritten Law

THAT the President may not leave the country during his term of office has ever been accepted as an unwritten law almost as binding as though it were specifically incorporated in the Constitution itself. So firmly is this opinion rooted that there was severe criticism of President Roosevelt when he went to the Canal Zone, notwithstanding the fact that he was continuously under the American flag during his entire absence. There was even adverse comment when President Taft crossed the Rio Grande to meet Mexican representatives on the very border itself. Had either of those Presidents proposed to absolutely expatriate himself and sojourn in a foreign country 3000 miles away for a period of several weeks, or perhaps months, it is not difficult to imagine the storm of protests that would have been stirred up. And, to our thinking, the protests would have been wholly justifiable, just as they would be justifiable were Mr. Wilson to absent himself from the country.

At all times the place for the President of the United States is within the territory of the United States. The Constitution, to be sure, does not specifically prohibit his absenting himself from the country. Its every implication, none the less, is that he is supposed to be within our political boundaries during his entire term of office. There is no provision whatever for the contingency of his being in distant foreign lands. The assumption that he ever would be thus absent apparently was so preposterous that the framers of the Constitution seem to have regarded it as unworthy of either prohibitive or permissive provision.

If facilities for communication have changed since those times, the Constitution has not. It remains, plus amendments, as it was written. Its text and the implications that text carries are in full force. And neither in that text nor in any amendments nor in any implications is there to be found the slightest authority for the President's absence from the country. The very fact that the Constitution is thus

silent on this subject is in itself strong presumptive evidence that such a contingency never came within the purview of the Fathers when they drafted that most remarkable document in the world's political history. About everything else conceivable with reference to the continuity of the Presidency was so carefully provided for that it comes home with overwhelming weight that expatriation was never considered as a possibility. In Article II, Section I, Clause 6 of the Constitution very minute provisions are made for about every conceivable cause of vacancy in the Chief Magistracy and for the passing of authority to other shoulders should there be such a vacancy. It reads:

Clause 6.—In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of said office, the same shall devolve upon the Vice President; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of the removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

Every implication from tenor and context is that the words "inability to discharge the powers and duties of said office" mean physical or mental disablement and not voluntary disablement by reason of absence in foreign countries. If that interpretation be accepted, there would remain absolutely no Constitutional provision whatever whereby the Vice President might act were the President to render himself incapable of performance of his duties by reason of self-expatriation. There would be a constructive vacancy both in the Presidency and in the Vice Presidency.

Assuming that by its silence the Constitution does give consent to the President's leaving his post of duty and going abroad, what limit shall be fixed to such absence? If he may go to some European country for an absence of several weeks or months, why may he not prolong that absence to a year or more? What Constitutional objection would there be to his going to China or Japan or on a trip around the world? Indeed, what Constitutional barrier would there be to his spending the greater part of his four years of office in roaming all over the earth's surface? If there is authority for President Wilson, in the failure of specific Constitutional provisions to the contrary, to absent himself in France for a portion of the coming winter, there is equal authority for him to absent himself for a year or more.

The plain fact of the matter is that he has no such authority; that his expatriation to attend the Peace Conference would be in clear violation of the plain implications of the Constitution.

For President of the World

THE INTER-ALLIED SOCIAL DEMOCRATS COMMITTED TO
OUR CANDIDATE

(From *The Black Diamond*)

RELYING upon our promise not to disclose his identity and upon our discretion, a gentleman in high official life in Washington wrote us this week a letter containing a most interesting piece of conjectural news. It ran, to abbreviate his phrasing, after this fashion:

"When this war shall have ended, the proposal is to form a league of nations. It is proper to assume that the men who form it will not choose the imperialistic form, since they are fighting against warlike imperialism. Instead, it will take the democratic form, since the countries are fight-

ing to make the world safe for democracy. Therefore, we can expect that the new Government will be a democracy, taking some such title as 'The United States of the World.'

"It will, undoubtedly, be the purpose to constitute a delegate assembly similar to the Congress of the United States; to have an executive similar to the President of the United States, and to organize a court similar to the Supreme Court of the United States. In a word, the world will be governed by three co-ordinate branches—the legislative, the executive and the judicial. That is the way democracy expresses itself. These representatives, so gathered from the constituent nations, will proceed to elect a President, much as the Electoral College does in the United States.

"Since the United States is now admitted to be one of the leading Powers of the world, and since he has been familiar with the workings of that form of government, the logical candidate for the first Presidency of the United States of the World is Woodrow Wilson."

The very interesting further suggestion contained in this letter is that our President will be the candidate of the Social Democrats of the world. In support of that suggestion there is put forth a very interesting series of facts.

"The Socialist and Labor parties of the Allied nations held a conference and on February 14, 1915—nearly four years ago—made a declaration of principles which in every respect is strikingly similar to the declaration of principles of President Wilson in his state paper of January 8, 1918.

"They followed the same theme that President Wilson used—that the people of the world are not fighting the people of Germany, but only the German military system.

"The Socialists and Democrats stand flatly, as the President did, for the self-determination of the people of the nations. In fact, their declarations agree with his point for point.

"The Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist parties held another conference at Central Hall, Westminster, London, on February 23, 1918. It thereupon put out another declaration of principles. This adopted President Wilson's phraseology about making the world safe for democracy; pleaded for a league of nations, which he himself had espoused; and then went one step further. It declared flatly for this new idea:

"*That systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis for the allocation and conveyance of these commodities (foodstuffs, raw materials and merchant shipping) to the different countries in proportion, not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs; and that within each country the Government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities,*

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in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of the "no cake for anyone until all have bread."

"Since that time there has been in Washington prolonged agitation for control of raw materials in this country. This is proposed not only for the period of the war, but for a considerable time thereafter. Indeed, the international committee for the allocation of foodstuffs and raw materials has already been effected under the leadership of Bernard M. Baruch, one of the President's advisers. The plan is said to be under way for long-time control of these raw materials, to make effective our conditions of peace."

Seeing the parallel between the view of the Allied Socialists and the state programme of the American Government, our informant looks upon it as logical that Woodrow Wilson should be the candidate of the Social Democrats to be the first President of the United States of the World.

Not Revenge But Justice

WHAT is all this Hunnish propaganda that we hear about the iniquity of "reprisals" and the wickedness of "revenge"? Sometimes insidiously whispered, sometimes shrill or raucous, it outrages the ear and offends the soul. It is even echoed by those who certainly mean better and who as certainly should know better. We must not think of vengeance, we are told with damnable iteration; we must not indulge in reprisals. We must make peace on terms that will restore kindly feelings and good fellowship to the world. And so forth, *ad nauseam*. Whatever the occasion and whatever the medium of the output, whether conscious or unconscious, it is German propaganda, pure and simple; intended to enable the Huns to win in peace the sordid victory that they could not win in war.

The obvious purpose is to confuse justice with revenge. It is not revenge to punish a criminal. It is not revenge to put a murderer to death, whether he be peasant or Kaiser. It is not vengeance to require the return of stolen money, or the making of full recompense for ruined cities and ravaged lands. Nobody talks of "reprisals" when a railroad company in America is made to pay roundly for loss of life in one of its accidents. There is no high-daddy clamor about "vengeance" when a lawbreaking motorist is jailed for manslaughter for running over a pedestrian. It would be "reprisals in kind," no doubt, to compel Germany to replace from her own factories the machinery she has stolen or wantonly destroyed in Belgium and France. It would be "reprisals in kind" to compel her to replace so far as possible from her own libraries the library which she wantonly destroyed at Louvain. It is "reprisals in kind" to require her in the armistice to surrender railroad equipment in return for that which she stole and destroyed. But such reprisals are nothing but elementary justice, not only permissible but necessary.

All this blather and clamor against "vengeance" is, we repeat, German propaganda. It is not directed against the pretended demands which have not been made and which nobody thinks of making, but against the legitimate demands of the outraged nations. The German scheme is to create an impression that the Allies are intent upon vengeance and not mere

justice, so that when they demand and propose justice, people will think they are demanding vengeance. This is one of the most insidious and most dangerous of all the inventions of the Hun, and it is the thing against which every lover of justice and of peace must be on guard. It is quite true that a peace based upon revenge would be unstable. But equally unstable would be a peace based upon injustice, whether it be the injustice of commission or of omission.

People, even men in high places, are declaiming against peace terms which would be unjust to Germany, oppressive, revengeful. Very true. But what about peace terms which would be unjust to Belgium and France, leaving them the unrequited victims of German oppression, spoliation and revenge? It strikes us that it would be well to shut up some of the babble of solicitude for Germany, lest she be made to suffer the penalty of her crime, and to hear a little more about the making of just reparation to those who have been made the victims of Germany's wickedness. It is not revenge that Germany fears, for she knows that she is not threatened with it. It is justice that she fears, for she knows how richly she merits it.

"Taking over the cables," said Mr. Burleson, "is part of the programme for Government control and operation of the wire systems of the Nation. We need the cables more now than we did when the war was going on. There was a great congestion of business, and it was necessary to act now. We hope to unite the cable service and improve it."—*The World*.

That is to say, the plea of necessity in time of war was a pretense and a lie. Where, we wonder, does Albert Sydney Burleson expect to fetch up finally in the estimation of the American people?

Dates of Demobilization

PEACE means Peace. It does not mean merely suspension of hostilities. An armistice is not peace. It is merely a truce, in which the belligerents remain enemies and in which, as the very word implies, the opposing forces remain *in statu quo*, unless, as happily in the present case, some special provision to the contrary is made. The requirement that during its period the Huns shall retire and shall surrender much of their equipment, while the Allies shall advance and take possession of new territory, stamps this armistice as exceptional, and as certainly foreshadowing peace. Yet it is technically and legally only a truce, at the end of which either side might resume hostilities without inconsistency or breach of faith.

This circumstance suggests the necessity of awaiting the actual conclusion of peace for the dating of demobilization. Some of the special war measures are, by their own terms, to expire at the end of the war, or with the proclamation of peace. Such is the case with Government control of telegraph and telephone lines, food and fuel control, export control and War Trade Board, housing construction, and the espionage act. It is to be assumed therefore that those measures will remain in force until the peace conference has been held and the resultant treaty has been ratified and proclaimed. Not until then will our declaration of war against Germany be annulled. Nevertheless it will be within the power and discretion of the Administration at an earlier date to relax the stringency of some if not all of those measures, reducing them perhaps to merely

nominal existence; and it will be the part of wisdom to do so just as fast and just as far as possible.

Other measures expire by limitation at other dates after the end of the war. Some, like the War Finance Corporation, the Capital Issues Committee, the Aircraft Board, and the act authorizing the President to reorganize executive bureaus at will, expire six months after the end of the war, which means six months after the proclamation of the treaty of peace. Government control of railroads ceases twenty-one months after that date, while Government operation of ships will continue for five years after the war—unless in the mean time Congress deems it wise and expedient to shorten the period. Still other measures continue indefinitely "during the emergency," and these, properly enough, may be entirely ended in advance of the actual proclamation of peace. As for those with fixed terms of duration after the war, it will be the part of wisdom so far as possible to relax their stringency progressively, so that at the end there will be no sudden transformation.

It is in that direction that efforts should be made, rather than, as ill-advisedly suggested the other day, in that of seeking to prolong the period of the prevalence of war measures.

The removal of the gag from the press is a step forward toward the Constitution. But that is only one of several steps which must be taken before we can herald the complete restoration of free speech in the United States. By orders of our political Secretary of the Navy and our pacifist Secretary of War all officers of the Army and Navy are still gagged. They are not permitted to make public speeches at any time in any place on any subject; they are not permitted to write anything for publication on any subject, military, naval, religious, civic, economic, unless Mr. Daniels or Mr. Baker personally reads and approves every word of the article submitted.—*Boston Transcript*.

Unity Needed in Peace-Making

AS in war, so in peace. That is the prime need of the hour. It is not appreciated as clearly as it should be, and the lack of appreciation of it and of action upon it are already insidiously taken advantage of by the enemy.

Yet of all the lessons of the war, none, it would seem, should be more clear in mind or more convincing to judgment than this. None should, in particular, appeal more strongly to America, and to the American President. The impression is general, and it is, we believe, quite correct, that the chief secret of the unbroken success of the Allies during the last three or four months of the war was the absolute unity of action of all the various forces, under a single Generalissimo. Credit for bringing about that arrangement has been given to the President. If it is due to him it indicates his performance of the greatest service that he or any one man has rendered to the Allied cause.

There is equal need of similar unity in peace-making, and it would be peculiarly unfortunate and inappropriate if America or the President should disregard that principle. We must remember that however surely the armistice may mean impending peace, it is not in fact peace. Peace is yet to be made, through a process which may and probably will continue through several months. That will be a critical time, determining the lasting results of the war. That it should be marked with precisely the same unity of purpose and of action that has marked the closing months of the war, should be obvious to all.

Such unity is, indeed, required as a simple matter of courtesy. It would be an unpardonable breach of manners, of

comity, of all the elements of international friendship and cooperation, for Powers which had loyally fought side by side to turn against each other the moment victory is assured, as if to quarrel among themselves over the spoils. That would throw indelible discredit upon their former cooperation and upon all their professions of friendship and unity.

More than that, it would gravely imperil the good results of the war, just as surely as lack of unity among the armies would have imperilled the winning of the war. It is only by united insistence that suitable settlements can be made of the great issues, that indemnity can be exacted for the damage done, that the right of self-determination can be assured to the various peoples that are entitled to it, and that adequate guarantees for future good behavior can be secured. It is certainly only thus that the settlements made can be invested with the needed moral authority. Anything demanded by all the Allies will never be challenged on legal or moral grounds. Anything effected by only a part of them, against the will of others, would forever be subject to suspicion of injustice.

These considerations are, as we have intimated, of especial pertinence to America and to the President, not merely because of the President's reputed part in establishing unity in the war, but also because it is already glaringly obvious that Germany is trying in characteristic fashion to provoke dissension between this country and the other Allies and thus to bring about divided counsels in the peace conference. That, and that alone, was the purpose of Dr. Solf's note to the President; a note which was truly and properly described by *The London Times* as "a contemptible attempt at mischief-making."

Seeing that the Allies, including America, had acted with entire unanimity in the Versailles Council, and that they had thus unanimously referred the whole matter of the armistice to Marshal Foch, it is difficult to imagine anything more indecent than for the German Foreign Secretary to address one of the Powers alone and to elicit it to disagree, in effect, with its colleagues. It was so indecent that we are quite sure that none but a Hun could have been guilty of it.

Yet, strange to say, it does not appear to have been resented nor to have been treated as it deserved. On the contrary, it was received as though it were an entirely proper communication, and even with a certain manifestation of sympathy and willingness to swallow the bait thus offered. It is, of course, not to be imagined that the President intends to part company with the Allies in peace-making, or to make himself the friend and advocate of the Huns. Yet the glaring fact is that in response to a German request he agreed in effect to act as Germany's attorney in dealing with the Allied Powers, and to try to persuade those Powers to reconsider, in Germany's favor, something upon which they and the United States unanimously agreed at Versailles!

It ought, we suppose, to be regarded as a gratifying circumstance that so far only one pro-German has been heralded as a probable American delegate to the Peace Conference.

Why shouldn't Vice President Marshall go to the Riviera for the Winter? There is no law forbidding him.

And why shouldn't Chief Justice White go to Japan if he so desires? There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent.

An Exploit in Brigandage

WITH hostilities over and with the last vestige of any excuse on the grounds of war exigencies entirely vanished, the Government has selected this late day as a favorable time for taking over full control of all the Atlantic cables. As in the case of the telegraph and telephone lines, there was not the slightest attempt to justify the seizure on the ground either of inadequate service or revelations of Government secrets. In both these particulars both the telegraph and telephone lines had been beyond criticism. It was simply a case of taking advantage of a patriotic Congress, ready to do anything the Administration might demand on the ground of war necessities, when the measure vesting the President with autocratic powers to take over and operate these systems of electric communication was passed.

The telephone and telegraph lines were seized at once. With the cables it was somewhat different. There were complications with foreign countries to be overcome. This resulted in delay. In fact these negotiations were so long drawn out that it was not until the war was over and the only possible excuse for action ended, that the ground was cleared for the seizure. There was not a moment's time lost. The cables were grabbed at once. And now, not only the telegraph and the telephone lines, but all the Atlantic cables as well have been handed over to the Politicalmaster General to do with as he has done with the mail service, which he has made the most abominable mail service ever known in the history of the country.

Just what excuse may be offered for this last piece of Socialistic brigandage, for it is nothing less, we are at a loss to know. The congestion of the cables incident to the end of the war has nothing to do with it. That much is admitted. As Mr. Clarence H. Mackay, President of the Postal and Commercial Cables Company said, the cable companies all rendered splendid service during the continuance of the war. Mr. Mackay continued:

Why at this late day the Post Office Department takes over the cables as a war necessity and in the face of the fact that the Navy Department has censored all cable messages since April, 1917, and is still censoring them, is beyond any comprehension. And also why the Government should saddle itself with this added burden, when on the other hand it is trying to reduce war expenses, is a mystery. The cables, except for the last few days, have been worked to capacity, and Government operation cannot increase that capacity nor make rates cheaper. In fact I have no doubt that Government operation will result in loss, just as the Government operation of the land lines will result in very heavy loss.

Of course it will result in loss, just as there has been a staggering loss in the operation of the railroads. But what does that matter? The taxpayers pay the loss and they pay the enormously increased railroad fares, and get therefor the worst railroad service ever known. But we are laying the ground for a Socialist Government and a Socialist political campaign, and a prime necessity for both is to grab every public utility in sight, war or no war, and hold on to it.

And a lot of work along these lines has got to be done before the present rubber stamp Congress ends and the recently elected Congress comes into being. Moreover it is hard, exceedingly hard, to renounce autocratic powers when once they have been held and exercised.

In a little over four months now this Democratic Con-

gress, which the Democratic *World* calls a slacker Congress, and which will go down in history as the first rubber stamp Congress the Republic has ever known, will come to an end. However reluctantly, President Wilson in all human probability will be constrained to call the new Congress in extra session many months before the time of the regular session, December, 1919. So there is that blessed relief in sight.

With Whom Shall We Deal?

THE strongest reason why Germany's Constituent Assembly should be formed and meet and do its business before the Peace Conference is held, is this, that we shall not know until then whether there is to be any more Germany or not, save as a "geographical expression"; that is, whether the empire is to be held together or is to be dissolved into a group of separate states. There is much ground for expecting the latter to be the case. The states were united in 1871 under the personal bond of the Hohenzollern dynasty. That dynasty has fallen, and the bond is therefore broken. It is scarcely conceivable that that bond, or another similar to it, can be restored. It is exceedingly doubtful if the states will favor a like union as a federal republic. Bavaria is reported to have proclaimed a republic, but we shall not expect to see her vote for union with Prussia. Of course, if there is such a dissolution of the empire, the problem of the Powers in dealing with it will be much complicated. Since it is as a whole that Germany has waged war against us, we have a right to deal with her as a whole in peace making.

It might, of course, be argued that for that reason it would be best to hold the Peace Conference before the Constituent Assembly, so as to deal with Germany as a whole, before she breaks up. Then, if she did dissolve, she would have to solve for herself the problem of apportioning among the various states the indemnity which she is to pay. In that there is undoubtedly some force. Yet even so, after the one central Government had vanished, the Powers would have to deal with the separate states in the matter of collecting the indemnity. The one supremely essential thing is, that no manoeuvres of reorganizing Governments shall be permitted to relieve Germany of the full penalty which the Powers shall impose upon her.

Reminiscence

(From the *Denver News*)

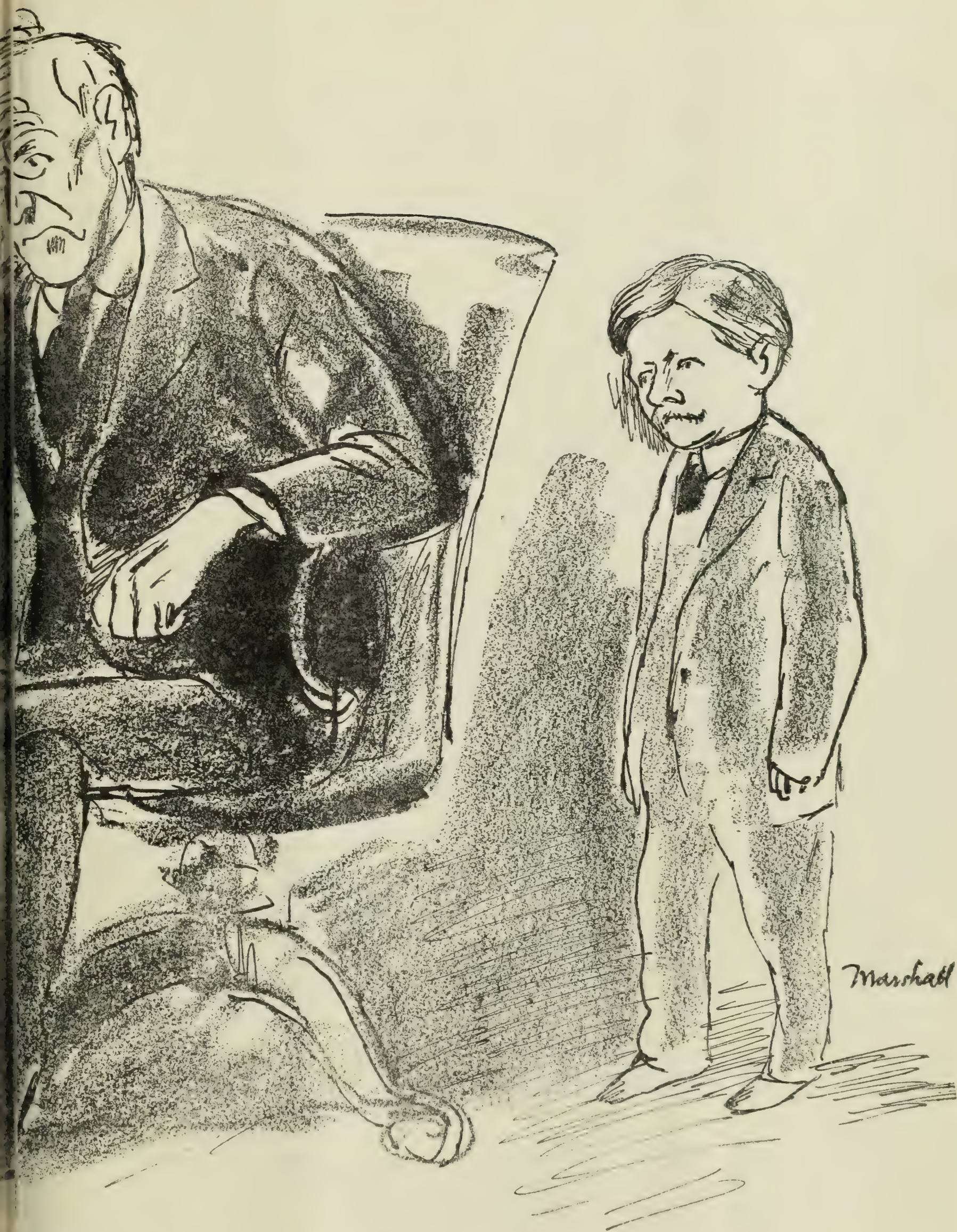
What Col. William Jennings Bryan really thought of Woodrow Wilson, before the latter was nominated for the presidency at Baltimore, is contained in the extract from *Collier's* of Oct. 21, 1916, printed below. The extract is from "Helping to Make a President," by William Inglis, confidential associate of Col. George Harvey, who, more than any one man, brought Mr. Wilson to the highest office. Mr. Inglis tells the entire story, and, in showing Mr. Bryan's views, said:

"There was plenty of politics on the way to Trenton. Mr. Bryan began immediately to talk about Wilson, and Clark, either of whom he said was acceptable to him. Nevertheless, he earnestly urged the Colonel not to commit himself exclusively to Wilson, whose election he feared would bode no good to the Democratic party.

"The simple fact," he said, "is that Wilson is an autocrat by training. He has been dealing as master with schoolboys all his life until now he has reached a point where he cannot meet anybody on a basis of equality. If he should be elected President, everybody else would have to be a servant. Neither you nor I nor anybody else having self-respect could serve a full term in his Cabinet. And when he got through there wouldn't be any Democratic party left. There might be a Wilson party, but the old Democracy would be gone."



OUGHT THE PRESIDE
A Time for Mel



TO GO ABROAD?

and Prayer

The Week

WASHINGTON, November 21, 1918.

BOTH forward and backward march our troops, leaving us to wonder for which of the two movements we are, or should be, the more grateful. At the front they are already across the German frontier and moving forward, as swiftly as prudence may permit, toward the Rhine, to cross that stream and occupy the great fortresses along the further side. Henceforth, for an indefinite period, the "watch on the Rhine" will be maintained by American and Allied forces, without whose permission no German may set foot upon its strand. At home, on the other hand, because of that forward movement at the front, thousands of soldiers are already turning their backs upon the camps and returning to civil life. Mobilization there, demobilization here, in harmonious co-operation; for both of which we offer thanks.

It is to be hoped—and if we do not mistake the temper of our commanders and men alike, the hope will be realized—that there will be no mollicoddle nonsense of "fraternization" between our troops and the Huns as the invasion and occupation of Germany proceeds. Our men are not going in, of course, as ravishers and plunderers and destroyers, but they are none the less going in as conquerors. The Huns are not going to resist them, and therefore are not to be treated as actual belligerents, but they are none the less to be regarded as enemies and as beaten criminals. Our soldiers will remember that even the German civilians with whom they come into contact are, most of them, creatures who applauded the *Lusitania* massacre, the bayonetting of babies, the ravishing of women, and the torture of prisoners of war. There must be no savagery practiced upon them in reprisals, but neither should there be any human kindness shown to them. They should be made to feel that they are regarded with abhorrence, and as quite unfit for the fellowship of brave and decent men. Such an attitude toward them on our part will be the surest means of making them realize, as it is quite evident they do not yet realize, the turpitude of their recent conduct and the necessity of their wholly changing their ways before they can be admitted into the equal community of civilized nations.

That they do not realize this, or else that they are most insolently perverse and defiant in their vileness, is made evident by two incidents since the signing of the armistice. One was the appeal of German women to the wife of the President, for her intervention in their behalf, and the other was Dr. Solf's request that a German food commission might be sent hither. Practically the German women said: "We have been applauding our husbands and brothers and sons in every conceivable outrage and crime against the womanhood of the world; and now we ask the women of the world to save us from the just penalty of those crimes." Similarly monstrous was Solf's request, with its reference to Mr. Hoover's work in Belgium. Practically he said: "Your man Hoover did so splendidly in succoring the Belgians from our attempt to destroy them, that we want him now to come and succor us." It is simply impossible that any man with even a rudimentary sense of justice, of decency, or of humor, could have said such a thing. However, we are glad that such things are being said by Germans; to keep us reminded with what manner of people we have to deal.

The appeal of the German women to the wife of the President for her intercession, in order that they may not go hungry, is doubtless very touching, and will have its reward. Our memory may be fallible, but we really cannot recollect that these or any other German women uttered one word of protest against the wholesale ravishing of women and girls and murdering of babies, in Belgium and France, or expressed any sympathy whatever with the starving millions of those countries. We do recall many authentic testimonies to the effect that the women of Germany were more savage than the men in insulting and even assaulting helpless prisoners of war, and we have a keen recollection of the almost hysterical delight which German women, even right here in America, manifested over the news of the massacre of women and children on the *Lusitania*.

One of the very wisest and best things that the President has done in the whole peacemaking business was to refuse to entertain any more appeals from Germany to this country and to insist that all such communications be addressed to the Allied council. There had already been too much separate dickering between this country and Germany. We are not bound to unity of action with the other Powers by a formal pact, such as unites Great Britain, France and Italy; but the unwritten "gentlemen's agreement," sealed and sanctified with the blood of a dozen victorious battlefields, should be sufficiently binding to restrain us from a single word or act toward the common enemy that is not in exact accord with the Allies. Until the final articles of peace are signed and promulgated, any communication of any character from Germany to this country should be returned unanswered. Indeed, we should refuse even to receive it or to acquaint ourselves with its contents. To do otherwise would be to play falsely toward those who for four years and more have been so unwaveringly loyal to us.

Never, we should say, was there a finer or more striking bit of "poetic justice" in the world than was seen in the identity of the most advanced points occupied by the French and British at the cessation of fighting. The French, with their American allies, had just entered Sedan. That was the place where France received her all but fatal blow, forty-eight years before. It was the place of all places in which it was fitting for her to give the wholly fatal blow to the Hunnish despoiler. The British had just recaptured Mons. That was the place where, four years before, began the martyrdom of that "contemptible little army" which between Mons and Ypres died that the world might live. Sedan and Mons—names transfigured from gloom to glory. We have called it "poetic justice." It was not. It was the justice of Divine predestination.

The Berlin *Vorwaerts* does well to discountenance the suggestion that the new Government in Germany, Democratic, Socialist, Bolshevik, or whatever it may be, should repudiate the public debts of the empire. True, it was Germany that put the Russian Bolsheviks up to precisely that game. But there is a difference. For one thing your true German never wants to take the medicine which he prescribes for others. For another, the German debt is far more largely held at home than is the Russian. It was one thing to advise and urge Russian

revolutionists to swindle France. It would be a very different thing for German revolutionists to swindle Germany.

It is doubtless wise and most commendable for the Germans to include representatives of all their leading political parties in the Cabinet of the new Government, and not compose that body entirely of Socialists, as was apparently at first intended. It is also logical and fitting—however disgusting it may appear to us—for them to select for such places two of the most detestable unhanged criminals in their whole country. There are not half a dozen men in all Germany more intimately identified with the vilest and worst features of Hunnishness than Bernard Dernburg and Matthias Erzberger, or who lent themselves to all the Hohenzollern devilties with more eager zeal through sheer love of the work. Yet it is fitting that they should now be put at the head of affairs, as a token that Germany has merely changed the name and form of her government, but not its essential spirit or the spirit of her people. Huns they were, Huns they are, and Huns they seem likely to remain, until “that one far off, divine event toward which the whole creation moves.”

Rises up James E. Martine, the “farmer orator of New Jersey,” also incidentally for one term United States Senator by the grace of Woodrow Wilson, and from his *otio cum dignitate* speaks words of pure wisdom. “Do I favor the proposed trip of the President to the Peace Conference? Decidedly no! As to who I would suggest, I would say that American interests and humanity would be safe in the hands of Lindley M. Garrison and William H. Taft. No better men could be named. The League of Nations is a dream, for us impractical and un-American.” Barring the one obvious contradiction, that pronouncement inspires us with regret that the President did not return to his former love and urge the election of the “farmer orator” as his personal candidate for the Senate, rather than go philandering about Jimham Lewis and the Father of Edsel. But perhaps some of the very sentiments which we have quoted explain why he didn't.

There is one department of war work which the country will be glad to see continued with unabated energy, the more so because it is the one which, after it got started, has been perhaps of all most efficiently prosecuted. That is the building of mercantile shipping. Our output has this year been enormous, and it is steadily increasing, month by month; and that process should be continued. We must remember that while we started this huge shipbuilding programme for the sake of prosecuting war campaigns, the vessels will be equally useful through many years of coming peace; in that respect differing from things made exclusively for war. Moreover, despite the enormous output of our yards and those of Great Britain, there is still a deficit in the world's shipping from what there was before the war. We must not merely make up that deficit but also go far beyond it, for hereafter, unless we are incredibly stupid and neglectful, we shall have far more use for mercantile shipping than ever before in our history. So let the shipyards keep right on at full normal capacity.

If, as the veracious Huns have untiringly assured us, the Alsatians are all Germans and want to remain German, how can they explain their piteous appeal for protection for their

retiring troops against the possible wrath and violence of the public? Is the answer identical with that to a certain famous conundrum: The boy lied?

We don't believe in riots in the streets of American cities, but we don't believe, either, in the flaunting of red flags as opposed to the Stars and Stripes, or in cheering for the Bolsheviks. As a matter of fact, the latter offense is nothing short of sedition, since the Bolsheviks of Russia are at war with the United States.

William Hohenzollern must be credited with having told one truth, though it was unintentional and was coupled with a lie. He said that he had not fled from Germany, but had voluntarily left that country for its own good. There can be no doubt that it was for Germany's good, though he did not intend it to be so.

Belgium's bill for repairs made necessary by German devastation and theft is said to amount to more than four billion dollars. We assume that the peace conference will approve it and order it paid in full, making it a first lien and levy upon all available German assets. An expensive “scrap of paper,” that violated treaty.

Mr. Lloyd George insists upon a League of Nations as “absolutely essential to permanent peace”; and also approves the President's Third Commandment forbidding the maintenance or erection of any commercial barriers between nations. It would be interesting to have the British statesman's interpretation of that Commandment, and to know whether he regards it in the perfectly obvious and natural light of a provision for Free Trade. We have some recollection of Richard Cobden's having prescribed universal free trade as the basis of a league of nations which should infallibly banish wars and rumors of wars from this planet; and we must confess that the President's and the Prime Minister's utterances taken together, in that “community of thought and counsel” which the President finds so delightful, are thereof irresistibly reminiscent.

Mr. Henry Morgenthau relates that while he was American Ambassador at Constantinople the German Ambassador, Baron von Wangenheim, told him that at the end of the war Germany would compel France to surrender all her art treasures—those that Germany had not already destroyed, we suppose he meant—and to pay in addition an indemnity of twenty billion dollars.

Memo.: To be recalled at the coming Peace Conference.

According to a special cable to the *Tribune*, about the first question William Hohenzollern asked on reaching Holland was how much of a frost there had been the night before—the night on which he was scuttling out of Belgium into neutral territory. Which of the two, the correspondent or the Hun, is the humorist?

“The ruling spirit strong in death”: even in their retirement under the terms of the armistice, the German soldiers continue to the last their thievish and destructive practices.

Why We Are "Agin It"

WE are, as we have said, against any hard and fast alliance with Great Britain, or with any other country. "But," asks a correspondent, G. S. C., "why are you agin it? I am strong for it. Kindly convince me otherwise, if you can." With pleasure, and we think we can. Of course, we might legitimately ask our friend to tell us first why he is for it. Seeing that it is he who proposes to change an order of things that has been established from the first, it is for him to give reasons for that change before we give any against it. To paraphrase a familiar maxim of law, a thing is assumed to be good until it is proved bad. However, the case seems to us so obvious, that we gladly waive technicalities of precedence, and tell why we are agin it.

We are agin it because it is contrary to a policy of this nation which has been established and unbroken from the beginning, and which has never been mischievous, but always beneficent. We are conservative enough to have regard for stability of fundamental principles. That the United States should refrain from such alliances was distinctly foreshadowed in the Declaration of Independence, with its reference to our holding all nations of the world alike, "enemies in war, in peace friends." It was unmistakably implied in Washington's neutrality proclamation, which marked an epoch in international relations. It was explicitly urged by Washington in his Farewell Address. It was, finally, proclaimed to the world in the Monroe Doctrine. Remember, please, that while Jefferson and Madison would have had that Doctrine made a joint declaration of America and Great Britain, coincident with an alliance of the two countries, Monroe and Adams more wisely decided to make it the act of America alone and to refrain from such alliance.

We are agin it, because such alliances are generally offensive to the comity of nations. There is a wise and just clause in commercial and other treaties which provides that each nation shall receive from the other all the advantages granted to "the most favored nation." There should be a similar equality among nations in all respects, save where one nation outlaws itself as the Huns have done. To make an alliance with one country and not with another would not conduce to the friendliest relations with the latter. Our ideal is to be equally friendly with all.

We are agin it because it would be contrary to our interests. If it were a sufficiently intimate and binding alliance to amount to anything at all, it would put us in grave danger of becoming involved in affairs of other nations which were no concern of ours, and that in turn would involve other nations in affairs of ours which were no concern of theirs.

We are agin it, because it is altogether unnecessary. It would and could serve no useful purpose which could not as well be served without it. Such an alliance cannot be needed to assure the maintenance of peace between the two nations, or to promote their intimate intercourse; seeing that without it for more than a hundred years we have had unbroken peace and steadily increasing intimacy and confidence of association. It cannot be needed for the assurance of sympathetic aid in emergencies; seeing that there was no such alliance when Tatnall at the Pei-Ho declared "Blood is thicker than water!" or when Lambton Lorraine compelled the sparing of American lives at the muzzles of double-shotted British guns, or yet when Chichester placed his fleet at Dewey's command in

case Diederichs grew too obstreperous. It cannot be needed for co-operation for victory in war; seeing what has just been happening without it on the plains of Flanders and amid the hills of France.

These are some of the reasons why we are opposed to an alliance—that is, a hard and fast offensive and defensive alliance—with Great Britain or with any other Power. The same reasons, or some of them, are equally opposed to such a League of Nations as some men of light and leading are now urging. Senator Owen, advocating such an organization, declared that "It is a League of Nations that has conquered on the battlefields of Europe"; to which Senator Poindexter aptly responded that the United States had not joined that League. It will not escape notice, either, that it was a league of nations that planned and precipitated the war. Seeing how efficiently and successfully we have coöperated with European nations during the war without any formal alliance or league, we have faith to believe that we can similarly coöperate with them in the making of peace and in the maintenance of peace, without any such entanglement. No alliance nor league was needed for sending two million men to France and putting them under Foch's supreme command. None will be needed for sending authoritative commissioners to Versailles to complete the work of peacemaking. None will be needed for the maintenance of the principles there adopted.

Yes; we are agin it. We cannot persuade ourselves that the experience of a hundred and twenty-two years has disproved the practical wisdom of that memorable utterance:

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. . . 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. . . Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

If, in the greatest emergency this nation or the world has ever known or is likely to know, a temporary alliance, which is indeed not even so much as a formal alliance, proves adequate to all our needs, and to all the needs of other nations, there can be no occasion and no reason for the abandonment of a policy which from the very birth of the nation has been fundamental and dominant: "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all; entangling alliances with none."

The New Sorrows of Werther

"**W**OE is me, Alhama!" There is a sound of weeping, passionate but low, in Fulton Street, and the sanctum sanctorum of *The Nation* is whelmed in fearsome gloom. A triple apprehension fills the place, and three-fold fear weighs down the heart of Werther. There is danger, as the hesitant vision scans the future's foreboded depths, first, that the victorious Allies will be guilty of "exacting enormous indemnities from the German people"; second, that in Russia and perhaps also in Austria-Hungary, the Allies will intervene against the Bolsheviki who are waging war against them and will assist the sane and honest elements of those countries to establish sane and honest Governments; and third, that—in Werther's own lady-like locution—President Wilson will "sink to the level of a Roosevelt or a Taft." In faith, an horrendous outlook!

It would indeed be a dreadful thing to require Germany to pay Belgium and France the money she has stolen from them in forced levies, and the cost of repairing the wanton damage which she has done to their property. It would be quite shocking to make the poor Huns give back the millions which they extorted from Belgian cities under threats of murdering so many citizens a day until the blackmail was forthcoming. It would be really scandalous to compel them to pay for the rebuilding of Louvain. These are the things of which "the heedless ones like Mr. Taft have so glibly talked," to the unspeakable pain of Werther. Who ever heard of such a thing as making a thief disgorge his loot? Why, it was for plunder that Germany planned and entered and waged the war, and to take any of her plunder away from her would to that extent defeat her purpose; which of course would never, never do. We should think not!

Equally revolting is the suggestion that we should stand by the law-abiding elements of Russia which are striving to keep faith with us and with the world and to establish a Government with which our own can maintain relations, and that we should take sides against the lawless elements which have repudiated all obligations of responsible government and have, to boot, practically declared war against us. What? Oppose the gentle Bolshevik, who repudiates his debts, calls treaties scraps of paper, and slits the throat of every man who accumulates property and wears a clean shirt? What an infamous proposition! Does not this Bolshevik, by abrogating the Sixth and Eighth Commandments, put into practice the right of self-determination? What right have we to "interfere in the domestic concerns of any country"? Why, pretty soon some of "the heedless ones like Mr. Taft" will pretend that we would have a right to invade Germany itself, just because Germany was waging war against us!

Finally, as to what we must suppose to be, to Werther, sorrow's crown of sorrows, the fearsome foreboding that the President will "sink to the level of a Roosevelt or a Taft," it must be recognized that it is indeed an appalling outlook. In two respects it affronts reason and it also plays tiddley-winks with righteousness. Consider how it would reverse, upset and abrogate that law of gravitation upon which rests the fame of poor old Newton! Consider, too, the disastrous potentialities of thus placing upon the same level two imperious souls, each of whom is known to "bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne." Consider, most dire and distressful of all, the unsolaced solitude of eminence in which Werther himself would thus be left!

Again, What is the Answer?

THERE were unloaded at the American base ports in France 919,000 tons of supplies and equipment during the month of October, this being an increase of nearly 20 per cent over the previous month. The figures are furnished by an Associated Press dispatch from Tours, France.

In the WAR WEEKLY of October 5 we printed an article entitled, "What Is the Answer?" in which we pointed out that there were just 74 ship berths available for the American bases in France; that the maximum average unloading capacity per berth, per day, was 500 tons; that the average need, per man, for the expeditionary army, as demonstrated by the experience of the French and British, was 45 pounds of sup-

plies, ammunition and equipment per day; and that reducing the unloading capacity of the American dock facilities to pounds, they showed a capacity to provide for an army of only 1,645,000 men. We then invited Secretary Baker to explain how he purposed to provide for an expeditionary force of 4,000,000 men, and why he had flatly rejected the recommendations of the engineers who had begged him, last Spring, to permit them to double the capacity of the unloading docks.

The article led to some criticism. A Naval Reserve lieutenant, who lacked the courage to sign his name, wrote that our figures were sadly inaccurate, that he had known of ships unloading 1,200 tons per day, and more. We knew at the time that the average rate of unloading was from 350 to 400 tons per ship, per day, but were not at liberty to state our authority. Secretary Baker, who had just returned from his second trip to France, gave to the press a vague and misleading statement in which he asserted that the docking facilities in France were "amply adequate." Through the prescribed channel, we requested the Committee on Public Information for the actual unloading figures, and were informed that that was "military information which it would be improper to disclose"—the customary method of protecting Mr. Baker's misrepresentations.

Now the figures are made public, obviously from official sources. They show that our statement was extremely conservative: that the actual average rate of discharging cargo was not 500 tons, but 400 tons, per day, per ship berth, during the month of October, and that this was an increase of 20 per cent over all months prior to the appearance of the article in the WAR WEEKLY, when the average discharge had been less than 350 tons. Reduced to pounds and divided by 45,—the daily requirement per man, per day,—the discharge for October shows a capacity to provide for an army of only 1,318,000 men, showing that during October the Expeditionary Army must have been drawing on its reserve supply, and possibly on the assistance of the Allies. With the cessation of hostilities and diminished need for ammunition, the daily requirement is doubtless reduced, but still we ask, How did Mr. Baker purpose to provide for an army of 4,000,000 men? What is the answer?

The Grandeur of Littleness

WERE it possible for a Hun to feel any such emotion as shame, which demonstrably it is not, the Potsdam Minister to Greece must have had a tingling as to his ears when he heard the reply of staunch old Venizelos to his scoundrelly proposition that Greece abandon her ally Serbia and then, under gracious Hun permission, absorb that then sorely afflicted country within her own boundaries.

"You will allow me to translate your offer in my own words," said Venizelos: "What you do is this: You ask me to dishonor my own signature, to dishonor my country, and to violate its obligations toward Serbia, and as remuneration you offer me a part of the corpse of that which I am expected to kill. My country is too little to commit so great an infamy."

Too little to commit an infamy! Here surely is Little-ness raised to Grandeur itself! Great was Greece at that moment with a greatness undreamed of by the bloated beast of a German Empire, with its aspirations to world dominion.

Byron's lines to the contrary, all except the sun of Greece has very far from set as long as there is a Venizelos within her borders. It is only the great, it would seem, according to these flaming words of the Greek patriot, who can commit infamies. A great sentiment, a very searching sentiment. As the French would say, it gives something to think about. A great sentiment and a great truth, as many examples from the pages of Central Empire history, and from the pages of other history as well, only too surely verify.

But the day of national infamies, whether of great or little nations, is now drawing to a close, let us hope. It was that it might draw to a close and never dawn again upon a harassed world that these millions of men laid down their lives during the past four years. It was for this that the greatest war in all history was fought through its seas of blood, its wreckage, its ruin, its horrors unspeakable.

Surely there is hope and radiant promise of a better world for generations yet to come in the tremendous fact that for such a cause millions of men were willing to and did lay down their lives and sacrifice all that was dear to them. They slew the ravening beast that was big enough and great enough for any infamy, but whose very infamies were his own undoing.

Germany, too little in her greatness to be beyond infamy, is dead, her memory a loathing and an execration. Greece, too great in her littleness to stoop to infamy, even with the bayonet at her throat, lives in a luster worthy of her glorious past!

Sweep Out the Litter!

ONE of the matters which should engage early attention in the readjustment to peace conditions is the depopulation of the innumerable War Service offices in Washington. This is recommended not only on economical but on sanitary grounds as well. There is disgraceful overcrowding both in the offices themselves and in Washington's lodging houses. On the floor of the House of Representatives recently the case was cited of twelve clerks all living in one room and all, or most of them, ill of influenza. In the same debate it was asserted that one Bureau had not even standing room, let alone desk room, for its vast armies of employees. In the recent debate in the Senate over proposed allotments of public lands to discharged soldiers and sailors, Mr. Smoot said that in some of the recently created bureaus over 10,000 people were employed.

Senator Smoot was well within the mark. As quoted in the WAR WEEKLY of Nov. 16th, Representative Madden said, during the course of a House debate, that there were 14,000 employees in the War Risks Bureau alone, about 4,000 having been taken on within a few weeks. The total number of these hordes of political appointees, a heavy percentage of them being sheer parasites, salaried idlers, has, to our knowledge, never been made known. But obviously it would reach a stupendous figure. Beyond doubt it would surpass in numbers the combined Northern and Southern armies engaged at Gettysburg. And the cost, estimated in the mere terms of wanton money waste involved, would be something staggering had not the war taught us to regard millions as "chicken feed," and only figures running into billions as worthy of serious consideration.

As to the percentage of this actual money waste in the

payment of these hordes of pensioned but doubtless deserving Democrats that the sorely taxed people of the country are forced to supply, Senator Smoot made an interesting statement. He said that the Head of a Division in one of these swarming hives of the salaried unemployed had told him that if allowed to select 40 per cent of the employees of the Bureau in question, and if also allowed to direct their work, he, the Division Head, would undertake to get more work done than was being turned out by the actual 100 per cent then on the pay rolls.

At this rate, of the tens of thousands of employees in all the Bureaus, over half of them are doing nothing whatever to earn their money. In other words, the heavily burdened tax payers and war loan purchasers and thrift stamp buyers and voluntary contributors who through all their generous pores have been bleeding money and depriving themselves and their dependents that they might thus freely give—these same patriotic American people have been and are being saddled with the cost of supporting thousands upon thousands of useless drones.

And that is, perhaps, not the worst of it. There are even now indications of an intent to make this abuse more or less permanent. In the Senate debate which evoked the above mentioned criticism by Mr. Smoot, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, said:

I fully concur in the statement so frequently made here that there are in this District perhaps 50 per cent more employees so called, than are necessary. I do not think there is any question about it. The chances are—and I understand they are organizing for the purpose, and that means political power—that an effort will be made to secure their permanent retention in office.

If the officials or the legislators responsible for this disgraceful state of affairs do not take steps, and that speedily, to remedy it they are apt to hear from the country in a way that they will not with impunity ignore. The fact has long been notorious. Washington's floating armies of the pensioned unemployed for months upon months have been both the joke and the scandal of the District of Columbia. But it was war time. Waste and extravagance are the natural concomitants of war work and war conditions. So the salaried idlers were allowed to come and go unquestioned.

But the war is over. It is housecleaning time in all the myriad Departments and Bureaus the war brought into being. Every one of these Loafer's Snug Harbors must be depopulated. If politicians are dreaming of making them permanent they had best revise their reveries. The spree is over. Sweep out the litter.

The Fall of Constantinople

THE fall of Constantinople is for obvious reasons surpassed in popular interest by various other achievements of the war. In high historic significance it ranks second to none. For reasons of laudable sentiment, and of propinquity, the Belgian reoccupation of Brussels, the British advance to Mons, the French redemption of Metz and Strasbourg (let us give that name its French spelling henceforth) loom larger in the eye. Yet not one nor all of them can be reckoned as quite so great an event in the annals of the world as the passing of the Ottoman sceptre from the city of Constantine.

It is a noteworthy fact that this is only the third time in

Belgian Independence

BELGIUM is not merely to be restored, but is to be put into a more advantageous position than that which she occupied before the war. It is officially announced that she will no longer be satisfied with the "guaranteed neutrality" which was given to her or was imposed upon her in 1830, but will insist upon "complete independence, political, economical and military, without condition or restriction." The establishment of such a status will be by no means the least interesting or least significant of the changes which the war will cause in the political constitution of Europe.

It is to be assumed that the Powers in council will ungrudgingly accede to this demand, for various reasons. One is, that the service which Belgium rendered to the world by resisting German invasion was so great, and the suffering which she in consequence endured was so atrocious, that she is entitled to receive any recompense which she may desire. It has been said from the beginning that at the end of the war, whatever Belgium wants, she must have. That promise must not be repudiated.

Another reason is that Belgium is as much entitled to such independence as any other country. It is true that she is small in size and important in strategic situation. But precisely the same may be said of other small countries, such as Holland and Denmark. Moreover, one of the principles for which we have been fighting in this war is the equal rights of nations to independence, regardless of their size.

Again, it must be remembered that we have been fighting, and have loudly proclaimed that we have been fighting, to vindicate and to confirm the right of all peoples to self-determination. If, then, the Belgians declare that they wish to be, not a protected or a guaranteed, but a completely independent state, we are morally bound to grant them their desire. If we do not, we repudiate our own professions.

There is still another reason, which it is less pleasant to recall, but which is pertinent and potent. That is, that the status of "guaranteed neutrality" has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The "guarantee" proved ineffective. It was a mere "scrap of paper." In spite of it Belgium was attacked, overrun and ravished every bit as badly as would have been possible if there had been no guarantee of her protected neutrality. In view of that disastrous experience under that system, Belgium is certainly justifiable in asking that it be abandoned and that another be substituted for it. She could not possibly fare worse under independence than she has fared under guaranteed neutrality.

But the acquiescence of the Powers in her demand should not, must not, absolve them from all responsibility for or interest in the protection of the rights of small states. If Belgium becomes independent instead of guaranteed, the Powers must continue to be just as ready to vindicate her integrity under the new system as they were under the old. That is because as a result of this war they are going to establish and maintain the principle of the inviolability of sovereign states—save for cause—regardless of whether they are large or small. That is to say, every state hereafter must be independent, and every state must be guaranteed. That is the new and enlightened system which Belgium, through her martyrdom, has potentially introduced to the world.

nearly sixteen centuries that Constantinople has been entered by a conquering foe. Avars and Arabs, Bulgars and Varangians, raged in vain against its stupendous ramparts, probably the most ponderous and powerful ever erected by man. It was nearly nine centuries before it was conquered, and then it yielded in fratricidal strife to those for whom it had long been a bulwark of defence, the Christian Powers of Western Europe which, on their Fourth Crusade, turned aside from the Moslem foe to fight their fellow-Christians, Latin against Greek. Two and a half centuries later the second fall of the city occurred, the fall which marks an epoch in history.

And now, more than four and a half centuries later still, comes the third and, we may hope, the final fall.

It is another noteworthy fact, suggesting the strategic importance of the place selected by the genius of Constantine to be the capital of the world, that in each of the three conquests there has been involved as the chief issue control of what we may call the highway of empire. The Crusaders attacked and conquered the city in 1203-04 primarily, if not solely, because they wanted to use it as a passage way from Europe into Asia. We cannot say that such was the object of the Ottoman Turks in 1453, since they had already crossed over into Thrace and established themselves at Adrianople; but it is certain that their capture of the place barred the great high road from Europe to the East and thus transformed the geography and history of the world by sending navigators to seek other routes to India, around the Cape of Good Hope and straight westward across the Atlantic.

Now this third fall of the city again involves the great highway in a double sense. It frustrates forever the German plans for a route of military and commercial conquest from Berlin to the Indian Ocean, and it assures the reopening of that route, closed in 1453, to all the well-disposed peoples of the world. It was in the expectation of establishing a route of conquest that the Kaiser of the Huns made his compact with the Sultan of the Turks, and thus dragged the latter to imperial ruin, and it is the fine irony of fate that not only is the Kaiser's design defeated, but also that the Sultan's control of that world-highway is brought to an end.

One other historic circumstance is worthy of remembrance. For centuries there had been a popular prophecy, of unknown authorship, to the effect that the end of Ottoman rule should come, and the redemption of the city should be achieved, when a King Constantine and a Queen Sophia were on the throne of Greece.

There never were such king and queen until shortly before the present war, and upon their accession five and a half years ago there were many believers in prophecies and omens who looked for the fall of the Sultan and the triumphant entrance of the Greek sovereigns into the city on the Bosphorus. The prophecy has indeed been half fulfilled, and its far more important half. It was in the reign of Constantine and Sophia of Greece that the Turks became involved in the war which caused the fall of Constantinople, though through their own perversity and perfidy that king and queen were lebarred from entering the city as its rulers.

There have been many distinguished achievements in this war, but no others extend in interest quite so far back into ancient history as the expulsion of the Turkish power from Constantinople, and the restoration of Jerusalem to the Jews; both of which are now assured.

Letters From Our Readers

WILL MR. TAFT PLEASE ANSWER?

SIR,—We entertain for Mr. Taft the same feeling of respect and admiration that the great majority of his fellow countrymen hold. They admire him for his sincerity and devotion to public duty; for the way in which he has taken up exacting and ungrateful tasks as his patriotic contribution to winning the war. He has been modest, self effacing, patient; he has set a fine example that has been most valuable; he has refrained from unwarranted criticism and given encouragement. We indulge in no empty phrases when we say this, we say it in sincerity, and with equal sincerity we address our question to him.

Mr. Taft is the President of the League to Enforce Peace, and it is because of his presidency that a vitality and an impetus has been given to the idealistic aspiration of so many good people that after this war there will be formed a league of the great nations that will make future wars impossible. Many persons, well meaning but illogical, are seduced by an idea, by a high sounding declaration, by hopes impossible of realization. Mr. Taft has the judicial mind. He weighs carefully and decides on the evidence. It is impossible that he should give his sanction to a manifest impossibility. If the doubts we are about to raise have no foundation he can dispel them.

As we understand the platform of the League of Nations, it is proposed that the great Powers shall constitute themselves a high court of international justice with the physical force to execute their mandate. Should Austria in the future, for example, have a real or imaginary grievance against a Balkan neighbor, Austria must not deliver an ultimatum and begin hostilities, but the merits of the issue must be passed upon by the other members of the League, and if they should declare that the complaint is without merit, a declaration of war on the part of Austria would align the League against her, to the extent even of using their physical force, that is their armies and their navies, to prevent contemplated injustice and destroying the peace of the world. In brief, the relations between nations must be those between individuals. If an individual has been wronged he goes to court; if the decision is adverse and he seeks to reverse it by taking the law into his own hands, society, represented by the law, with adequate force to compel obedience, protects the weak and punishes the transgressor.

We shall now assume that the League has been formed and that in the interests of civilization Austria must not be permitted to crush a weak neighbor. When the armed forces of the League are brought into operation there must be a supreme commander, that honor in turn being enjoyed by every nation. We shall assume that in the momentous year when armies must again take the field and the navies of the world are mobilized, a German is the Generalissimo of the League. The question we ask Mr. Taft—and we think it is a question that in all candor ought to be answered—is this: Would Mr. Taft be willing to have his son serve under a German general and be compelled to obey the orders of his superior German officers, or disobey them and risk the penalty?

Mr. Taft's son is now in the American army, and with the same modesty and high sense of devotion that mark his father, he entered the ranks as did hundreds of thousands of other young Americans, asking no favors, seeking no influence, but willing to rely on his own merits to advance. Mr. Taft had no fears when he learned that American troops—which possibly included his own son—were to be brigaded with British and French, that his son was to be under the orders of an Englishman or a Frenchman and to obey his commands. Mr. Taft could hear this unmoved because he knew that no Englishman or no Frenchman would command his son to do anything revolting to his manhood or his conscience. He would not order him to mutilate, to torture, to destroy, to steal. He would not degrade the soldier or tarnish the soldier's honor. Would Mr. Taft have the same feeling of security if it was a German instead of an Englishman or a Frenchman in command?

What American father would be willing to have his son serve in a navy under the supreme authority of a German admiral? American ships have taken their orders from British commanders, British ships have obeyed American officers, because no Englishman has feared the American would order him to sink defenceless passenger vessels, and every American has known he would not be required to shell lifeboats, or attack hospital ships or commit murder on the high seas. These things the Germans have done, and these things the Germans will do again. Would any American father having a son in command of a ship expect his son to obey; would he not know that his son would refuse, and by his refusal pay with his life rather than surrender his ideals?

With the barrier of language between them, Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians have been joined in the spirit. Between us and the Germans, between us and our Allies and the Germans this spiritual kinship cannot exist. We shall not say that it never will exist—that we leave to time and civilization—but we do say that now and in the immediate future there can be nothing in common between the German and the rest of the

world. Defeat will not change the German. Defeat will no more change the German than capture will rid the man-eating tiger of his appetite, although behind iron bars he may not be able to gratify it. We cannot take the German into our fellowship. We cannot admit him into our League because he is not of us. He not only thinks differently but he acts differently. Our morality is not his, and, God be thanked, his morality is not ours. We walk in the light and sometimes sin in our blindness, but he sins in the light and rejoices. He is a Hun.

We repeat, it is inconceivable that any American, who thinks for himself and is not deluded by a phrase, could sanction his course of conduct or that of his son being dictated by a German. It is impossible for one reason if for no other: the German, by instinct, by training and by tradition, is an immoral being. How does Mr. Taft propose to meet this objection?

New York City.

H. J. AND K. T. WOOD.

AN IMPULSE FROM VERMONT

SIR,—Permit me to indulge an emotional impulse, before my blood relapses into the sluggish channels that life in a country village far removed from men and things is so apt to encourage and foster, and to thank you for your vigorous thought expressed with such clear headed precision in your editorial (I suppose) in the WAR WEEKLY, which I read in last night's Boston Transcript. It has often surprised me to find among the young men and women (as I suppose their ideas on such matters are in these days to be considered seriously) of to-day lamentable ignorance of the most elementary principles of our government under the Constitution, and the loosest kind of notions and reasoning about the foundations upon which the frame of our free government rests. The youth of this country ought to be fed with such sound talk as you are giving, and I happen to know some, by no means youthful, whom it would benefit if they would give it hospitality. My notice was called to the WAR WEEKLY only the other day, and "God Save the Republic" has confirmed my desire to have the paper come to me regularly.

Windsor, Vt.

SHERMAN EVARTS.

"TRUE-BLUE AMERICANISM"

SIR,—We are proud, indeed, to have so splendid a representative of true blue Americanism at the head of a journal such as your WAR WEEKLY. It is a powerful appeal to our people.

Long may your trenchant pen continue to disseminate, as it has done, the principles and ideas which make for Justice,—for Liberty, Fraternity and Equality.

Mansfield, Ohio.

C. H. WORKMAN.

MORAL COURAGE

SIR,—In my opinion you have shown yourself possessed of more moral courage than any other public man in this country.

Your example of conscientious and patriotic protest cannot but have a most wholesome and stimulating effect, especially upon the newspaper press of this country, which in the main has allowed itself to be cowed into unpatriotic and supine speechlessness.

New York City.

JOHN LARKIN.

THE "WAR WEEKLY" IN COLORADO

SIR,—Your WAR WEEKLY has been my political bible for some time.

The front page editorial of the November 2nd issue entitled, "God Save the Republic", was unsurpassable. Now that election is over, it would be proper for you above all men to devote some space to another front page editorial with some such title as, "God Praise the Republic."

Do not be so modest, good sir, as to think your wonderfully trenchant pen did not do its good part in bringing about the lesson our good "Caesar" so richly deserved.

Your WAR WEEKLY has been widely read throughout the State, as almost every town I have visited has its subscribers. In addition, your paper was passed from hand to hand, and in this way did very effective work.

When the President asked the people to support all Democrats instead of all Congressmen, regardless of politics, who had supported the War, and by innuendo condemned a Kahn and praised a Dent, he got the "dent" all right, but not the one he was looking for. Colorado especially was insulted when Keating, her anti-war Congressman, was endorsed over a real patriot, Hardy, by a special telegram. Keating lost by about three thousand.

Keep that WAR WEEKLY coming, regardless of the duration of the War. The country needs it. You have your finger on the people's pulse.

From this time on wouldn't a good motto for all political parties in the United States be:

"Don't play pin-headed politics in war time."

Montrose, Col.

CHARLES J. MOYNIHAN.

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

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We Render an Accounting

THIS Thanksgiving Week seems to be a fitting time for this WAR WEEKLY to render an accounting to its readers, of whom we have to confess, not to brag, there are many, many more than we ever dreamed there would be. As to that, however, remarks are hardly in order for the simple reason that it is a phase of the publication to which we have paid no attention. The WAR WEEKLY was put forth as a mere appendant of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW in response to a quite common expression of desire from readers of that venerable periodical. It did not seek subscriptions. Each copy cost more to make than the purchaser paid, and advertisements, which probably could not have been obtained anyway, were barred.

It was not, in fact, as we announced at the time, a commercial undertaking. It had a single purpose. That was to help to win the war. Things looked bad, shockingly, distressingly bad, when the first number appeared in the first week of January. We told about it in THE REVIEW for last September:

It was an easy-going time. The country was apathetic. Washington was complacent. Congress was ambling along. Baseball held its accustomed sway. The Secretary of War was picking pansies and marking time by his new wrist watch. The President was in a fair way to get the army of 500,000 men which, in his call to arms, he had deemed sufficient to put the fear of God into the hearts of the enemy. Pershing was on his way with a handful of soldiers to hearten our allies. All was well. Peace was in the air.

That was as of August, 1917, four months after we entered the war. The situation was appalling. We fairly screamed in the number for September, 1917; but, again quoting from September, 1918:

It was as a voice crying in the wilderness. The veil of secrecy was drawn. Pertinent queries were brushed aside as merely annoying or stamped upon as prompted by unpatriotic impulse. The Secretary of War smiled condescendingly at our manifestations of hysteria. The new Department of Information bulged with glorious tales and righteous indignation. America was great but the Administration was greater. Keith's opened for the season.

After continuing to beat our wings helplessly against the cage in October and November, 1917, we put forth in December as solemn and impressive an appeal as we could

indite under the title, "Are We Losing the War?" but—

The warning passed unheeded by the country because it was derided by the Administration. Mr. Baker, serene in his own conceit and wilfully unconscious of actualities, was passing from city to city, from function to function, and in honeyed words was succeeding in lulling the people into a sense of security when he knew or should have known that peril was imminent. The President himself, environed by the sinister enchantment of his pacifist Secretary, spurned the suggestion of possible delinquencies and roundly denounced the patriotic Senator who made the exposure.

That was the situation, the terrifying, intolerable situation, when this WAR WEEKLY was sent forth by its parent REVIEW to *goad the laggard, inefficient Administration into action*. We did not use those exact words, but people caught the idea quickly enough and began to rally around the standard, first by hundreds and then by thousands, until now that the war, praise God, is over, they comprise a small army, stretching from Portland to Portland and occupying every State in the Union. It is to them, a body of as staunch and virile Americans as one could wish, that we render this partial accounting of what the little paper has itself achieved or helped others to achieve in the great cause.

It exposed, in its first number under the title, "The Old Clo' Man," the surreptitious introduction of shoddy into uniforms, which was responsible in no small degree for the prevalence of pneumonia in the camps, and it persisted thereafter in the face of vehement official denials and threats of libel suits until a considerable measure of reform was effected, with the ultimate result that the principal officer then attacked, Colonel Hirsch, is now under indictment for conspiracy with the manufacturers.

It denounced Secretary Baker's vaunted "Privy Council" as a mere camouflaging trick which could produce only confusion and delay. Five months later it was quietly abolished, to the obvious advantage of the service.

It showed up the furtive attempt to engraft permanent government ownership of the railroads upon the country and roused public opinion to effective opposition.

It demonstrated the utter futility of the shipping programme, frankly jeered at Mr. Hurley's predictions of an

8,000,000-ton production as preposterous and harmfully deceptive, and insisted, upon the best expert judgment, that 3,000,000 tons could not be obtained by the methods then employed. A complete reorganization was finally effected, with the result that between three and four million tons are in sight.

It was the first to call for the appointment of Mr. Schwab.

It exposed the mushroom character of the company formed by the brother of the Secretary of War for aircraft production and forced the cancellation of the secret contract.

It brought to light the relations of Mr. Morris Rosenthal, who had been appointed counsel to the custodian of enemy property, with a prominent German banking house, and Mr. Rosenthal was permitted to resign.

It was the first and only public journal to question the propriety of Mr. Paul Warburg continuing as virtual head of the Federal Reserve Board, in view of his very recent naturalization and the official connection of his brothers with the German Government. Mr. Warburg, greatly to his credit, promptly tendered his resignation and finally the President decided not to reappoint him.

It first and alone urged the adoption of measures, subsequently advocated by the Provost Marshal General, fetching labor under substantial government control. When the test came with the Bridgeport strikers' refusal to abide by the decision of the Arbitration Board, it called upon the President to exercise his prerogative and the President did so with decisive effect. The Press cautiously refrained from urging him to take such action, but generally approved after it was taken.

It objected strenuously to the appointment to a high command in France, of General Mann as "amiable but unfit." The protest was unavailing, but General Mann was ordered home immediately by General Pershing.

It urged persistently week in and week out the putting of shipping and aircraft production under single heads, regardless of Mr. Baker's wishes, and it was finally done by the President in response to popular demand.

It was right from the beginning about the aircraft breakdown and did more than any other journal to unearth the scandalous waste of nearly a billion dollars.

It alone urged the appointment of Mr. Hughes.

It alone demanded publication of the names of soldiers who died in the camps, being fully convinced that concealment was practiced deliberately to hide deficiencies in administration. When but not until the danger to itself had passed, the War Department yielded, and the names now appear in the *Official Bulletin*.

It did its best unaided to obtain a real adjournment of politics and secured the assent to a wholly practicable plan of Chairman Hayes. But the Administration hypocritically belied its own profession in anticipation of winning "vindication" at the polls, with results far more beneficial to the country than satisfactory to itself.

It was the first and only public journal to urge that Mr. Stettinius be sent abroad to co-ordinate activities on a business basis. He is now there.

It exposed the pernicious practice of the various departments bidding against one another for supplies and help and the practice was finally done away with to a large degree.

It urged that Major Sargeant and Colonel Feiberger, the army's most famous strategists, be called from Princeton and

West Point respectively to the War College. Major Sargeant was summoned.

It invariably regarded Colonel Deeds askance.

It doubted the fitness of Mr. Howard Coffin and frankly derided the qualifications of General Squier. Both were ultimately put out.

It pleaded from the beginning for the purchase and use of available machine guns pending development of a superior type, but Mr. Baker was obdurate and as early as May 8 declared that "production of the light Browning guns is coming through in quantity." The WAR WEEKLY pronounced that assertion false. It is now known that no light Browning guns were put into action until the very last fortnight of the fighting, and then so few that their service was wholly negligible.

It urged continuously the drawing in of the South American countries, but with only this effect that, partially at any rate as a consequence of the personal solicitation of its editor to Ambassador da Gama, Brazil furnished free of charge one large troop ship for transport of our soldiers when most sorely needed.

It first brought to public notice the fact that fourteen months after war was declared the Ordnance Department had not shipped a single gas shell to France and not only disproved the sedulously circulated report that the use of gas shells was forbidden by the Hague, but also showed that a proposal to that effect was defeated at the instance of General Crozier, representing the United States. How much or how little Mr. Baker did subsequently to make up for lost time we have not been able to ascertain.

It exposed the War Department's outrageous treatment of Francis Bannerman in seizing Polopel's island and finally, through the coöperation and sturdy insistence of Mr. Hughes's law firm, obtained virtual abolition of the ridiculous guard by order of General Bell.

On August 10, it published conspicuously the following specific assertions:

Not one American-made combat machine is in service at the front.

Of the 600 de Haviland machines widely advertised as having been shipped, 160 have arrived and have not been allowed by General Pershing to go into action because of structural weakness.

What, then, does Mr. Baker mean when he talks vaguely about there being "no perfect (sic) airplanes" and adds specifically that "General Pershing has requested a large shipment of de Haviland planes of the present type on the priority schedule for August"? That Pershing wants more like those he has received and has not used? If so, we don't believe it. If not, what?

The Navy was offered 150 of the "same type." A few were shipped to Admiral Sims and 100 more were prepared for shipment when the naval inspectors at the Florida base reported that they were not fit for service.

The Navy Department promptly wired Admiral Sims not to use those that he had received, and his flyers will continue to operate borrowed French and British machines.

The boasted Bristol machine has been "scrapped" because it could not be adapted to the Liberty motor.

The Spad machine has been discarded by advice of General Pershing.

The S. E. 5 cannot possibly attain quantity production during the present calendar year.

One Caproni machine and one Handley Page machine have been completed.

Practically no combat planes built in the United States will be available for service before January 1, and probably not then.

It is a complete breakdown. We must begin all over again.

Two months later every one of these startling statements, sharply questioned at the time, was confirmed by the Hughes report.

It brought to light the shocking derelictions of the War-

risk Insurance Bureau in transmitting allotments to bereft families and, greatly to his credit be it said, Comptroller John Skelton Williams promptly instituted reform.

It showed up the subterranean methods of legal buzzards in obtaining rake-offs from innocent beneficiaries, and Secretary McAdoo instantly and effectively intervened.

It depicted the abuses in the Returns office with respect to contracts, with the result that a remedy was effected immediately through adjudication of differences between bureaus by Attorney General Gregory.

These are some of the things that the WAR WEEKLY did, or helped to do, in the common effort to win the war. We refer to them with possibly undue particularity because they have passed largely out of mind. More recent endeavors on the part of the paper need not be recalled. We may be permitted perhaps, however, to note with satisfaction that, while not strictly in line with its original purpose, it played a suitable part in beating the disloyalist Ford and in electing a Republican Congress.

The WAR WEEKLY has been called the most relentless critic of the war Administration, and we guess it has been. It had to be. But it has told nothing but truth. During its entire existence it has made, to our knowledge, but one error in fact. That related to the time when the Hughes report was delivered to the President,—a regrettable blunder, though explicable as being confounded with the Hog Island report, which for some mysterious reason is still withheld from publication. But while it has criticized sharply, as in duty bound, it has accorded praise wholeheartedly whenever opportunity offered. While lamenting the tendency of the President to assume the attitude of a judge rather than of a leader in the great cause, we doubt if any journal published has applauded his many splendid utterances more lustily.

And now that we think of it, we cannot recall a single instance of its passing unfavorable comment upon anything done by Secretary Lansing, Secretary McAdoo, Secretary Lane, Secretary Houston, Attorney General Gregory, Secretary Redfield or Comptroller Williams,—and the good Lord knows we have been positively jubilant over Josephus, the one most glowing surprise of the whole Cabinet. That is not because we were prejudiced in their favor. We cared nothing about them collectively or individually one way or the other; we simply judged them by their acts and found in them so little fault that we take this opportunity to bear testimony to the untiring service and fair intelligence of all of them except, of course, Redfield, who is as stupid as an owl.

Oddly enough, the one member of the Cabinet in whose favor we were most strongly prepossessed was Mr. Baker; we valued his brains as a sort of oasis in a comparative desert. But he quickly proved himself to be utterly incapacitated by surpassing egotism for the performance of his great tasks and consequently was a positive menace. Anything more dangerous than his attempts to lull the American people into a sense of false security or more damnable than his perpetual evading, sidestepping, deceiving and, when cornered, actually lying, we simply cannot imagine. There was nothing for it but to discredit him and break his power by the use of every available weapon from denunciation to ridicule.

Well, it would be idle to deny that the WAR WEEKLY

has faithfully contributed its mite to that laudable end. And we have no compunctions. He deserved it, every bit. We cannot abide smugness anyway.

As for Mr. Burleson, we have to confess utter inability to descry one single act in his whole round of fatuous performances that by the greatest stretch of the imagination could be pronounced worthy of commendation. And he and his so-called service are getting worse daily. He ought to be impeached.

Summing up, these are the things that the WAR WEEKLY announced its intention of attempting:

- To help to win the war;
To save America;
- To beat the Huns to their knees;
To smash Autocracy;
- To get fair play for the Government;
To obtain justice for all;
- To interpret and analyze events;
To applaud good service;
- To expose and denounce inefficiency;
To protect our soldiers;
- To secure durable peace quickly;
To uphold the Constitution;
- To support our Allies to the limit;
To oppose continuing alliances;
- To postpone vexing domestic problems;
To demand full concentration;
- To assure economic equality for America;
To kill spies and traitors;
- To preserve the freedom of the press;
To tell the whole truth!

With no silly pretense of modesty but equally without interest in blowing its own horn, the WAR WEEKLY submits its record upon these specifications of purpose, in full confidence that none can deny that, with its limited resources and in its own way, of course, it has fairly done its bit.

And it may have rendered real service. Here is an interesting sidelight at any rate. In the early part of the war the *Tribune* was the only New York newspaper that criticized the Administration with anything approaching vigor. In April, it stopped abruptly and, in its own words, began to "support the Administration." On October 27, in a leading editorial whose like we have never seen, it gave the reason why. We quote its exact words:

The explanation of what happened is both simple and dramatic. On or about April 1 we made another journey to Washington. The atmosphere had changed. It was vibrant with a certain expectancy, as of something that was about to take place in a dynamic manner. We went to our most helpful friend in court, one who knew everything, and asked if anything had happened. He said: "Something is going to happen. The President is in the war. He is in it with both fists. He says it is of no use to go on hoping and talking. There is nothing for it but to take it as a big job, needing lots of money and lots of men, and go through to the end. You will know in a few days. Go home." Then, on April 6, the President delivered his memorable Baltimore speech, in which, after referring to "this moment of utter disillusionment," he said:

"There is, therefore, but one response possible for us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit."

From that day forward Washington was a different place. Everybody knew it. The physical side of the war began to be handled in a new and aggressive manner, with an heroic impatience of difficulties and delays. That was enough. Nothing else mattered.

The *Tribune's* attitude toward the Administration did not change, but the Administration's attitude toward the war changed at that time and under those circumstances.

Now consider what that means. Just this: *That one full year elapsed after Congress declared war before the President made up his mind that the war could only be won by force,—and then, only then, began to act accordingly.* It is one of the most amazing facts in history if, of course, it is a fact, and there is more than circumstantial evidence that it is. We received the same confidential information the same week, accompanied by a polite but quite significant suggestion that the WAR WEEKLY would do well to pursue the course adopted by the *Tribune*. We cannot offend the sensibilities of those who object to strong, though Biblical, language by printing the reply that was returned. But from that day forward, so far as New York was concerned, the WAR WEEKLY had to go it pretty much alone. But this is not the time to depict the ignoble part played by the greater part of the American Press during the past eighteen months. Later, perhaps!

For the present, we will only tender condolences to our Pacifist neighbor the *Nation* and our Socialist neighbor the *Call* who cannot understand why we have not been landed in jail or at least harassed unconscionably as they have been. The answer is simple. We told nothing but the truth, paid no attention to the silly threatenings and no less silly statutes and "regulations" of a stupidly arrogant bureaucracy, and succeeded in convincing everybody who manifested particular solicitation of our contempt for anyone less willing to serve his country in jail than those more highly privileged to serve in the trenches.

It was an impregnable position. And that ends the accounting. We are sorry it is so long and tedious.

COLONEL HOUSE HAS THE INFLUENZA.—*Herald headline.*

Now what is the United States going to do?

A Globe-Trotting Government

THE Constitution of the United States contains no provision forbidding in categorical terms either the President, the Vice President, the Supreme Court or the Congress itself to leave the country during terms of office. Both the Legislative and the Judicial branches of the Government stand in this respect precisely as does the Executive. So far as any specific inhibition in set terms is concerned, any one of them, or all of them, remain free as a bird to roam the world over. If the seat of the Executive may be transferred to Versailles, the Supreme Court may hold its sessions in Borneo, while Congress sits in Siberia. The Constitution plays no favorites. If its silence gives consent to roam to one, it gives like consent to all. And, on the other hand, if there is in its whole tenor an implied prohibition against one of the Governmental trinity expatriating itself, the same prohibition runs to all.

To be sure, there are varying degrees of inconvenience involved in making the three great sources of authority internationally peripatetic. A Congress at Large whose general address was "Somewhere on Earth" naturally would entail some difficulties of transportation for so large a body. Yet these difficulties are by no means insurmountable. As a matter of fact the *Leviathan* would easily accommodate the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches simultaneously, with abundance of room to spare for Colonel House, Dr. Grayson and even the ladies of the Executive branch at

least. The families of the Supreme Court Justices could easily go along, and even the wives and children of the Senators and Representatives could be accommodated somehow. There is no set provision in the Constitution against it; and the *Leviathan* is a large ship. Legislating, Judicializing and Executing might be all at sea, to be sure. Metaphorically speaking perhaps there would be no innovating novelty in this. Why be reactionary anyway?

It may be admitted that a globe-trotting Trinitarian Government would be unusual. But the occasion is more than unusual. Nothing like the war that is over ever occurred before. Never before was there such a stage setting for so stupendous a world drama. Why should the Government of the United States get into the limelight in dribblets only? Granting that the President and Colonel House are, and of right ought to be, entitled to the centre of the stage, by what authority, under the Constitution, might the Legislative and Judiciary branches, with their sisters and their cousins and their aunts, be excluded? It is going to be a big show. The audience is the whole world. If we are going to have one branch of the United States Government and Colonel House, in an impressive centre stage tableau when the curtain rises, why not have all three branches?

Maybe the Government at Washington would not still live. But it would live Somewhere in Europe. Besides, the Constitution does not say that the Government has got to live in Washington. It does not even say Colonel House has got to live there. The Colonel and the Government can live where they have a mind to. They do not even have to live anywhere unless they choose. They can supervise Humanity from the Boulevards or from the jungles if they like. The President, the Vice President, the Supreme Court Justices, the Senators and both Houses—Representatives and the Colonel—may perennially trundle on wheels if they so elect. There is nothing hide-bound about the Constitution unless you read it that way. Besides, it is abolished anyway, and we all stood by the President when he did it to win the war. Why be backward instead of forward-looking men just because the war is over?

The reported internment of the former Crown Prince on an island of the Zuider Zee suggests a possible disposal of the former Kaiser. There is a particularly uncomfortable and abhorrent bit of land off the South American coast upon which a gallant French officer was once unjustly imprisoned, largely through treacherous and perjured German intrigues. Devil's Isle could have no more appropriate life tenant than William Hohenzollern; with a copy of the Bryce report on German atrocities in France and Belgium as his sole reading matter.

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Let the Great Court Decide

THE President's purpose to expatriate himself for a prolonged interval while in attendance upon the Peace Conference has raised so many grave questions and caused such widespread uneasiness in the public mind, that it would seem incumbent upon him to ask for an adjudication on the subject, and that he should defer his departure until that adjudication is rendered and made public. In no other way can be definitely allayed the uncertainties and anxieties which have grown in portentous volume with every day since Mr. Wilson's announcement of his intention to take this entirely unprecedented step.

These problems and anxieties are very far from being fanciful. There is, for one thing, grave doubt with many as to the Constitutionality of so unheard-of a departure from all practice and precedent of the past. This doubt leads into a veritable tangle of uncertainties as to Executive continuity and the quarter in which Executive authority might be construed to lodge in the confusion. There are serious misgivings in many minds as to whether, by thus absenting himself, the President would not be so effectually incapacitated for the proper performance of those official duties made daily incumbent upon him by the Constitution as to virtually sever his connection with the Chief Magistracy of the Nation. Nothing short of an authoritative ruling upon this point alone would wholly satisfy the public mind. Even were that ruling to sustain the President in his assumption that he is at liberty to exercise the duties and powers of President of the United States either on the high seas or while sojourning in foreign lands or at the seat of Government as his inclinations or fancy may dictate, it is highly improbable that the people of the country would accept the establishment of such a precedent without speedily making provision against its repetition. It is the plain duty of the President himself, therefore, to demand adjudication on this subject before he commits himself to consequences which might follow his plan of self-expatriation. However sure he may be personally of the legality of his proposed step, he owes it to the people of the country who elected him their President to reassure them convincingly on a matter in which they do not share his own confidence and concerning which they justly entertain very grave doubts. That reassurance could only come through an adjudication by an authority that would be accepted as final and conclusive, namely, the Supreme Court of the United States.

But this is only one of the various phases of embarrassment and uncertainty involved. It is only one of the many series of questions on which the country is demanding enlightenment. The astounding proposition is advanced, for instance, that there is to be some sort of a "gentleman's agreement" with the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate whereby legislation demanding the President's signature may be held up in its routine progress from the Legislative to the Executive branch of the Government. The Constitution provides that every bill passed by the Senate and House of Representatives shall go to the President for his signature of approval or for his veto with statement of reasons therefor. It further provides that:

If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed

it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

The astounding suggestion is now made that the progress of a law to enactment is to be deliberately blocked by withholding the signatures of the President of the Senate or the Speaker of the House of Representatives, or both, without which signatures a measure, no matter how urgent, may not pass on to the President for either his written endorsement or disapproval. The President can not sign by wireless. He can not veto by cable. The document itself must be before him and must be returned with his autograph or written statement if disapproved. With Mr. Wilson on the high seas or in some foreign country 3000 miles away there would be no President to thus complete the enactment of legislation. So the plan suggested is to conceal the vacancy in the Executive branch by the process of blocking legislation through the subterfuge of withholding the signatures of the Speaker and the President of the Senate, who virtually are commanded by the bodies over which they are chosen to preside to affix such signatures as soon as a bill is enacted.

Can it be for a moment supposed that Speaker Clark or Vice President Marshall would lend himself to trickery so gross, to malfeasance of office so obvious? Would they not violate the plain terms of their oaths of office were they to do so? Would they not thereby forfeit every vestige of confidence in them as presiding officers, as well as the confidence of the people of the entire country? Would Congress and the people of the United States for an instant tolerate the thwarting of their legislative enactments by chicanery so insulting in its cynical openness?

It is unthinkable that either Mr. Marshall or Mr. Clark would lend himself to practices so dishonorable if not technically illegal. To do so would establish a clear precedent for the usurpation of the entire legislative powers of both branches of Congress. It would be to take into their own hand that approving or vetoing power with which the Constitution endows the President alone. However much Mr. Clark or Mr. Marshall might personally wish to relieve the President from the logical consequences of his absence from his post of duty, it is preposterous to suppose that either of them would go so far as that.

On the other hand, to assume that no legislation of urgent importance is likely to reach the stage imperatively demanding the President's immediate attention is to assume that which we know nothing about. We do not know how long he may be abroad either in attendance in unofficial capacity at the Peace Conference deliberations or on such progresses to other European capitals as have been suggested for his touring programme. We do not know what critical conditions demanding immediate legislative action may arise. We do know that rarely if ever in the history of the country has there been a time when legislative problems more important and possibly more urgent were likely to come before the representatives of the American people in Congress assembled than they are during precisely the interval when the President is planning to absent himself from the duties of his office and from the country over which his jurisdiction extends.

And aside from the grave questions above pointed out, how is the President during his sojourn abroad to perform the routine matters which now daily arise for his immediate attention. During every day and many times a day the

President's signature is required to many and varied documents. It is required on commissions, on estimates, on restorations and withdrawals on public lands, and above all, on pardons. The tragic consequences that might ensue from his inability to affix his signature to a pardon are too obvious to need more than suggestion. These questions of pardon or mitigation of sentence on which hang life and death itself are constantly coming before him. The President's absence in attendance on the glittering gayeties of the French capital incident to the Peace Conference might very well mean the ignominious death of some poor soldier condemned for infraction of iron military regulations, but whose claims for pardon might be overwhelming. Many times, during the past few months indeed, has President Wilson's executive clemency saved men of the army and navy from death or from punishment grossly disproportionate in severity to the offense. He can not delegate his pardoning power. He can not blindly pardon by cable or wireless. The hangman and the firing squad would automatically do their work—work, alas, that can not be undone but which might have been averted, and for just cause averted, but for the President's absence in Paris when the question of life or death depended on his presence in Washington.

These are only a few of the questions precipitated by the announcement of the President's intention to leave the country for a long period of transatlantic travel and sojourn. With every day the public uneasiness on the subject is becoming more and more accentuated. At this writing we do not know the motives or reasons which have led President to the astounding decision he has reached. Those that have been advanced, some, apparently, with semi-official authority, have been so utterly inadequate, as compared with the grave home perplexities and anxieties involved, as to be quite unworthy or negligible, even where they were not so involved in obscure generalities as to be beyond comprehension. Perhaps before his departure the President may make a clear and comprehensive statement which will tend to remove some of the dissatisfaction that current announcements, unofficial and semi-official, have undeniably created. We hope so. But whether Mr. Wilson does or does not make such a statement, the fact remains that no statement he may personally make will carry that convincing weight which would attach to an adjudication on the entire subject by the Supreme Court. Such an adjudication he owes to himself and to the American people.

Won't Lloyd George look like one-and-tuppence, though?
And Clemenceau like one franc, fifty centimes?

Is the War Ended, After All?

IS the war ended? Is there even so much as an assured prospect of peace in the immediate future? We have not made, of course, the error of confounding a mere armistice with a definitive treaty of peace, and we are agreed that the treacherous Hun needs to be watched and guarded until the consummation of the very last scene of the last act in the drama. Yet we did venture to believe that the drastic terms prescribed by Marshal Foch in the armistice of November 11, and their fulfilment in the retirement of German troops from France and Belgium, the occupation of fortresses

and strategic regions of Germany by American and Allied armies, and the surrender of a large part of the German navy, made resumption of the war by the Huns substantially impossible and peace therefore assured. Certainly the President seemed to intimate as much as that in his address to the nation.

But now "we hae oor doots," and our doubts are directly provoked by the President himself. For since the irenic or at least anti-belligerent achievements which we have just recited, and since the President's reduplicated proclamation of peace, what has occurred? As a war measure, as a measure essential to the efficient prosecution of the war, the President has ordered the seizure and operation of all the oceanic cable systems by the Government; a war measure, days after his proclamation that the war was at an end; and his spokesman in the Cabinet declares that there never was more need of such a war measure than at the present time. Surely, that does not look as though the war were ended.

Again, at a still later date, the President has signed a bill, and thus made it a law, providing that—as a war measure, essential to the successful prosecution of the war—it shall be a grave penal offense for a horticulturist to squeeze out the juice of his surplus grapes and ferment it into wine. This is a war measure, solely. It could not exist in any other capacity. But it is enacted after the making of the armistice, and it is not to go into effect until the first of July of next year. If it signifies anything at all, it must signify that the war is not ended and that there is no confident prospect of its being ended within the next seven months. And yet the President, in two separate addresses to the people of this nation, has proclaimed the ending of the war and the advent of peace.

Months ago, when hundreds of thousands of our soldiers were fighting desperately in Picardy and the Argonne, and while the Hun was still boastfully proclaiming his certain victory over us, there seemed to be no need of so extreme a war measure as the seizure of the cable lines. The war then could be waged and won without it. But now that the armistice is signed and the foe has surrendered and the President is about to go abroad to prescribe the definitive terms of peace, that imperative need is suddenly discovered. Even at this eleventh hour, the war cannot be won unless the cables are taken over by the Politicalmaster-General. That extreme war measure must be resorted to in spite of the fact that the President is even now about to start for the Peace Conference.

And this war-time prohibition . . . we are told that it is to prevail until demobilization is completed . . . and the President alone is to determine when that shall be.

Is the war ended?

If, as now planned, the President takes Secretary Lansing with him and Secretary Baker goes off again on his own bat, we shall have left in the remaining members of the Cabinet eight little Presidents, each supreme in his own sphere of executive direction. Inasmuch as their lines crisscross at innumerable points, that ought to make for a state of things, indeed, unless a deputy schoolmaster be designated to maintain discipline. There may be some saving in coal, however, since there will be no occasion to keep the executive offices open in the absence of Secretary Tumulty.

A New Declaration of Independence

ON the basis of payment to the Western Union Company as compensation for the Burlesonian seizure of its wires, Mr. Clarence Mackay, President of the Postal Company, demonstrates that Government operation of those wires will show a dead loss of nearly \$2,500,000 for the fiscal year ending July 1st, 1919. What the loss will be in operating the Postal lines is not known. At this writing the compensation to be paid the Postal has not been announced. That it will be approximately as large as in the case of the Western Union is only reasonable to suppose. On this assumption it is not in the least extravagant to estimate that the loss to the Government on the operation of both the Western Union and the Postal systems for the current fiscal year will be close to \$5,000,000.

Loss to the Government, of course, always means loss to the taxpayers. It means, in other words, an assessment of five millions of dollars, or some such sum, put upon the shoulders of those who do and those who do not use the telegraph, and that that assessment is available for the building up of a Government Ownership political machine to the advantage of the political party in power. It means that the non-users of the telegraph are taxed to lower the toll charges of those who send telegrams. As for wages under Burleson Government Ownership, they may be based on political and not at all upon business considerations. They may be jacked up to any level the Politicalmaster General may deem advisable. Of course every raise in wages, every increase in the working or idling force of Deserving Democrats piled on to the payroll, every reduction in rates made to keep the public quiet while the bunghole wastage goes on—all this adds, naturally, to the total deficit to be met. But what does that matter to the politicians who are running the thing? They do not make up the deficit. That good old patient beast of burden, the taxpayer, pays it. If he growls, the Politicalmaster General chucks him a consolation prize of fifty cents reduction on night letter telegrams. Taxpayers who don't use the telegraph, help to make up the hundreds of thousands of dollars that this reduced rate costs.

In England they have Government control of the telegraph lines. The bulk of the business consists in the transmission of 12 cent messages. Every message for which the Government gets 12 cents is delivered at a cost to the Government of 22 cents. In other words, the not lightly burdened British taxpayer helps make up a ten cent loss on every message somebody else sends. And that of course is precisely what the proposed Burlesonian reduced telegraph tolls here will mean.

And as it is with the telegraph lines, so it is with the telephones and the railroads. All run at a staggering loss and all these staggering losses loaded on the patient shoulders of the taxpayers. We are economizing now; reducing the burdens of taxation; cutting down war expenses everywhere. That, presumably, is why we are loaded up, now that the war is over, with another Government job of running all the cable systems that reach our shores. Mr. Burleson's long winded "explanation" of this bit of high-handed brigandage is preposterous. The cables under private operation met every demand of the tremendous war strain with

secrecy and dispatch. There was Government censorship then as there is now. Not a single complaint of bad service or leakage of secrets during the entire war is advanced. And yet, with the war over, the cable lines are seized on the plea of Government necessity and linked up with those telegraph lines which the Politicalmaster General has transformed from paying properties into colossal burdens heaped on the shoulders of already heavily overloaded taxpayers.

It is all, of course, to clear the ground for the grand orgie of Government Ownership Socialism so dear to the hearts of many in this Administration of autocratic, bureaucratic arrogance with which the war has burdened us. The Republicans in Congress, without a single line of cleavage on the subject, have risen up in revolt. They have enunciated a new Declaration of Independence. In caucus assembled they have unanimously voted that the powers of the Legislative branch of the Government be restored to that vigor which under the Constitution is theirs by right and not by privilege of the Executive. They have voted that the entire reconstruction legislation shall be under the absolute control of Congress, and that it shall not be a matter of autocratic dictation by the Executive. It is a straight-out blow for Legislative independence and for a full and complete return to Constitutional government. It is high time that it was struck. It is a stand that will meet with hearty endorsement from one end of the country to the other.

This is given me as the truth of what M. Clemenceau said when the draft of President Wilson's original Note with the fourteen points was handed to him. He said: "Quatorze points! Mais cela c'est un peu fort—le bon Dieu n'en avait que dix."—*Manchester Guardian*.

A League Against Nationality

THERE are, it seems, two distinct plans for a League of Nations.

One provides for the maintenance of complete national sovereignty and independence, but also for international coöperation for the enforcement of treaties and laws. The nations are to remain separate nations, but they are to enter into an enduring compact for certain specific purposes, and they are to provide physical agencies as well as moral suasion for the achievement of those purposes.

The other plan contemplates the abrogation of some of the essential functions of national sovereignty in favor of what might be described as an economic and administrative internationalism.

Of the practicability and acceptability of the first plan there are some doubts. Of the impracticability and unacceptability of the second, there are no doubts at all.

The latter, however, is supposed to be what the President has in mind. It is, at any rate, apparently what is in the minds of those who are most in sympathy with the President's undefined proposal, and it is the interpretation which they place upon his proposal. Thus we find Professor John Dewey, in a recent issue of *The Dial*, discussing "the Approach to a League of Nations" with the lately coined phrase, "Associated Governments," as a text. That word "Associated," he thinks, is significantly contradistinguished from the old term "Allied." The latter implies union for offense and defense, which he regards as an obsolete and condemnable thing. But "Associated" suggests the new order. "Although military necessity gave it birth, its

overtones are of the modern world of industry and commerce." It would be futile to reestablish the old Hague Tribunal, extend its powers, provide for legal arbitrament plus agencies of conciliation, and, when needed, for enforcement of decisions by combined arms against a recalcitrant state. Such an arrangement would always be sure to fail when most needed.

Instead, the only hopeful approach to a League of Nations, he holds, is through "economic necessities." Industry and commerce must be substituted for national dignity, honor, aggression and defense. And—this is the nub of the whole matter—it is President Wilson's recognition of this that distinguishes him from the other statesmen of the epoch.

The meaning is obvious. In the view of this highly informed and sympathetic commentator, the President has lost faith in those principles of conciliation and arbitration which only a few years ago were hailed as harbingers of the millennium, whether they depend upon moral or are backed by physical forces, and is convinced that peace among the nations must be assured by a community of economic interests.

There must be not diplomatic or political alliance, but industrial and commercial union. The League of Nations which he favors, which he is going to Europe to promote, and of which his zealous propagandists are already anticipating him to be the first President, is to be a sort of customs-union, in which tariffs will be abolished. It is to be a league for the regulation and control of the distribution of shipping, raw materials, food, money and credit. In brief, the third of the President's famous Fourteen Principles is to be interpreted as a demand for Free Trade as one of the only possible conditions of peace.

It would be an anomalous thing if a war which has been fought above all else to vindicate the rights of independent and sovereign nationalities and the rights of peoples to self-determination should result in a movement for the abrogation or renunciation of those rights. That such a movement can succeed we do not for a moment imagine. If we remember aright, the Constitution of the United States expressly vests in the Congress the sole power to regulate foreign commerce, to coin and regulate the value of money, and to perform various other essential functions which it is now, apparently with Presidential sanction, proposed to remit to a "League of Nations." We must doubt the readiness of this nation to repeal those provisions of the Constitution, so as to give Germany a voice in the distribution of our commerce; even though it were urged by the President as "essential to his efficient prosecution of the war."

But the impossibility of establishing such a system cannot be regarded as a vindication of the proposal of it. We have no doubt that the President's presentation of such views at the European capitals would attract much pleasing attention to himself, and assure him gratifying conspicuousness. It is even possible that certain phases of his plan would win the approval of some countries, whose interests they would serve and with whose constitutions they would not be incompatible. That such a performance would promote harmony and coöperation among the Powers and the secure confirmation of the ends for which the war was fought and won, we cannot be persuaded.

A league of nations against nationality would be an international marplot.

Referred to the Attorney General

WE would invite the attention of Attorney General Gregory to the recent activities of the United States District Attorney of the Northern District of Georgia. This gentleman during the last Liberty Loan campaign wrote a letter addressed to W. C. Wardlaw, Chairman of the Liberty Loan Committee, of the 6th Regional Reserve District, Atlanta, Ga., which is probably the most outrageous document to which a law officer of the United States Government ever signed his name.

After referring to several cases which he says have been brought to his attention, he informs his correspondent that persons who do not subscribe to the Liberty Loan, however amply able to do so they may be, are not thereby guilty of an indictable offense. Having thus established the point of law that a failure to buy a Government bond is not a crime punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both, this amazing officer of the Department of Justice proceeds to indicate how such non-purchasers of Government securities may be brought under the criminal laws and made to suffer. Experience has shown, he writes, that people of this character "can very frequently be *indicted for offenses*." The italics are ours. Such persons, says the District Attorney—Hooper Alexander by name—"will generally be found (the italics ours) to have made expressions which tend to favor the cause of a Government with which we are at war, or indicate opposition to the cause of our Government therein."

Matters of this sort [Mr. Alexander continues] are indictable, and the penalty may extend to imprisonment for 30 years and a fine of many thousands of dollars. I suggest, therefore, that you cause the past record and conduct and utterances of people of this class to be carefully investigated and reviewed in the communities where they respectively live, with a view of ascertaining whether they are not indictable under the *Espionage or Sedition Acts*. In all such cases the names and facts should be reported to the United States Attorney in the District where the objectionable people live.

And "juries," continues Mr. Alexander, "are not only willing but anxious to convict in all such cases."

Here we have an officer of our National Department of Justice suggesting that every man or woman who did not buy Government loan securities be trailed by sneaking spies, his or her every word, past, present and future, taken down; that all their acts and utterances in the communities where he or she live be investigated and scrutinized by sleuths to see if they cannot be construed or tortured into such a shape as will permit indictments for some offense as an offset to immunity from fine or imprisonment for not buying bonds. And he dwells with evident relish upon the fact that these non-purchasers of bonds may get a term of 30 years' imprisonment and crushing fines if they can only be brought to trial for this other offense; for, as he adds, "Juries are not only willing but anxious to convict in all such cases."

This is worthy of Russia or Prussia in their worst days of despotism. It has a fine Middle Ages savor all its own. Probably Mr. Hooper Alexander is a Deserving Democrat or he would not be United States Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia. But beyond all question he is deserving of something on other grounds than his Democracy.

We respectfully refer to the Attorney General of the United States the determination of just what these other deserts are.

WAR WEEKLY CARTOONS

A Partial Record of Our Pictorial Part in the War, as Printed
During the Last Year in "The War Weekly."





How Long Can He Carry the War Alone?

(January 5)



"The Thinker"

(January 26)

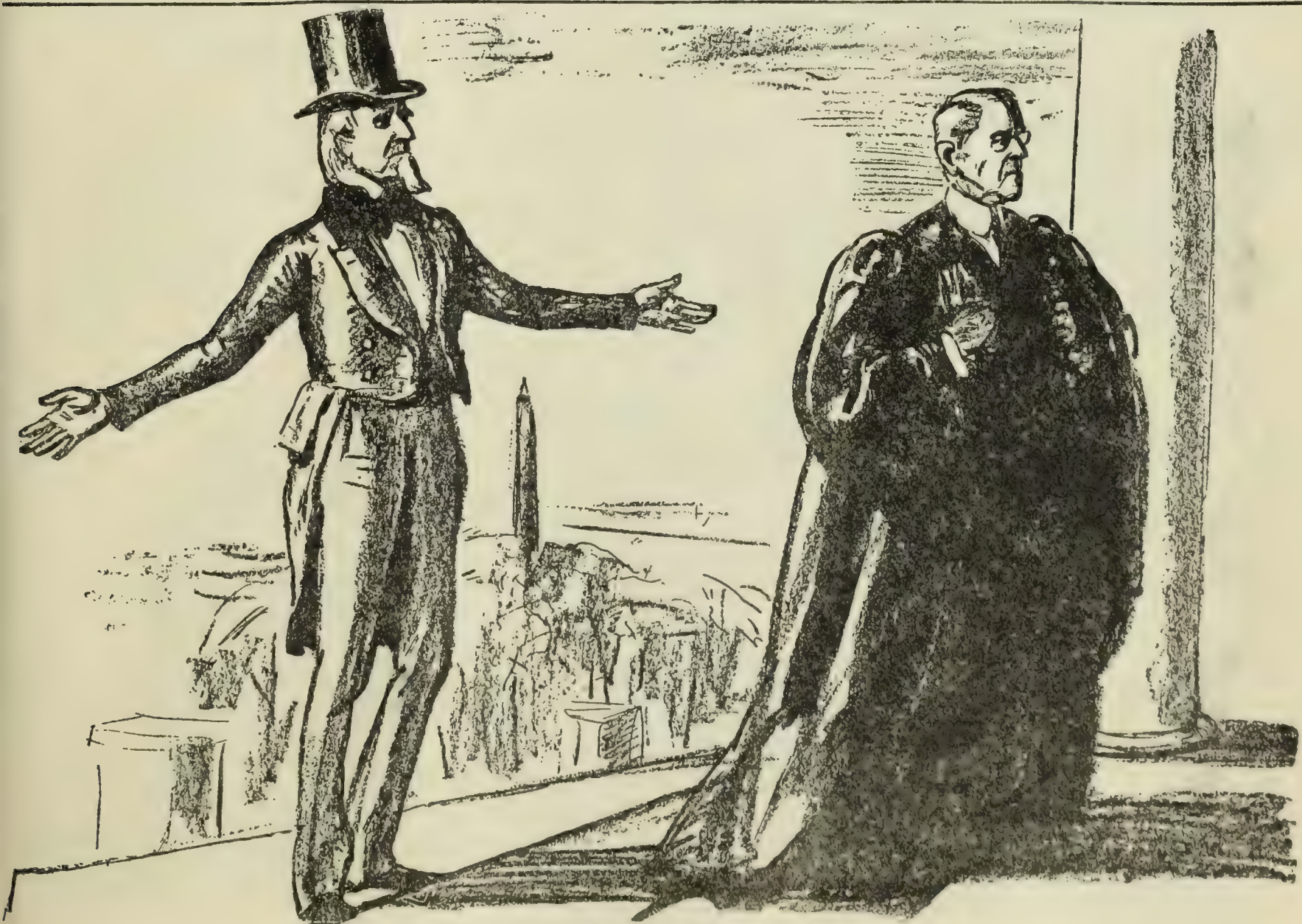


The Pauper "Calls" the Prince

(January 12)

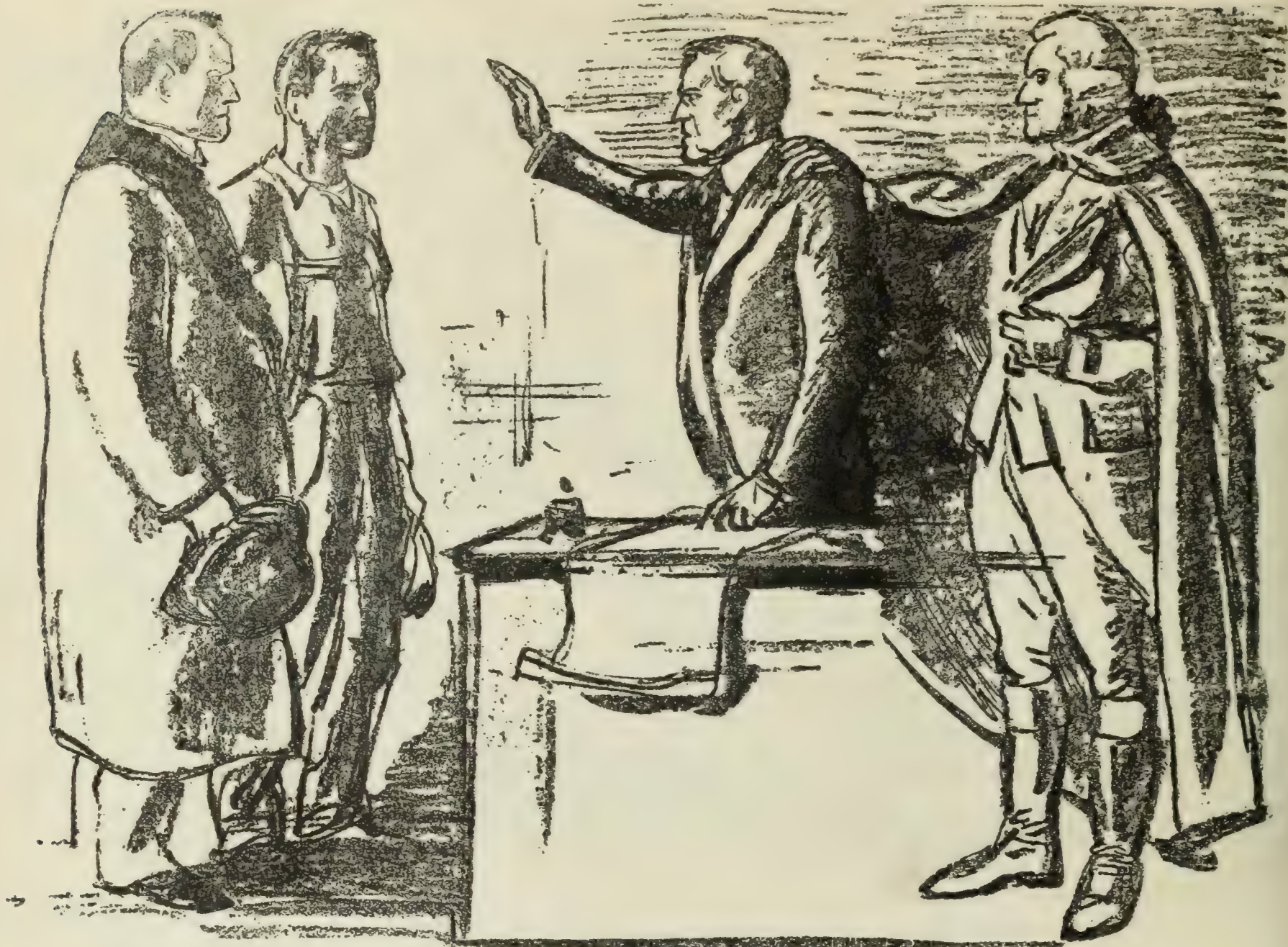


(February 16)



Wanted: A Leader, Not a Judge

(February 23)



To Capital and Labor: "Patriotism, Not Profiteering!"

(March 2)



The Christians of Armenia

(March 16)



The Kaiser's Terms of Peace
(March 9)



A Last Appeal
(March 23)



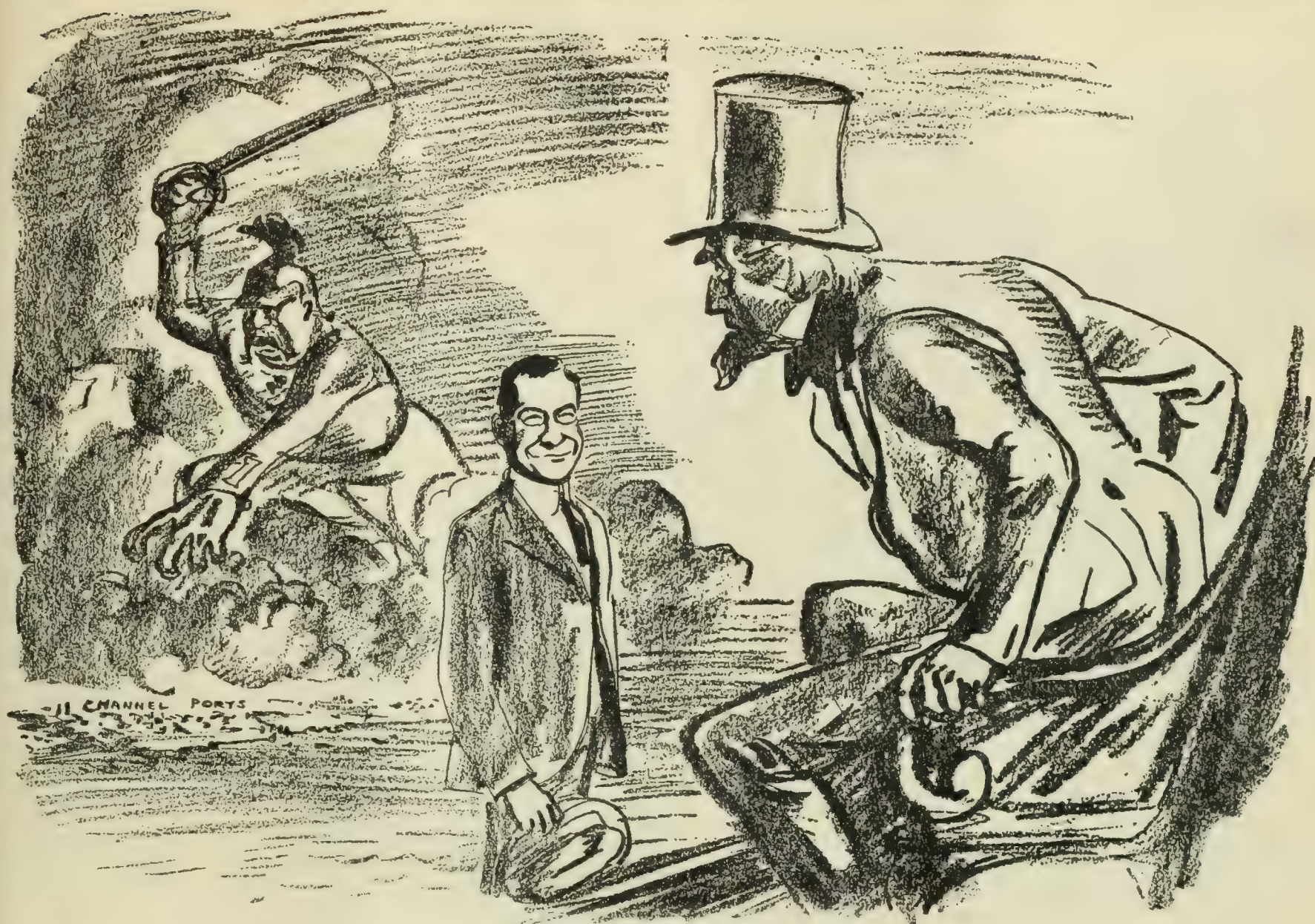
Lloyd George: "Where is Leonard Wood?"
 Answer from the right: "Back to Kansas."

(April 6)

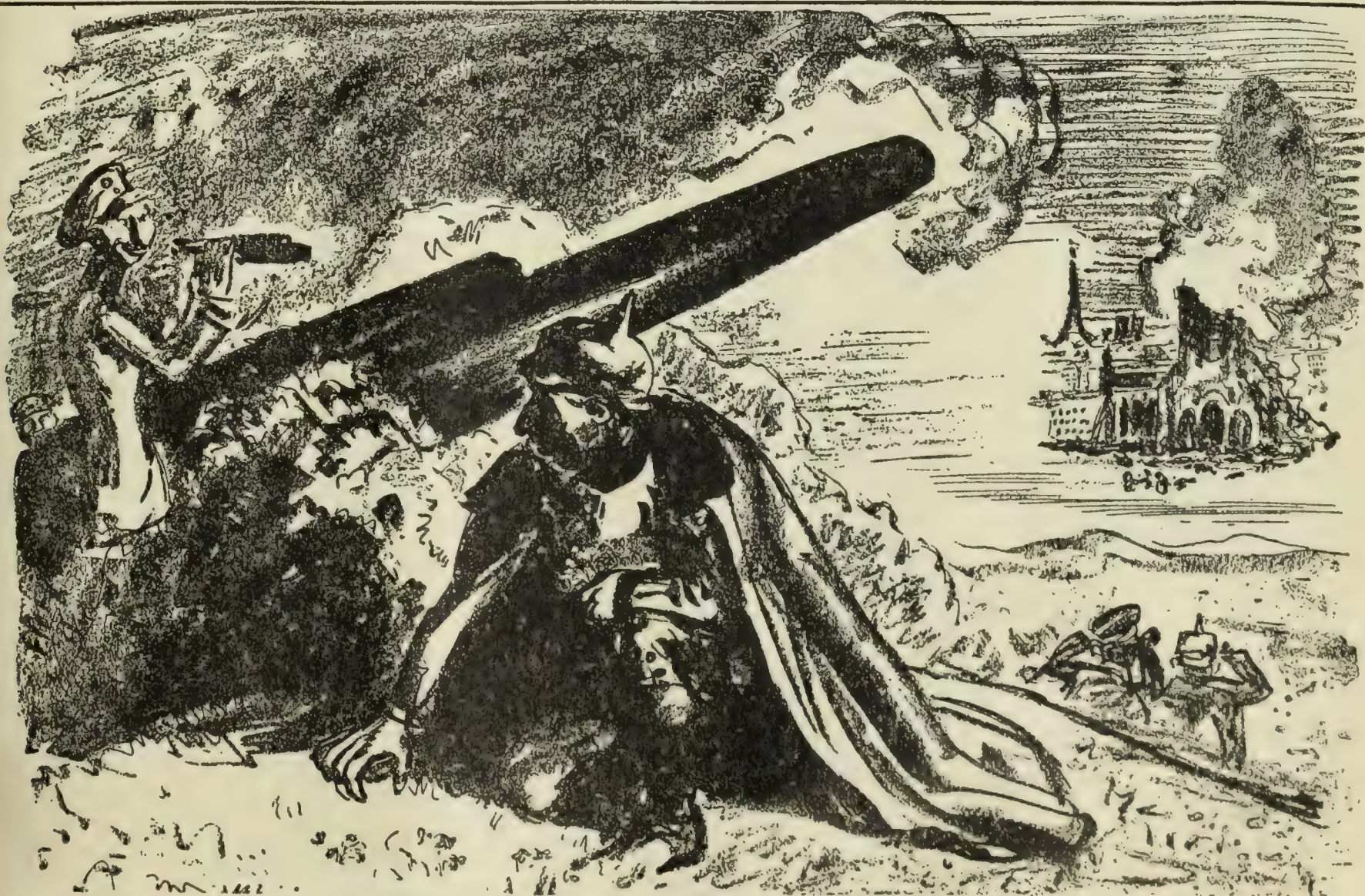


The Unholy Trinity

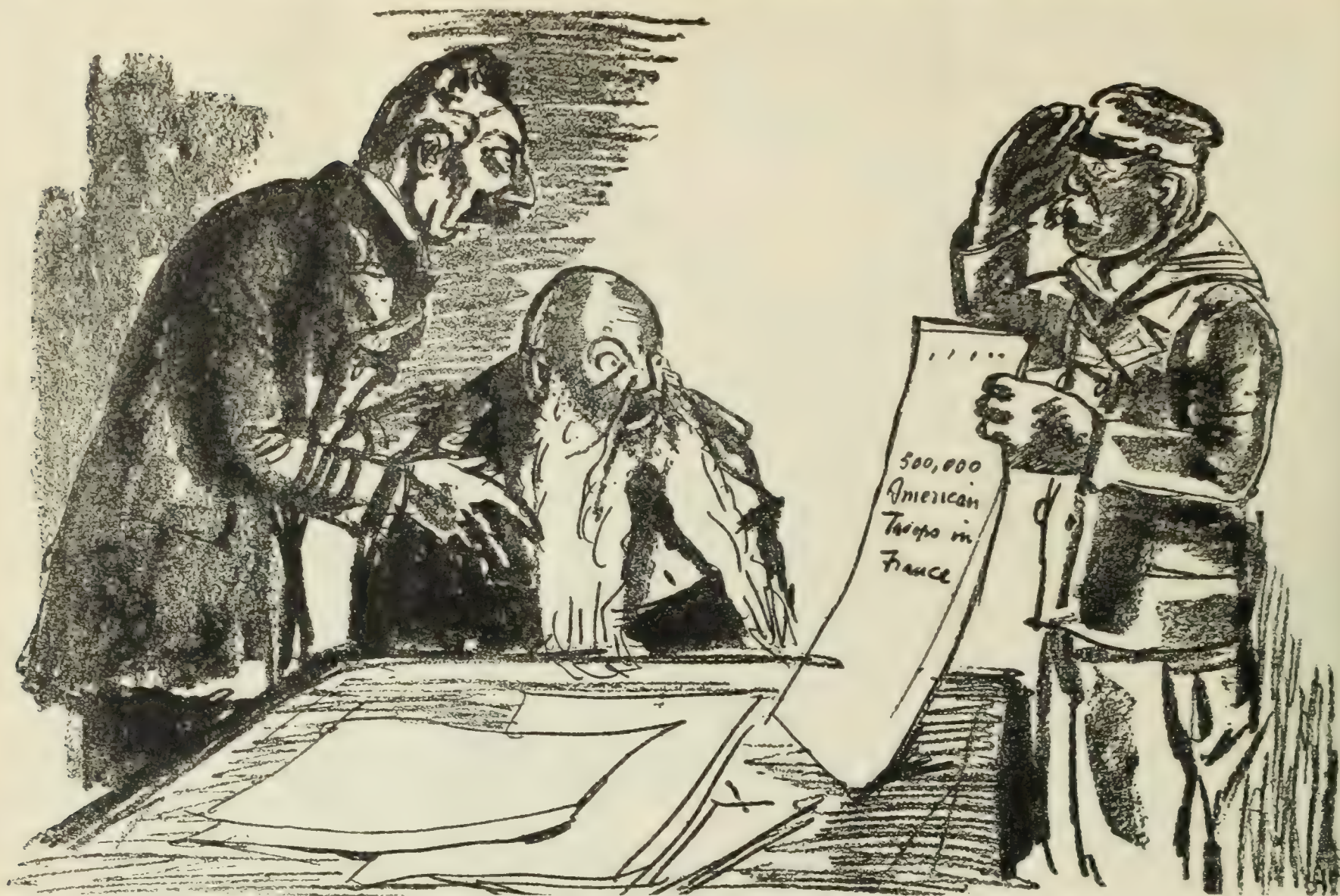
(April 13)



Mr. Baker Reports Progress
(May 4)



"Well Hit, My Son—Church or Hospital?"
(May 11)



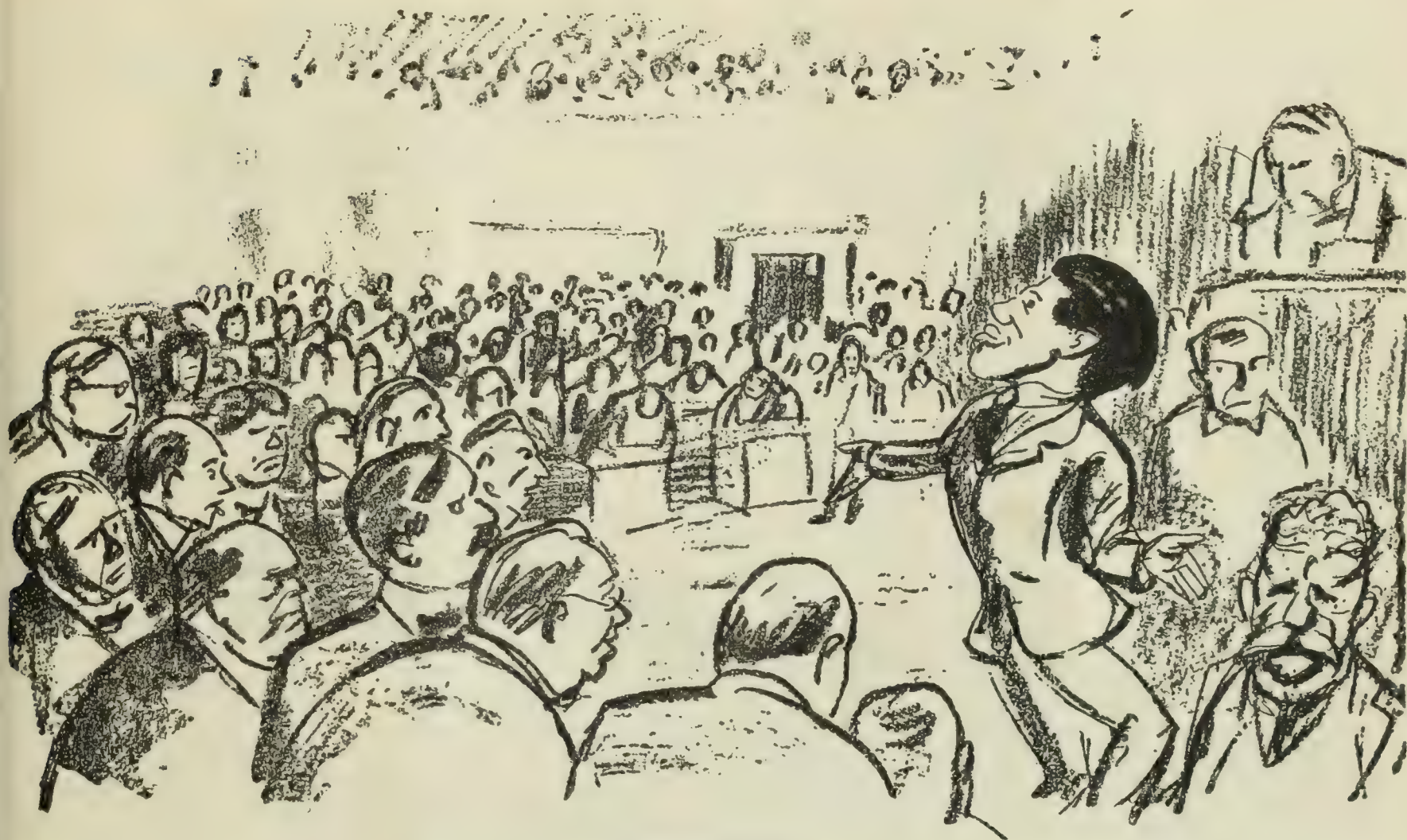
The Latest Report from Washington

(May 18)



Uncle Sam: "Splendid, Mr. President! That is the size of man you want!"

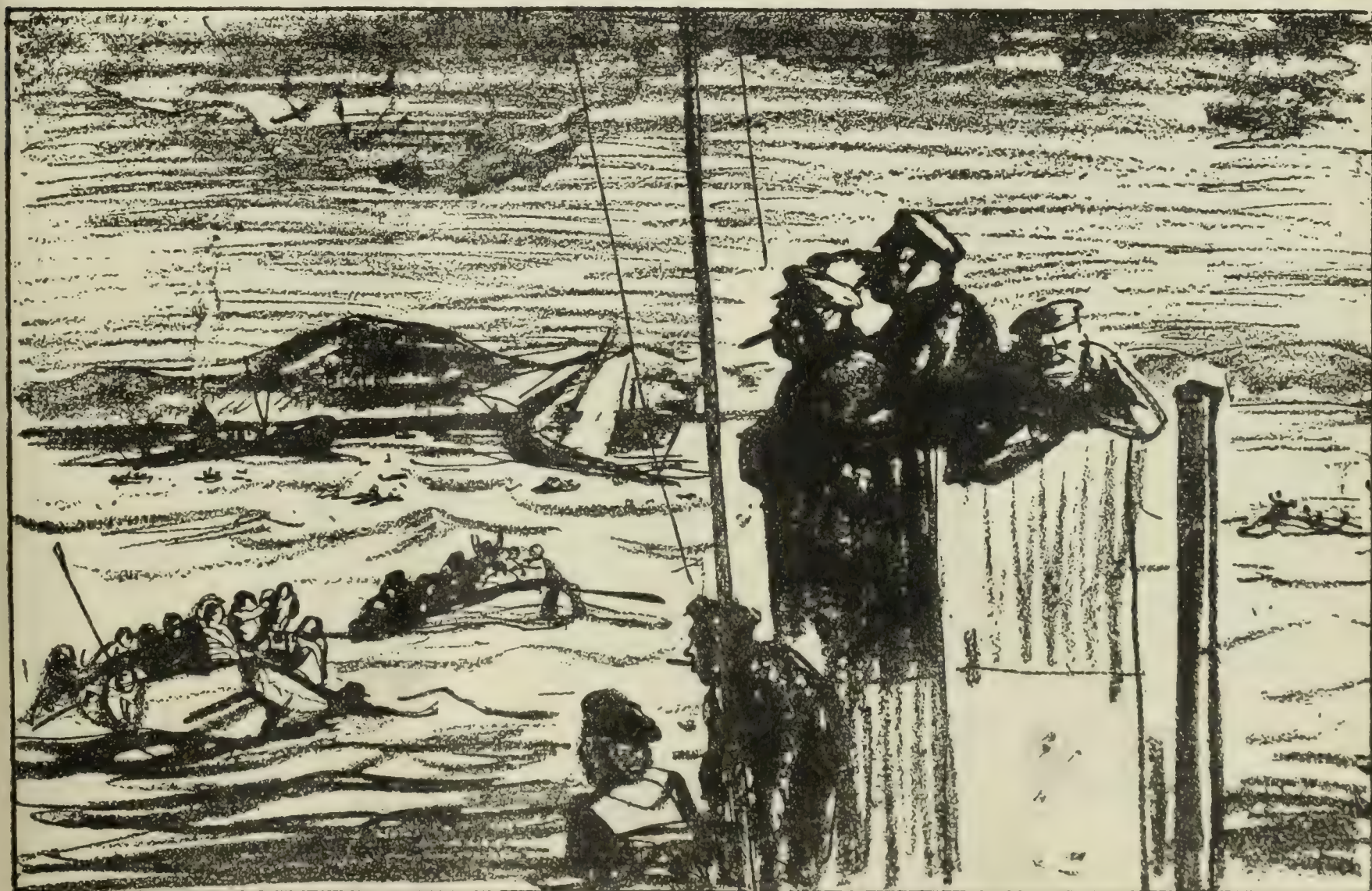
(May 25)



Condescension

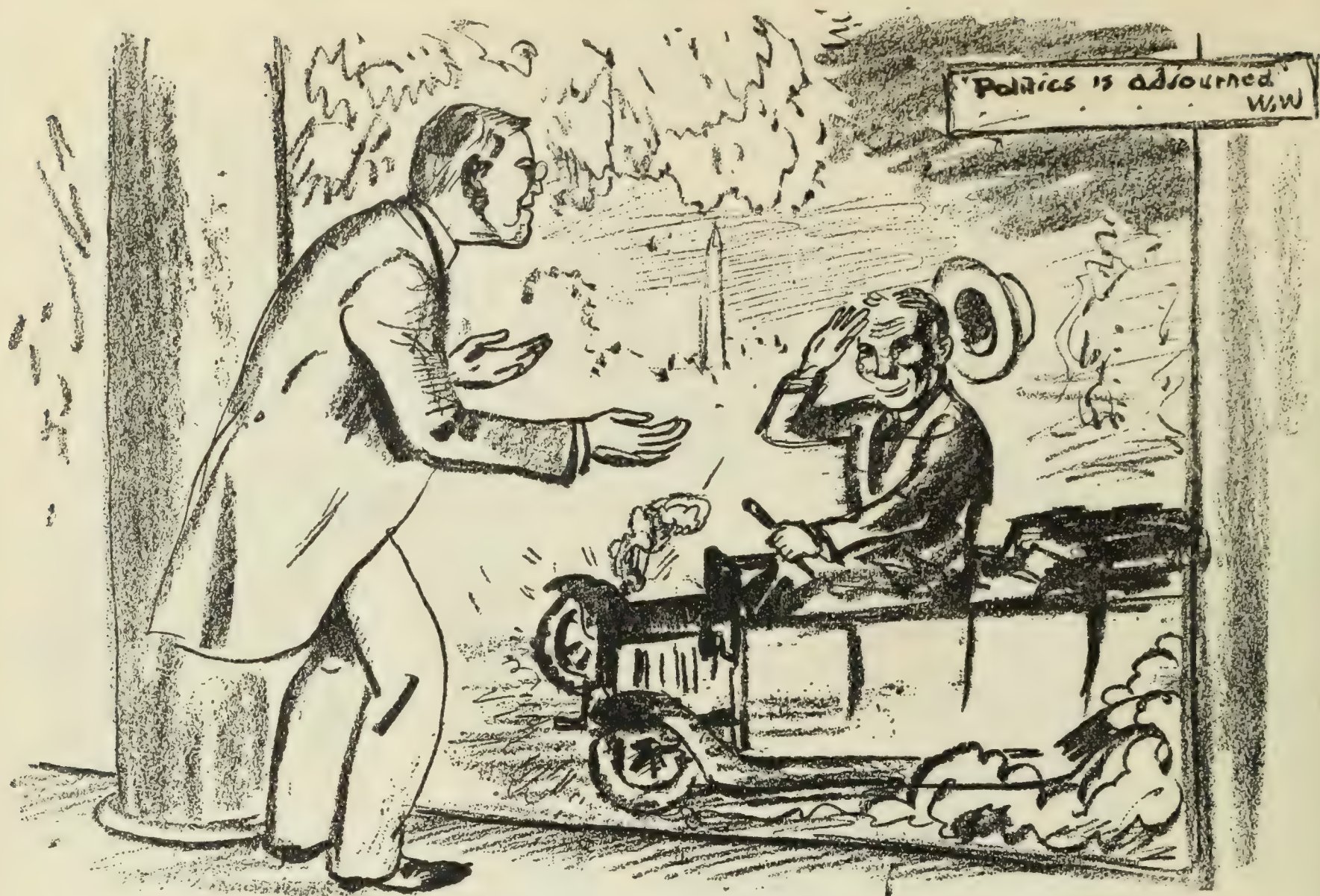
"Please let me take this opportunity to assure you of my willingness at all times to coördinate with the wish and thought of Congress."—G. Creel to the Congress of the United States of America.

(June 1)



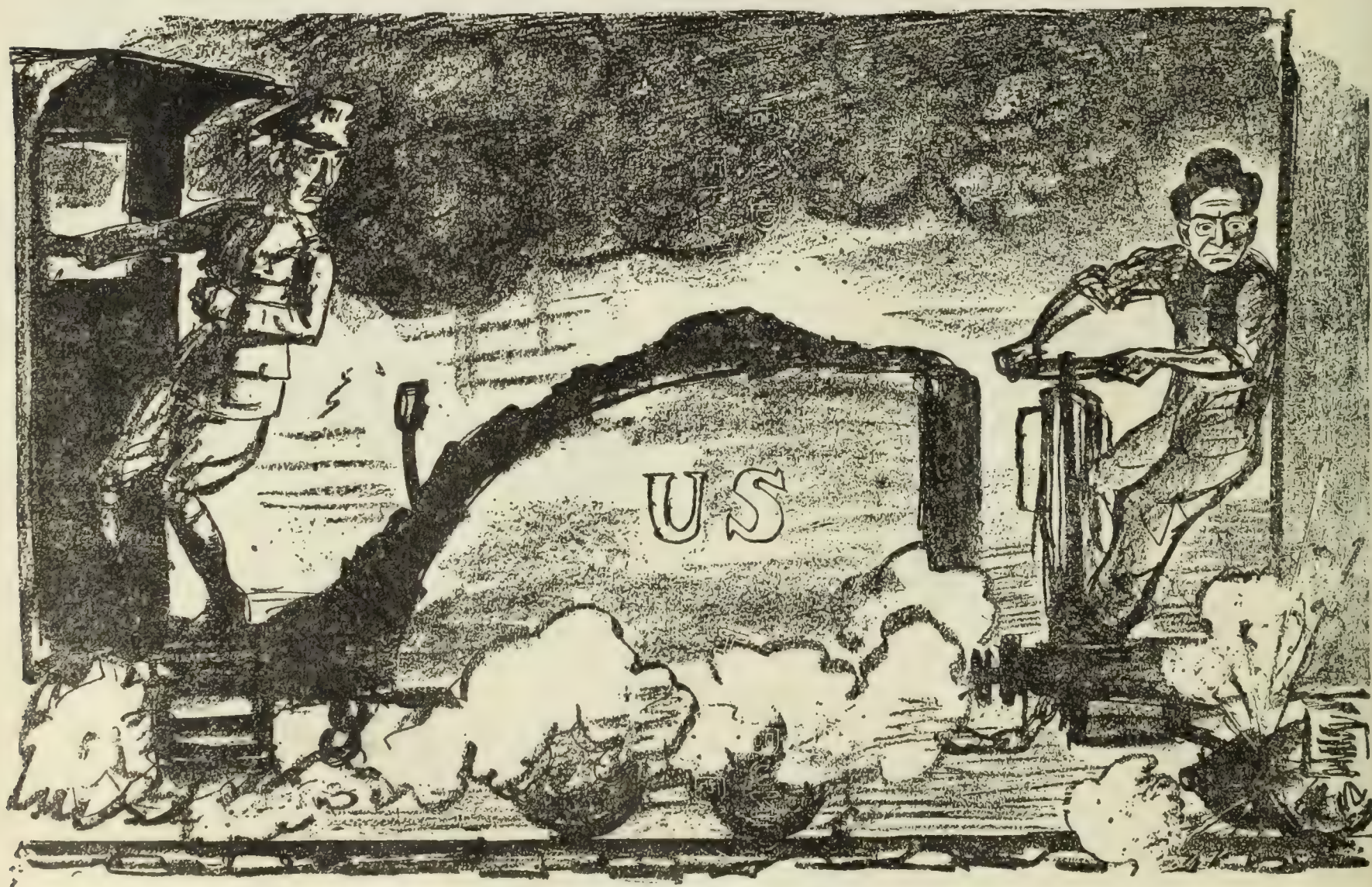
Taking Toll of American Women and Children

(June 15)



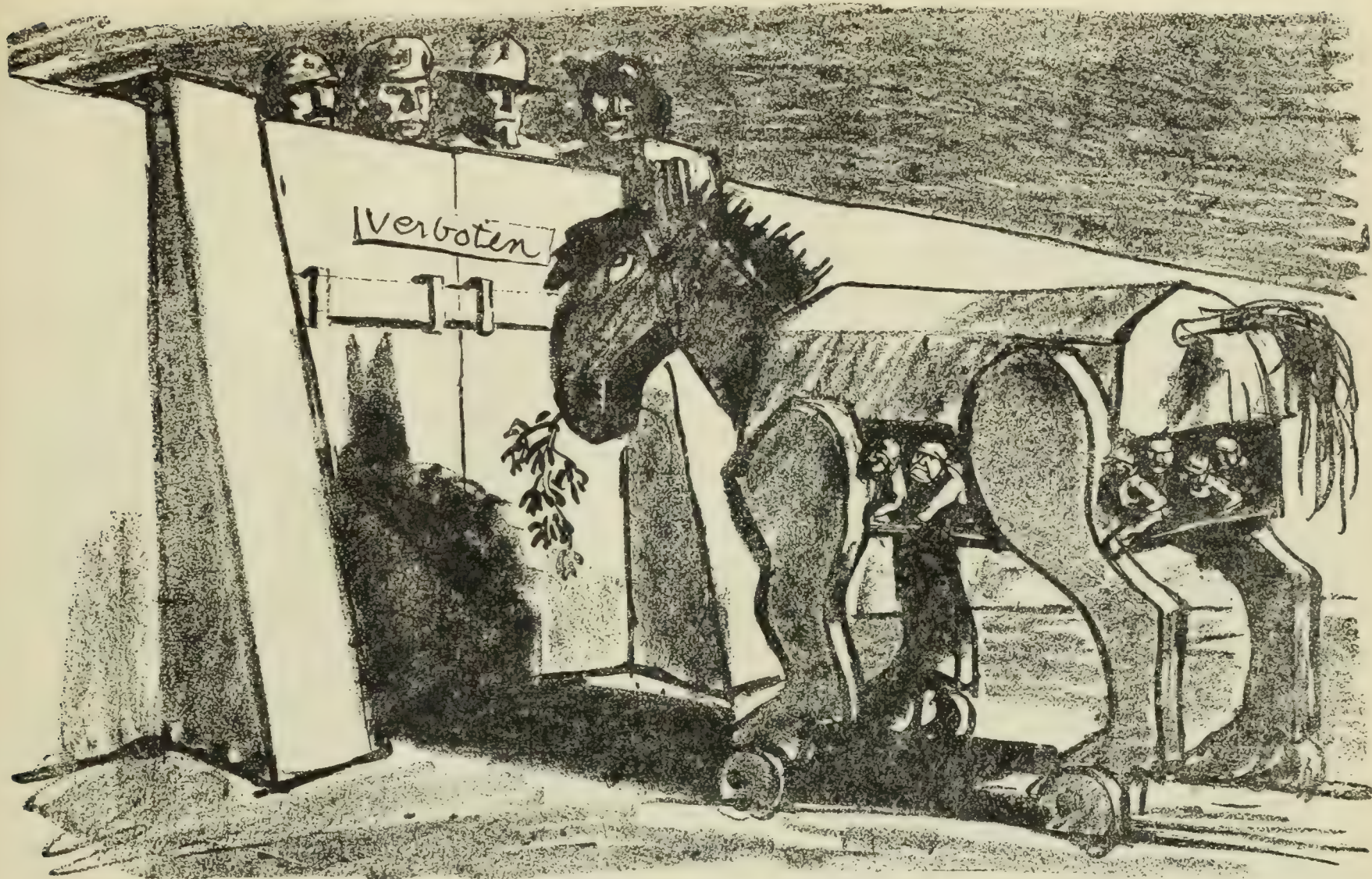
Will You Be My Rubber Stamp?

(June 22)

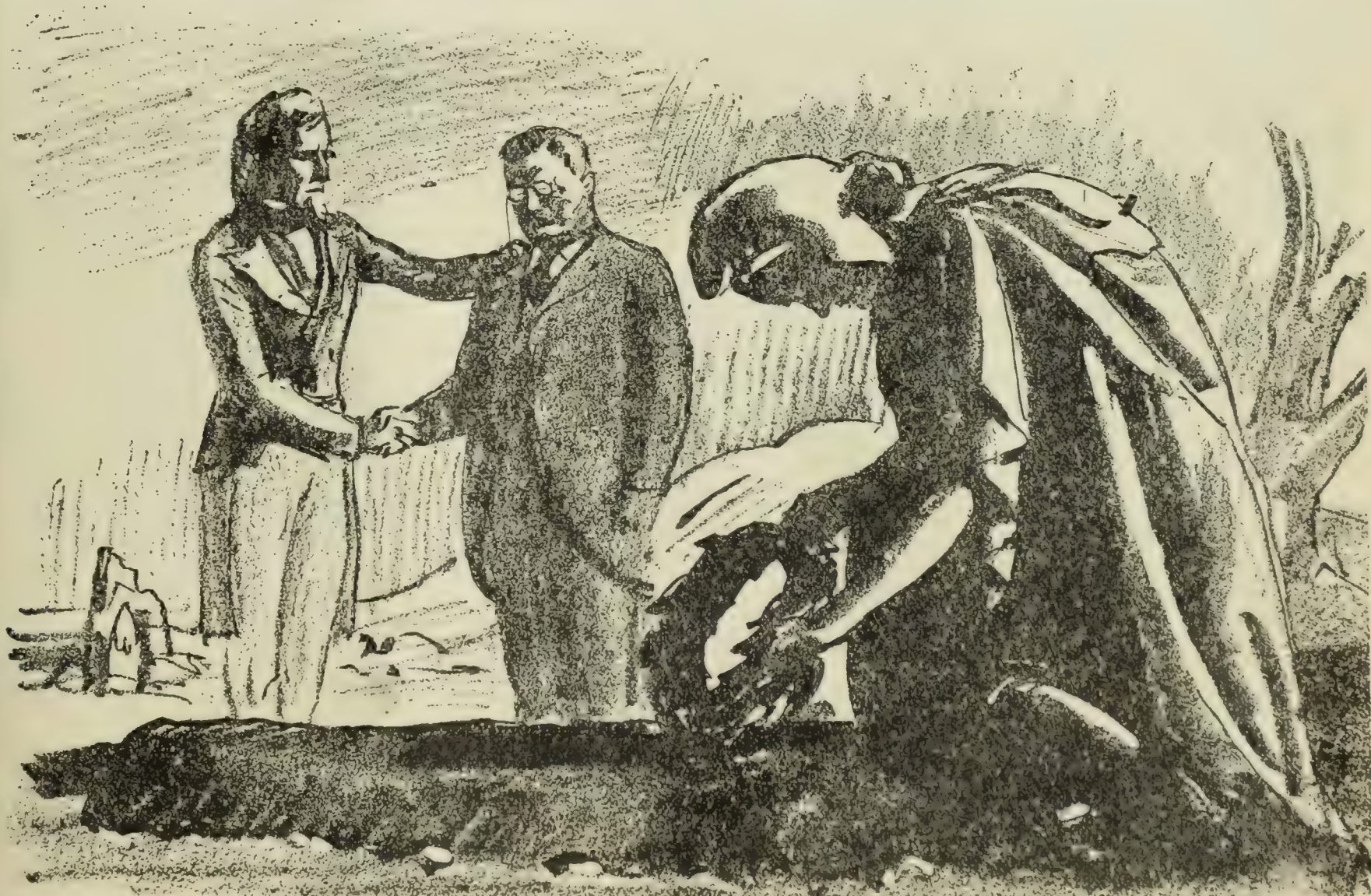


Mr. Baker Puts On the Brakes

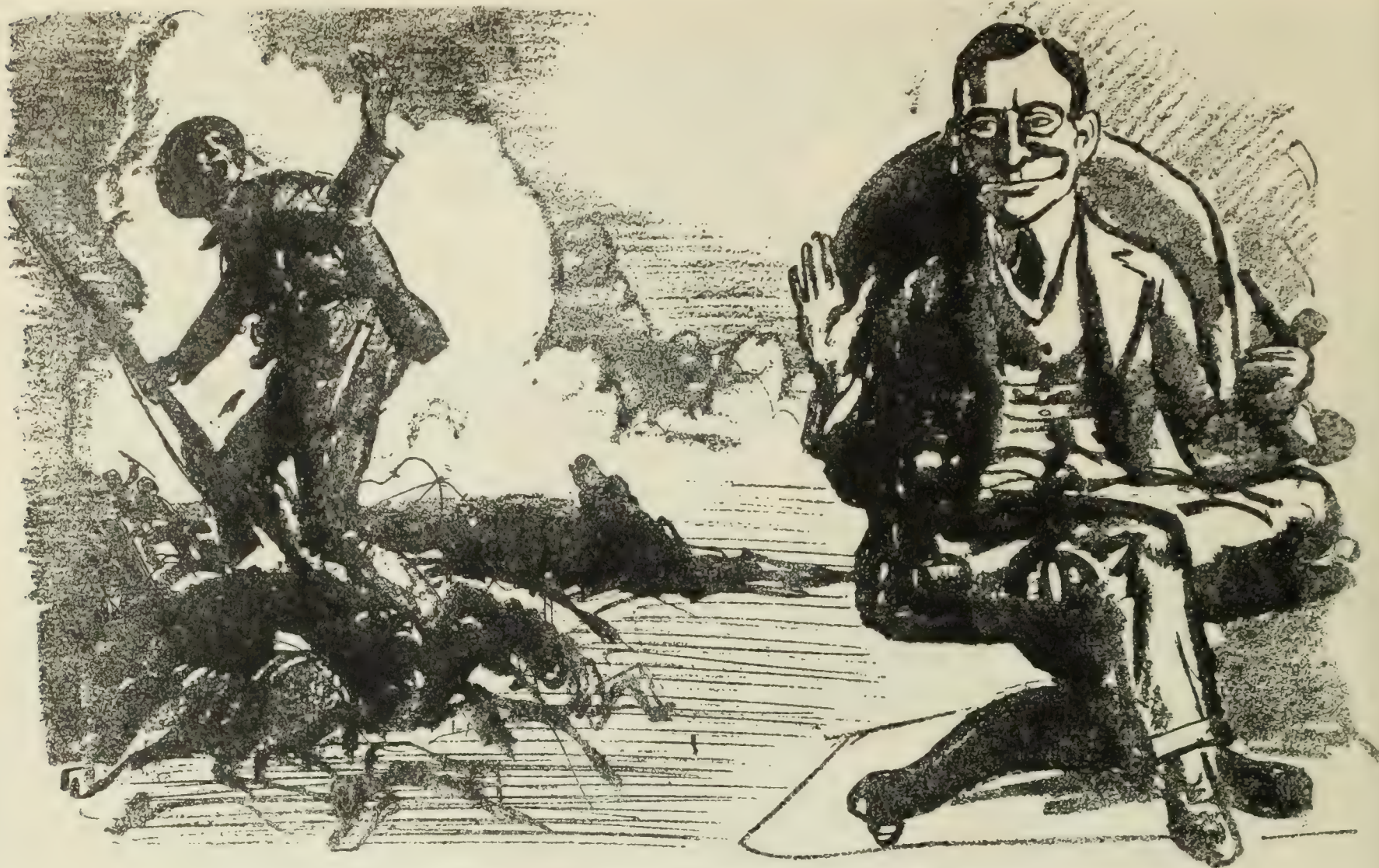
(July 6)



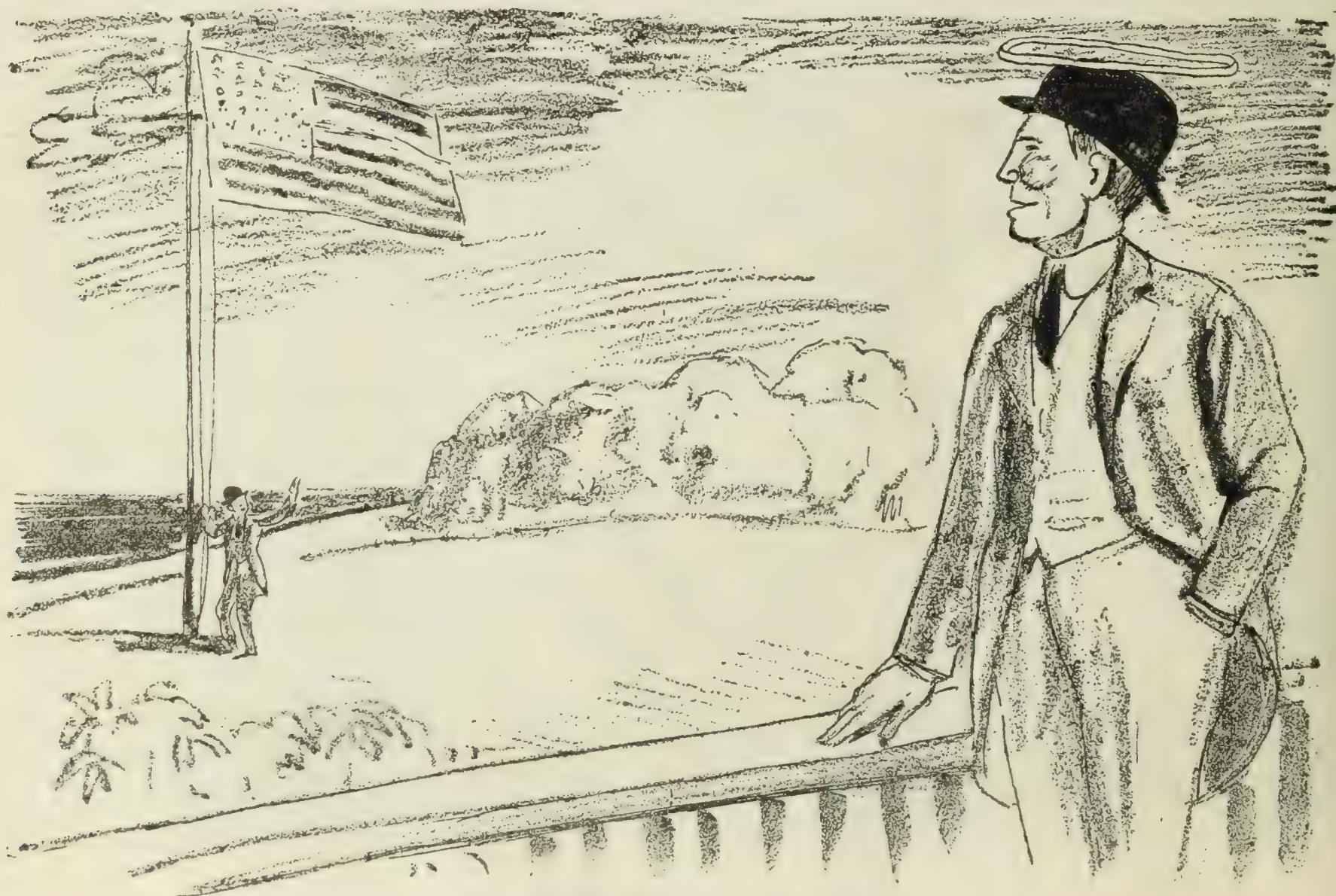
The Same Old Nag
(July 20)



The Patriot's Response
(July 27)



"The Situation Is Entirely Satisfactory."—Mr. Baker
(August 3)



The Fords—Pacifist and Slacker
(August 10)



"The conclusion reached by the Committee that substantial progress is now being made," said Mr. Baker, "will be very reassuring to the country."
(August 31)



At the American Fireside

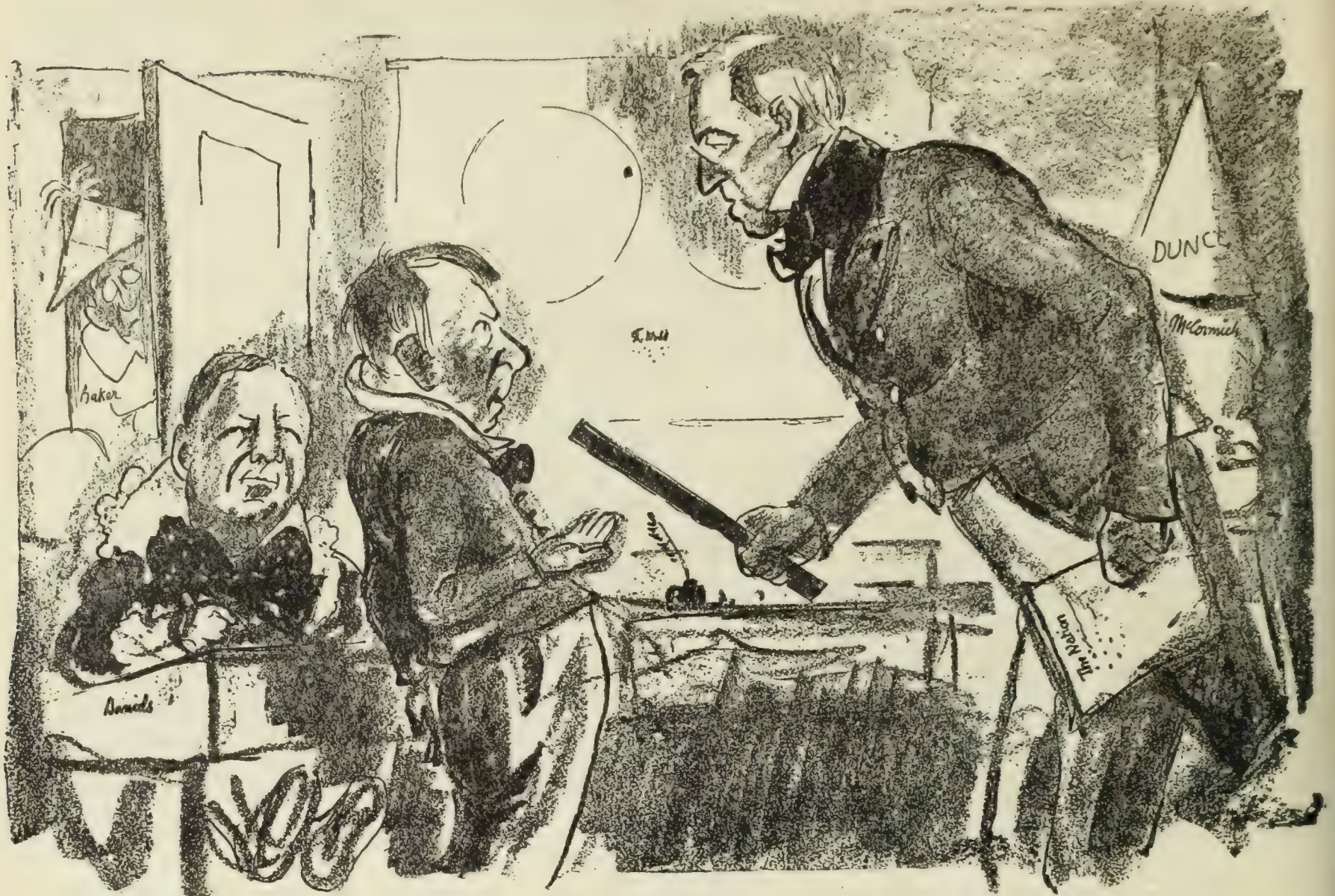
"What is it, mother?"

"That murderer is outside; he knows they are going to catch him and he wants to compromise; his hands are all bloody; what shall I tell him?"

"Nothing, mother. You see him, son. Tell him to go to hell!"

"Right-o! Grand old dad!"

(September 12)



In the Class-Room
(October 12)



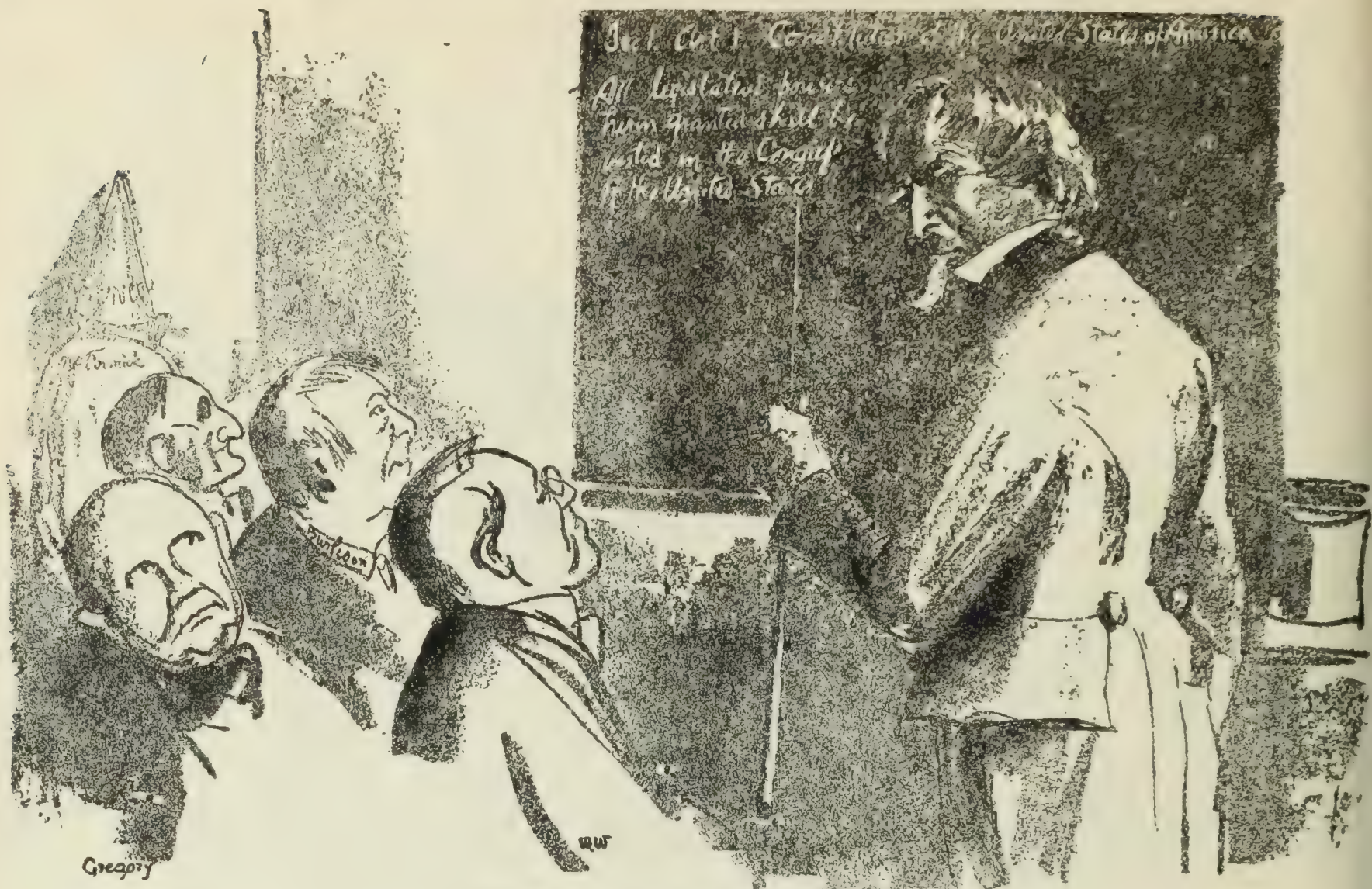
Their Only Hope
(October 19)



The United States in Executive Session—"Whistling for a Phrase"
(October 26)

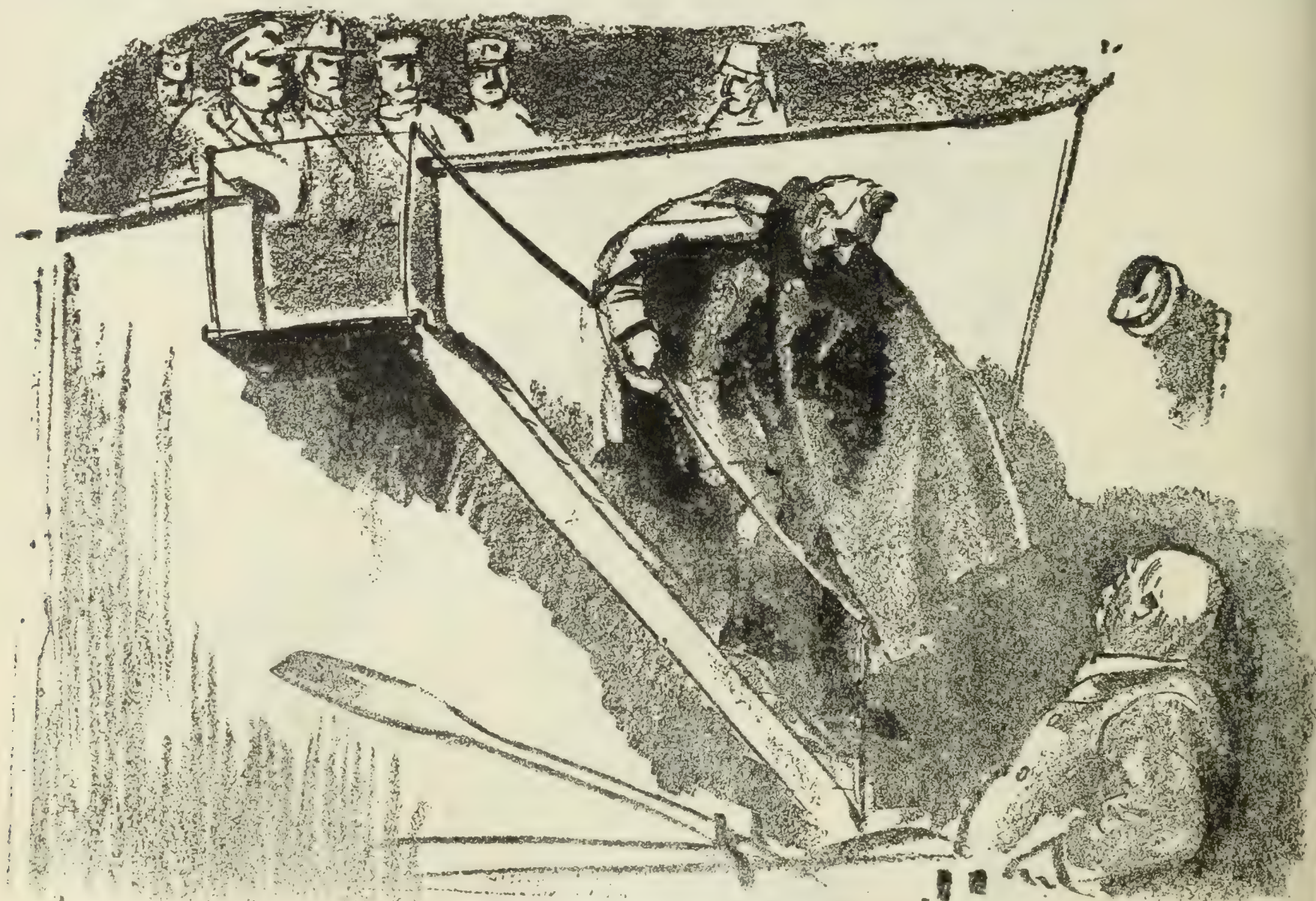


"... Upon What Meat Doth This Our Caesar Feed,
That He Is Grown So Great?"
(November 2)



The Old Schoolmaster Comes Back

(November 9)



The Captain Follows the Pilot

(November 16)

Sea Power in the Great War

IF it were not *infra dig.* we might well paraphrase a line of Wordsworth: "Mahan! Thou shouldst be living at this hour!" The world has need of him to write another chapter on the influence of sea power in history, in the history of the world's greatest war. We have heard much less about the war at sea than about that on land, for obvious reasons. But the mature judgment of history must be that there was no greater factor in the defeat of the Huns than the British fleet. And that was, thanks to the traditional policy of that kingdom, which no pacifist minister ever dared to forsake, because that was the one factor on all the Allied side that was always ready for the unexpected. The British army so far as size went was not undeserving of the Kaiser's sneer of "contemptible." The French army was unprepared. The Russian army was unprepared and unequipped. But the British fleet was ready to the last detail for instant action.

Opinions may differ as to who won the war. Some will say that the tide was turned at the first battle of the Marne. Some will say it was at Verdun. Some will point to the triumphant standing at bay of the British, backs to the wall, at Ypres. Some will say it was when the Americans swung into the strife at Belleau Wood and Chateau Thierry. But we are not sure that the issue of the war was not decided on the first day of August, 1914, before a battle had been fought, when the majestic fleets of Great Britain silently swept out to their appointed war stations, and thus made the high seas of all the world the sole possession of the Allies. It was Nelson at Trafalgar who pronounced sentence upon Napoleon, and Wellington at Waterloo merely executed what had been irrevocably decreed. So the triumphant battle line of Foch executed the decree which four years before had been written in the book of the Huns' fate by the silent watchers of the North Sea.

"The Day" thus came in a peculiar sense last week, when the much-boasted German navy surrendered to the British, in what was the most ignominious and humiliating surrender in all the annals of naval warfare. Hitherto fleets have been vanquished fighting. The French did not flinch at Trafalgar. Cervera fought like a lion at Santiago. Even the fated Rodjestvensky staked—and lost—all in a desperate passage at Tsu Shima. But the mighty Armada of the Huns, which had emboldened the Kaiser to call himself the War Lord of the High Seas, lay idle in the Kiel Canal and behind the cliffs of Heligoland until the armistice was signed, and then pusillanimously sailed out to strike its flags without ever having fired one shot in a decisive battle.

The worst humiliation of all, however, came in the frank confession made by that indisputable authority, Captain Persius, the German naval critic. He declares that the German navy never had more than half the tonnage of the British, while in quality it was also much inferior—thanks to the mistakes of Tirpitz. In the one considerable battle, of the Skager Rack, the German fleet was saved from annihilation only by good leadership and favorable weather; its losses even then being enormous. A second battle there would have been madness. Owing to the scarcity of material, twenty-three battleships had to be dismantled for the building of submarines. As for the German government's boasts of what

the High Seas fleet would do when it came out, they were all bluff and falsehoods.

But the puncturing of that bubble does not lessen the glory of the British navy nor the importance of its service to the world. The actual weakness of the German fleet was not known until now. Moreover, weak as it was, had it not been kept bottled up it would have wrought inestimable damage to the mercantile marine of the world, and would have prevented the sending of troops and supplies from Great Britain and her colonies and from America to France. So it remains true that it was the sea power of Great Britain that, from the first, was the determining factor, the predetermining factor, in the war. It was that steel rampart, that floating barrier, across the North Sea, that blockaded Germany so as to prevent her from sending cruisers out or getting supply ships in, and kept the high seas free for the traffic of the Allies—it was that which, faithfully maintained through four weary years, made certain the final defeat of the Huns. That is the reflection which comes from the surrender of the German fleet; and with it comes this reflection, that this does not seem to be a particularly appropriate or auspicious time for urging any "freedom of the seas" arrangement which would make impossible, in case of need, precisely such another service as that which the British navy has just rendered.



DO YOU WANT A NEGOTIATED PEACE?
(From "THE WAR WEEKLY" of Oct. 19, 1918)

The Week

WASHINGTON, November 27, 1918.

AS the festival we celebrate this week is by official appointment a day of prayer as well as of thanksgiving, it will perhaps be fitting to give more spiritual fervor to the former than to the latter. We have tried to be grateful for our victories and other blessings as fast as they have come to us, as of course we should have been. But now we are confronted with a staggering array of difficulties and dangers, for strength and wisdom to deal with which we may well offer supplications.

These difficulties and dangers are chiefly two-fold: those of peacemaking abroad, and those of domestic reorganization at home. The President seems to regard the former as by far the more formidable; so that nothing will do for it but that he must himself go to France to deal with them. Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando, we must assume, feel the need of somebody of greater rank and prestige than mere Prime Ministers to direct the council, and they have prevailed upon the President to overcome his natural reluctance for such personal exploitation, and to go thither as their guide, philosopher and friend. That he thus sets a dangerous precedent, and probably violates the intent if not the letter of the Constitution, is of course obvious to him. But Duty, "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God," constrains him to incur even such reproach.

It is impossible to avoid, however, grave doubts of the beneficence of his mission if, as stated by those closest to him and therefore presumably best informed, he goes chiefly to urge the formation of a League of Nations and the adoption of his own peculiar views of the Freedom of the Seas. Nothing seems more certain than that opposition to the former scheme is increasing in France, while opposition to the latter is simply overwhelming in Great Britain. We do not believe that the opposition of those countries can be overcome, not even by the President's magnetic personality nor yet by the suggestion, which has been put forward in Administration circles, that he might be prevailed upon to accept election as first President of the League of Nations, or President of Humanity, or President of the World, as some have proposed the office should be called. Certainly it will be regrettable to have him go "over there" at so great a cost of personal comfort, convenience and inclination, and so great a possible detriment to public business here, merely to advocate plans which the other Powers may not accept. It would have been considerate of them if they had thought of that before they insisted upon his going over.

By way of historical comparison and example, it is interesting to recall the personal composition of former peace commissions of the United States. That which made our definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783 consisted of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay. That in 1815 was composed of John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin. The treaty at the end of the Mexican War was signed by Nicholas P. Trist. That of 1898 with Spain was made and signed by William R. Day, Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, George Gray, and Whitelaw Reid. The Mexican treaty may be counted out, as something of which nobody is particularly proud, and

which President Wilson would certainly not wish to take as a precedent. In all the three other cases the treaty makers were among the most eminent men of the nation, they represented both political parties, and they were of course regularly confirmed and commissioned by Congress or by the Senate. In the case of the Spanish treaty, care was taken by the President to give representation not only to both political parties but also to both branches of the Government concerned with diplomacy. Two, a Cabinet Secretary and an Ambassador, were from the Executive; the three others were from the Senate, that body being a part of the treaty-making power.

The question of "unscrambling," or reorganizing our domestic economy, remains formidable and perplexing; with a steadily increasing division of the Government into two factions, the one seeking to perpetuate so far as possible Administrative control of industries and utilities by continuing war measures in time of peace, and the other demanding abatement of the dictatorial war powers of the President at the end of the war, and a return to the *status quo ante*. A significant resolution has been adopted by the Republican Senators—who after March 4 will control that body—to the effect that the Congress "shall assert and exercise its normal and constitutional functions." Some Smart Alecks try to poke fun at this, on the ground that if Congress has ever abdicated those functions it has been its own deliberate act, when it conferred extraordinary powers upon the President. Why, certainly; and that is the very reason for the action called for by this resolution. Congress, as a temporary war measure, invested the President with certain unusual and even unprecedented powers, including some which only Congress had hitherto exercised. Now, the war being ended and the occasion for such measures past, it proposes to withdraw those powers from the President and to resume its own authority. Nothing could be more logical or appropriate; save in the eyes of those who think that every temporary power conferred upon the President should be made permanent.

The National Civil Service Reform League has issued a timely warning against the danger that the great body of railroad, telegraph, telephone and express employes now under the control of the Administration may be subjected to political manipulation, as all Government employes were in the old spoilsman days before the adoption of the Merit System. These thousands of employes have been brought under Government control without being placed under civil service laws. The President himself, professing ardent devotion to the Merit System, would of course not countenance any manipulation of them for partisan purposes. But can the same be said of the Politicalmaster-General?

It is, by the way, explained by the Politicalmaster-General that the Administration has taken possession of the cable systems since the signing of the armistice because there never was a time in the history of the war when such control was as necessary as at present. That may be; though there are many outside of Missouri who would like to be shown the reason why. But we must regret the necessity, and we have no doubt that the President particularly regrets it; because it will mean official control and censorship of transatlantic communication while the President is in Europe,

when it is manifestly desirable to have such communication as free and as copious as possible, so as to avoid anything like creeling or suppression or garbling of information sent in either direction. The President must wish to have transmitted to this country the very fullest and freest reports of everything that is done and of all comments that are made during his visit abroad; and also at the same time to have transmitted to Europe the fullest possible accounts of the hearty manner in which he is being supported at home. But perhaps the Politicalmaster-General has all that in mind and has taken possession of the cables to assure precisely that end.

The final figures of the Fourth Liberty Loan subscription are gratifying. Every district oversubscribed, as formerly reported, Boston at the top of the list and Chicago at the bottom. The total oversubscription was nearly a billion dollars—to be exact, \$989,047,000, or 16.4 per cent. The fifth and any subsequent loans will, it is announced, be made on short term bonds, running perhaps five years. That will enable the liquidation of them before the loans already made begin to come due.

Some increasing anxiety is expressed over Germany's finances, seeing that her war bonds amount to thirty-five billions, leaving only forty-five billions of her entire national assets unencumbered. Undoubtedly this is an awkward situation, for Germany. We are not inclined to worry over it, however. We assume that the indemnity to be exacted from Germany will be fixed on the basis of the cost of repairing the damage which she did in the war, and not with any great solicitude for her comfort or convenience in paying it. We assume, also, that payment of that indemnity will be made a first claim upon her revenues and resources, to be satisfied before she pays off her domestic war debt—and practically all her \$35,000,000,000 war debt is held at home.

Senator Lodge proposes that we shall follow the example of Canada, and compel every tradesman who sells goods obtained from Germany since the war to advertise that fact conspicuously in his shop and on his stationery. That is an admirable plan, the only better one—perhaps not practicable—being to make it a penal offense to sell such goods at all. We already require all imported goods to be plainly marked with the name of the country from which they come. Senator Lodge's proposal would be merely a logical and highly desirable extension of the same salutary principle. Let it be enacted, as it certainly should be, and the public will do the rest.

The President is said to be opposed to the creation of any special Reconstruction Commission, either Executive or Congressional; preferring to leave the work of reconstruction to the existing War Boards, which would thus have to be continued indefinitely in time of peace, to do a work which they were not originally intended to do. It will, of course, not escape notice that this would leave the whole work under Executive and not Congressional control; though of course it is inconceivable that that consideration has weight with the President.

Mayor Hylan, of New York City, is not commonly ranked as a great statesman, but he must be credited with one commendable act in forbidding the public display of the red flag. That prohibition is impregnably logical. We permit the display of the flags of all friendly nations, but not those of the nations with which we are at war. Now the red flag either is or is not a national flag. If it is not, it has no title to public display on that ground. If it is, the only nation or quasi-nation to which it belongs is the Bolshevist organization in Russia, with which we are actually at war, and on that ground it should be suppressed.

Affairs in Russia are still turbulent and chaotic, with the Bolsheviks still savagely fighting against the Allies and also striving to exterminate all men of substance, character, and intellect. Happily there are indications that the Bolshevist power, deprived of German subsidies and aid, is rapidly waning, and that the orderly and honest elements of the Russian people are reasserting their authority. One of the most hopeful of promises is that the National Constituent Assembly will be reconvened, since it is really the only governmental body which legally represents the nation. We shall do well to give all possible countenance and encouragement to it, and to forget that ill-advised acclamation of the Bolshevist Soviets which the President once made.

The unhappy conflicts between the Poles and Ukrainians are a part of the evil legacy of Hunnish intrusion, which now, with the removal of the cause, should be amicably ended. There may be some difficulty in equitably drawing the boundary line between Poland and Russia, or Ukrainia if the latter is separated from Russia, but both parties to the dispute should be strongly disposed toward tolerance, moderation and reason. As for Ukrainia, inasmuch as delegates from those provinces were elected to the Russian Constituent Assembly, it would seem to be the part of propriety to await the reconvening of that body, and its orderly consideration of the question of Ukrainian independence. If the Ukrainians really want to be separated from Russia, doubtless they will be permitted to go in peace. But the act ought not to be consummated as a result of Hunnish meddling and Brest-Litovsk treaty-making.

While with one hand Germany reaches out for the food which she is begging from the countries that only the other day she was so gutturally Gott-strafting, with the other she reaches out for the trade of the world. At this very moment her agents are busy in many lands, particularly in South and Central America, seeking by all sorts of devious and dishonest methods to regain ascendancy in their markets. All that our Government appears to be doing in the matter is to advocate as a condition of peace a free trade system which will facilitate the success of the German campaign.

Shipping losses of the Allies and neutrals in October, from U-boat activities, were 93,583 tons. Shipping losses of the German navy on November 21, through ignominious surrender to the Allies, were 423,000 tons, not counting numerous destroyers and submarines.

King George is going to Paris, but at latest accounts William Hohenzollern's dinner engagement in that city was still unfulfilled.

Jim Ham Removes the Mask

AUTOCRACY and paternalism: they are the programme. For this disclosure the nation is indebted to the about-to-retire Senator from Illinois, who serves as Democratic party whip and as a special spokesman of the Administration. It was only a little while ago that the flamboyant Jim Ham endeavored to secure the adoption of a resolution substantially tantamount to this: "Whereas, the King can do no wrong; therefore, Resolved, that we approve and ratify in advance anything that the President may do." The Senate did not adopt it. But hope springs eternal in Jim Ham's breast, and so he rosiely illumined the closing moments of the session with another blurb: "Whereas, the Administration is running pretty much everything in the country; therefore, Resolved, that we are in favor of letting it keep on running it." We don't think the Senate will adopt that either.

But we thank the rubihirsute statesman from the Sucker State for this disclosure of Administrative purpose; and incidentally for this confirmation of a widely entertained apprehension.

There have indeed been strong and unmistakable reasons for suspecting that such an imposition of socialistic paternalism was intended by the Administration. They were indicated in the demand for the widest possible extension of Government control to utilities and industries, and for the granting of that control for an unlimited period. They were shown in the Administration's unwillingness to have Congress create any new commissions for post-bellum readjustment and in its desire to have all such work committed to the existing War Boards which it would have indefinitely continued in time of peace for that purpose. They were shown only the other day in the extraordinary seizure of the cable lines by the Administration as a war measure after the war was ended. And now they are fully verified by Senator Lewis; since it is of course unthinkable that he would introduce such a resolution without the knowledge and approval of the head of the Administration.

In view of this "plain relation" there is, we imagine, some added fervor in the grateful expressions of Thanksgiving Day: a thankfulness that the nation did not comply with the President's request for the election of a Congress entirely subservient to his will. We think that we do no injustice in supposing that the adoption of precisely such a policy as that expressed in Senator Lewis's resolution was in the President's mind when he issued his *maladroit* ante-election appeal; and that his expectation was to have a Democratic Congress promptly enact at his behest legislation providing for permanent government ownership and control of all the natural resources, public utilities and chief industries of the country—in brief, a system of socialistic paternalism.

It is well that this purpose is now disclosed, so that the nation may know of it and may know how to deal with it.

It is of course entirely legitimate for the President or anybody else to favor any policy or fad that may appeal to his imagination, and we do not think that the nation will shrink from the issue which is thus presented to it. But there is one decidedly objectionable feature of the business which, proceeding from any lesser man than the President, would come unpleasantly near to incurring the reproach of trickery

and sharp practice. That is, the use of the war and its necessities and the nation's spirit of patriotism as a catspaw for raking these socialistic chestnuts from the fire. It was under the plea of war necessities that the President secured his altogether unprecedented powers, and now it is through a retention of war powers in time of peace that he seeks to have them confirmed to him in perpetuity.

Frankly, these extraordinary proposals of the President's Senatorial mouthpiece make it necessary to remind whom it may concern that this is after all a democracy and not an autocracy, and that while the nation is quite willing to invest its Chief Magistrate with extraordinary and even dictatorial powers in time of war, it has no thought whatever of permitting his dictatorship to continue perpetually or indefinitely in time of peace.

With the return of peace we must have return of the normal conditions of peace—even the return of the President to the Constitutional functions of executor of the will of Congress, instead of dictator of acts of Congress.

SIXTEEN OF PEACE PRESS STAFF SAIL.—*Sun headline.*
For the love of Mike! Is there *no* limit?

When the Deacon called to find out if the minister was going to accept his call to a richer congregation, the lad who went to the door said, "I dunno; pa's in the library prayin' for light, but ma's upstairs packing the trunks".

Who will edit the *Official Bulletin* when the whole Committee, including the Chairman, goes away? Or will that remarkable journal be taken along bodily and issued daily in transit? That would really seem to be the better way.

It looks as if it would be harder to demobilize Washington than to demobilize the army.

The country will be spared the danger of foolish legislation for a while anyhow.

Why not rent the White House for the winter to Mr. B. M. Baruch?

It seems hardly fair for George and Mary to beat them to it.

Is anybody going who can speak French?

Good for Clarence Mackay!

A Wonderful War

(From *The Sun*)

A holy war! A wonderful war!
E'en for the lazy or the lame;
'Tis a holy war! a wonderful war
That has lifted the idler to fame.

The dilettante, the down-and-out,
The dopes that were laid on the shelves;
'Tis a holy war! 'tis a wonderful war,
That has given them the use of themselves.

—JOHN BARRY RYAN.

The Way They Fought

Two American Soldiers' Vivid and Modest Accounts, in Letters Home, of the Gallantry of Our Troops at Chateau-Thierry and Bellicourt.

BY PRIVATE VICTOR VAN YORX OF MT. VERNON, N. Y.

(AWARDED THE D. S. C.)

(From *The Sun*)

DEAREST MOTHER: Well, here I am again in the hospital with a fractured left arm due to a German machine gun. The fellows that were left alive out of that battle are the luckiest fellows in the world.

Well, Ma, it's just eight days now since I was hit. We had just finished piling the squareheads up at Champagne when they yanked us out and put us in Chateau-Thierry. There was no trench there; you know, it's all open warfare. If you could only see the villages up there, not a house left standing. Dead horses and men lying all over the place. I never saw such sights in my life. Well, to get to the battle.

We started about five miles this side of the Ourcq (Oork) River and started to push Fritz along. We tore through dense woods, over fields that had been ploughed up with the big shells, through towns that stunk something terrible from the dead horses and "squareheads." We kept this up until we hit a town that bordered on the river. This was our objective for the night. We were to take up our position on the southern bank of the river. When we entered the town the Dutchmen had felled big trees in the road to hold us up. It would take more than trees to hold us up, I'll tell you. We had a little skirmish with Heinie that night at about 10. It was like this:

When we got into the town there were a few Frenchmen there who said that they had patrolled the river and that there were no Germans around. So we started toward the river to take up our position. The Captain had taken one-half of our platoon (Company K was leading) up on a hill in the town and Ted and his squad were patrolling a street for Germans, so that left only three squads with a Lieutenant and a Sergeant to take up the position.

Well, we turned off the road and started toward the river, which was about fifty yards off. The river itself is not much more than a creek. It's about twelve feet wide at the point where our position was. The German side of the river is covered with trees and thick bushes right down to the very edge of the river.

Well, as I said before, we started down. We got about 100 feet from the woods when hell let loose. Machine guns from both flanks and right square in front of us. Their guns were right in the woods on the bank of the river. The dirty greasers saw us coming and let us get right up to them. It was pitch dark and we couldn't see.

You should have seen us drop. We swung our packs off and put them in front of us and started in to blaze away at them. We banged and they banged. All you could see was the flare of the guns. There we were—three squads battling against twelve machine guns. The reason they didn't get any of us was that we were too close to them. They were shooting right over our heads. It was murder to stay there, for we were getting a direct fire and a raking crossfire from the flanking guns, so we started creeping back to the road.

We got about half way up the incline to the road when they cut loose again. Some of the fellows took their chances and started for the road on a run. About ten of us dropped and started pegging back at them. We started to creep back, and I got about ten feet when they hit me in the left ankle. It was only a small wound; it hit that round bone on the outside, flattened out and came half way out about half an inch from where it went in. When I took my shoe off I saw it sticking out and pulled it out the rest of the way and then put my first aid bandage on it and everything was O. K. for the night.

And now for the big battle:

Well, sir, the company lined up in the road at about 4 Sunday morning ready for battle. All we carried was our rifles with bayonets fixed, trench knives, belts and two bandoliers. We were in full view of the Germans right on the road. I knew what was going to happen and offered up a prayer that all the boys would come through safe.

You see the infantry was moving too fast for the artillery and consequently we couldn't have a barrage. The position was important and had to be grabbed right off the bat. The spot where the first platoon had to cross was the same place where we had that scrimmage. Out across that 500-yard open stretch we went, with the German machine guns in the woods on the other bank of the river. Some of the fellows were dropped stepping from the road on to the field. Such a banging I never heard in my life. Can you picture it, mother, walking across an

open field with machine guns (about eighty) banging at you! The bullets whistled around and threw the dirt right up into your face. We charged about 50 yards and then dropped. We went ahead in spurts like that. At every spurt our number would be lessened. We continued this right down to the river and then started to do with our bayonets what some of our bullets had missed. The Lieutenant had told us that the river was only two feet deep, so I jumped right in. It was *just a little* over two feet!—It was right up to my chin. I scrambled to the other side in time to see a squarehead making half way up the hill behind the river with a machine gun on his back. He was figuring on putting it in a shell hole and then mowing us down as we came out of the fringe of woods. That's what he figured, but my gun was loaded and I let him have a shot right in the head. Machine gun and Fritz just laid down for a rest. After I saw my man drop I felt as if I could lick the world.

In that little fringe of woods we captured twelve machine guns. The rest of them had moved half way up the hill just behind the woods. We had to go through the same thing again. We started out rushing short distances and then commencing to fire. We silenced the gun directly in front of us and then charged it. I was running right toward the gun when a big "fat-head" climbed out with his hands over his head and started to yell "Kamerad." All he got out was "Kam." My bayonet went into his mouth and out the back of his head. I think he died of fright before I hit him. We were all yelling like a pack of Indians and nothing could stop us. We continued right on to the top of the hill, which was our objective. When we got there we only had about thirty men left out of the whole company. We were holding the top of the hill when I got a whack in the arm. One of the fellows threw me a tent rope and I tied my arm up as good as I could and waited for the reinforcements. When I saw them coming I started back to get bandaged up. I got patched up behind the lines and then was sent to an evacuation hospital and from there to Paris, where they operated on me, and from there to here.

I was hit just below the left elbow and it came out above. The arm is fractured, but will be all right pretty soon, I guess. Only a fractured arm is getting away with it pretty lucky.

That's about all, folks. I'll let you know as soon as I hear from Ted.

Vic.

P. S.—I have a bullet that hit me in the ankle and a German button (my German).

BY SERGEANT ARTHUR BANCKER OF STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.

Oct. 6, 1918, Sunday.

DEAREST MOTHER:

It is just a week ago today that I was wounded and in that time I have certainly been shifted around somewhat. At present I am in the Alexandria Hospital, Cashan Hants, England. It is a military institution and is quite nice. The nurses, or sisters as they are called (not Catholics), are fine and do anything asked of them. They are still applying hot bandages—or fermentations, as they call them—to my wound, trying to draw out the inflammation so that they can operate, and today it feels pretty good, although I spent a rather restless night. I sure do hate this lying in bed and am anxious to get well and about again.

The papers have just arrived and state that Germany is asking for an armistice. This looks pretty good, and maybe Xmas will see this struggle ended.

Last Sunday morning at 5 o'clock we were told to get ready to go over the top at 5:50. The Allies were to send up a barrage, the like of which had never been seen before, and it fully came up to expectations. Bullets and shells were thicker than rain drops, and of course Jerry answered our fire. Five of the boys in my company were killed by a shell just before we went over. I was hit about 8 o'clock. By that time we had taken four lines of trenches and were continuing our advance, when Jerry threw up a smoke screen. This smoke curtain shut off our view of him, and under its cover he advanced to the line of trenches we were going to take. Our boys halted, and most of them dropped into shell holes, or flat on the ground. We were right on top of a hill, on this side of a canal, and Jerry opened up with his machine guns. The order came to advance and we got up to go forward. Our Captain fell first, with an explosive bullet in his groin, which turned his insides out. I crawled up to him with

Lieut. Hammond and put a shell dressing over his wound. After making him as comfortable as possible, we decided to go on and clean out the machine guns. Lieut. Hammond rose to his feet and yelled "Follow on!" No sooner were the words out of his mouth than a bullet plowed right through him. His blood ran out like water from a faucet, and I hardly think he lived. I got up to follow him, and was hit in the abdomen. The pill passed up toward my chest about three inches, and then struck downward where it lodged in the outer wall of the abdomen. I sure was lucky, and the nurses tell me that another half inch and the story would have ended. When I fell I rolled into a small shell hole and fainted. It only lasted a few minutes, though, and when I came to I lay very still for about two hours. Jerry was playing his machine guns all around me, and I was covered with dirt and mud from the shells landing close by. Things got so hot that I decided to crawl back into the trench in the rear, which I did, and there made my way to a road where the stretcher bearers were moving around. After awhile an English Tommy put a first-aid dressing over my wound and assisted me to the dressing station, where they bandaged it up and shipped me out. There were many gruesome sights along that road, and it seems like a nightmare to think of it. I saw many of our boys shot down, but do not know just who got

away safely yet. Tell Ned that Lieut. Schwab was also hit. A shell exploded and tore part of his cheek away. He was not expected to live. We lost all three officers and I guess most of our men. They gained their objective, though, and today's papers seem to show that the sacrifice was not in vain. The enclosed clipping is regarding our boys, and tells what they did. The two American divisions in the fight were the — New York and the — from Tennessee and North Carolina. Good men and soldiers, and they made a game fight.

It is kind of tiresome lying here and writing, and I will stop for today.

Don't worry about me, as I am coming along tip-top, and before long will be back home telling you all about it. I suppose I will be here for a month or two, but I think you had better continue sending my mail to Co. E, as before, where I am having one of the fellows forward it.

Best love to all, from

ARTHUR.

P. S.—It always seems to be my luck to get cut where it affects my eating. I have had nothing but tea and broth for a week and the nurse says that will probably be my diet for two weeks more. Tough luck for me!

Letters From Our Readers

DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL

SIR,—Permit me to join in the general expression of appreciation of your splendid work in the REVIEW and WAR WEEKLY. In visualizing, in relative order, the editorial names represented in the liberal assortment of magazines that reach me, I find your name leads all the rest for comprehensive knowledge and clearcut and virile expression.

Your editorial in the WAR WEEKLY of November 2, on the eve of election, was, to my thinking, magnificent. It is a coincidence that, from my sickbed in Tennessee a few days before, I had used your figure of speech in a note to my friend, Mr. Fess, expressing my views as to the President's appeal to put only Democrats on guard, and characterizing it as a "slap in the face" of those who had stood by him, and of the great party of Lincoln that fought the country's battles from '61 to '65, and of his distinguished successors who had brought the nation to the foremost place in the world. To charge them as unpatriotic was as insulting as ridiculous.

But my point now is to suggest, merely, whether there is not in the political result an encouraging lesson, showing that there is in our people a preponderating sagacity that perceives the true nature of vital issues in the last analysis, beneath all emotional camouflage, and that augurs well for the permanency of democratic institutions of government.

It was the feature of the Bryan campaigns of 1896 all over again—with the "free silver" camouflage deftly concealing national repudiation—with printed arguments thick as the leaves in Vallombrosa flying everywhere, with Bryan's "cross of gold" oratory accompanying it.

Democracy is still on trial. Notwithstanding the judgment against him, our worthy President seems still reluctant to accept; but is preparing to appoint committees of his own to forestall the committees which Congress alone should appoint.

Pardon me if I say that your editorial of a week later, intended, apparently, to smooth over the significant rebuke of the elections, while kindly meant, essayed an impossible task—as shown by the announced intention of the President above noted.

Pardon this lengthy note from one still an invalid, slowly recovering from a severe case of the prevailing epidemic.

My purpose is, after all, left obscure. It is to suggest to you, if you think it worth while, to consider the matter with a view to editorial treatment of your own.

H. D. PEABODY.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

"COURAGEOUS AND IRREPRESSIBLE"

SIR,—Last night in my library I spent a most enjoyable hour or two reading your WAR WEEKLY of November 9th, and I hasten cordially to thank you and to say that I consider it very fortunate for our country, and its form of government, that we have a few courageous and irrepressible men like yourself, who are quick to expose, and condemn, hypocrisy, inefficiency, laziness, and autocracy in our "servants" at Washington.

Ancient Caesar's downfall followed closely on the heels of ultra ambitious words and actions, and, if memory serves me right, our own Jeckyl and Hyde would-be Caesar has been developing inordinate and unconstitutional ambitions this year.

This culminated in his partisan challenge of October 25th,

and, as history has a habit of repeating itself, the sane and country-loving, loyal voters of the land became his Brutus, just eleven days later!

Men like yourself, and John R. Rathom of Providence, helped bring about this great and much-needed victory for the kind of government that Washington, Jefferson, and the framers of our Constitution intended should be perpetuated.

ROBERT H. LANYON.

Chicago.

A SUGGESTION

SIR,—Every week I read your WAR WEEKLY, and I like it. But now that the war is over, are you going to continue it? And if so, what will you call it? The "PEACE WEEKLY"?

It seems to me there is field enough for such a publication. There is so wide an agreement on the part of publishers not to tell the facts, that certainly one publication that does try to tell them ought to be supported. But why not develop the WEEKLY by taking advertising, using a little more paper, and making it a bit less personal?

STEVEN B. AYRES.

New York City.

FROM CALIFORNIA

SIR,—The war is over. The tug-of-war is about to begin. War comes once in a while. Business is with us always. Millions of men were taken in a few short months out of regular occupations and steady employment. It will require much more time for them to get back to work that is worth while, and to business based on normal conditions. It is with the march of men from field to fireside we are now concerned. The nation went to war bravely. It must return to peace wisely.

Treaties and tariffs will be the subjects of deliberation, as never before, by those in authority. Commerce and competition will soon be of vital concern to all the people of the nation. More than at any other time, you have been potent for good during the past two years. You have been an inspiration to patriotism. You have been a spur to indifference. You have been a warning to Washington. May you be able to give as great service in the preparation for a prosperous peace as you gave in the preparation to push the war.

H. D.

Los Angeles, Cal.

TILL DEATH DO US PART

SIR,—I wish to congratulate you on the wonderful work you have been doing the past year through the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and the WAR WEEKLY.

I know of no better way of showing my appreciation of same than taking out a life subscription to the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and a subscription for the life of the WAR WEEKLY.

Kindly let me know the amount of these subscriptions and I will be glad to send you a check in payment of same. I will be 58 years old next January, and any insurance man can tell you how long I will be expected to live.

J. D. LYON.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Letters From Our Readers

AN EDITORIAL FROM MINNESOTA

SIR,—Some months ago one of my friends very kindly presented me with a subscription to the WAR WEEKLY. On several occasions I have acknowledged my indebtedness to him, and I now wish to express to you my thorough appreciation of the very efficient manner in which you are presenting all the facts in relation to affairs at Washington.

Your paper, as far as I have been able to observe, is the only paper with firm convictions of truth and honor and making every effort to enlighten the public. The WAR WEEKLY is now and will continue to be a great factor in creating loyalty and enthusiasm and higher ideals in our public life. More power to your valuable paper!

Charles Mitchell, Editor of the Duluth News Tribune, an enthusiastic endorser of the WAR WEEKLY, recently wrote the enclosed editorial in response to an editorial in our local Wilsonian organ, the Duluth Evening Herald.

In this editorial, touching upon the defeat of United States Senator John W. Weeks, it was stated, "It is a defeat not only for Weeks, but for Lodge and for the Junker ideal of a peace settlement for which Lodge, echoing Roosevelt, has stood." The principal purpose of the editorial, however, was the white-washing of the Hughes report, which, to all points and purposes, was clearly an utter failure.

I am sure Mr. Mitchell's reply will be interesting, and I know the many local friends of the WAR WEEKLY would be glad to have you make use of the same.

W. S. McCORMICK.

Duluth, Minn.

[ENCLOSURE]

BAD TASTE IN ITS MOUTH

Our jaundiced neighbor has burst another gall bladder in which it stores its mental equipment. It knows more about the airplane program than General March and General Kenly. It has X-rayed the Hughes report, using Attorney General Gregory as its medium.

Really it should not let the election so upset its mental digestion. Gall bladders are useful articles of internal furniture, but taste bad when ruptured. Nor can the fact be changed that the newly elected Congress is Republican in both house and senate, the house majority being well over 40.

The ill effect of this over which Democratic tears were shed is already in evidence. The fact that the voters of this country did not indorse President Wilson's peace notes, his 14 peace terms nor his attempt to dictate the election, has so upset the kaiser that he has been unable to recover his balance.

It so affected the German higher command that a delegation was sent directly to General Foch on the field of battle and not via Washington. All of this and the fact that Paris has turned the spotlight from Washington, must all be due to the election results—if what our neighbor and the other Democratic organs told us before election was true.

Germany may even have heard that New Jersey, the President's home State, and usually classed as "doubtful" in party politics, but with Democratic leanings, elected two Republican senators and that the Democrats also lost Mr. Wilson's home city and district. Again, according to Democratic press pre-election declarations, this has meant to Germany a repudiation of the President's war policies. Papers that tell such exact truths before election feel the strain afterwards.

As a matter of fact, too, if this was France or Great Britain, such an election would inevitably result in a complete change of Government. But here we will still have the glorious Mr. Baker, Burleson, McAdoo, Gregory, and all the rest. The voice of the people has been heard, but it will not be heeded, and cotton will still decline to follow the kaiser's example.

TEAM WORK

SIR,—In reference to your invaluable WAR WEEKLY, issue of November 9th, I wonder why we in America persist in believing that "credit is due" either to our Army or our Navy for transportation of troops to Europe?

On the day that the WEEKLY arrived there also came an English paper containing report of a speech by Admiral Sims, in which that gentleman says that all but about 3 per cent of the protection against submarines has been done by the British navy. Weeks ago I read that about two-thirds of the transportation has been done in British ships reckoned auxiliary to the British Navy.

John Bull has been overmodest about all this and many other things that he did, though our traditional notions of him do not precisely accord with this blushing unseen like the modest violet. All the more reason why we should all know and testify that without him neither our army nor even our navy would have availed to meet the crisis. For the problem was to put a million men in France quickly. It was done. Thank God for team work!

Birmingham, Ala.

GEO. EAVES.

WE CAN DO NOTHING

SIR,—Have any of your issues been refused mail service by your friend, Mr. B.?

Yours is the only American magazine to which I subscribed before leaving home, and for a time it came with fair regularity, about three weeks after publication. Since August 1st, however, I have received just two copies—one dated September 14, which came about ten days ago, and one dated August 31st, which came yesterday—(56 days en route).

The few numbers I have received have afforded much entertainment and instruction, not only to myself, but to others to whom I have loaned them, and the failure to receive all copies due me is one of war's hardships which I trust can be avoided. Anything you can do to expedite delivery would be appreciated by

CAPTAIN A. R. C.

U. S. A. B. H. 33, Portsmouth, Eng.

FROM AN "OLD-LINE YANK"

SIR,—I always look forward with a great degree of anticipation to the coming of the WAR WEEKLY, which reaches me any old time from the end of the week in which it is published to the end of the following week, depending upon the Burlesonian mails. As an old-line Yank, thoroughly disgusted with the "Too proud to fight," etc., slogans, I feel that the work that you are doing may bring back, in the course of the next generation or two, democracy to America, but certain questions keep recurring to me, and I can't help putting them to you.

Aren't you about ready at last to agree with some of us "old-fogy Yanks" that the suspension of the Constitution of the United States is a mighty dangerous thing, even in war times?

Also, that a Creel Corruption Fund is just as dangerous to personal liberty in this country as a Standard Oil lobby, only more so,—the Standard Oil lobby being the more honest of the two?

In the name of patriots, how long are we to be more afraid of Hun propaganda printed in German than of Wilsonian propaganda in English and subsidized by the Treasury of the United States of America? Shades of immortal Lincoln! How long are we to continue to live under an autocrat? Talk about your League of Nations. Piffle! A League of American Patriots to bring democracy back to the United States would be more to the point. And I see that Emperor Woodrow I is to desert the job that he was elected for and journey to Europe to dictate to the world.

I am not sending this to you for publication, but simply that you may get a line on the way in which the common, everyday man, who knows his country's history and thinks he knows its Constitution, views these things. You have so many of these screeds every day that I hesitate to trouble you with this, but I really can't help it. I wish there were more publications in this country like yours, and that we could have a few unterrified newspaper publishers who might be willing to make the supreme sacrifice for the cause of democracy in the United States. More power to your elbow!

ELMER N. BROWN.

Lawrence, Mass.

FROM A NORTHERN FARMER

SIR,—I am a farmer that raises wheat, the price for which the Government, with a view to economy of expenditures, has fixed, as well as for wool, iron and other commodities used during the war in great quantities. I offer no objection to these price fixings, but I do most strenuously object to having the Northern farmer's wheat price regulated while the Southern planter's raw cotton is allowed to soar in price from eight cents to thirty-eight and one-quarter cents (38¼ cents) a pound without any regulation whatever. The cotton purchased has thereby cost our Government millions of unnecessary dollars, and at a time when we are being urged and reurged to save to the utmost limit. The action along these lines has been so narrowly partisan, unfair, and inequitable, as well as extravagant, that we farmers of the north will see that no such lawmakers will ever again be in power.

NORTHERN FARMER.

Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

PATRIOTISM AND PHRASEOLOGY

SIR,—"May I not" rejoice with you in the triumph of patriotism over phraseology, and felicitate you upon the efforts you have exerted and the influence you have wielded, with the result that the only citizen of the United States who has ever presumed to adjourn and convene politics at his own pleasure now stands publicly rebuked and automatically repudiated by his own predetermination?

God will yet save the Republic.

Richmond, Va.

T. H. GATLIN.

Letters from Our Readers

GERMANY AND THE SCRIPTURES

SIR,—I am always enlightened by the WAR WEEKLY. Please read, in Germany's discomfiture, Revelation XVIII, and as Germany surrendered on Nov. 11th, please read the 11th verse.

New York City.

JAMES GAYLEY.

...Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen...For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities...

Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.

...No man buyeth their merchandise any more.

...Thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived.

(Revelation: XVIII: 2, 5, 8, 11, 23.)

SALUTATIONS

SIR,—Salutations to your able pen, which contributed so much to the Republican Congressional success!

Can I suggest two matters to your expert attention? (1) The deportation of the interned aliens, who have used the liberty of our country to harass or ruin it; (2) the abolition of the ridiculous seniority rank in making chairmen of our House and Senate committees at Washington.

GEORGE P. BUTLER.

New York Yacht Club.

A PLEA FROM KANSAS

SIR,—Now that the war will soon be over, will the WAR WEEKLY stop publication? Jamais! Your subscribers will not consent. Change the name to "Harvey's Weekly" and continue it. If the price is not high enough to pay, lift it; we will all gladly pay it.

I do not want to be fulsome, so I merely say that it is the best editorial stuff published in America. We want it continued.

F. DUMONT SMITH.

Hutchinson, Kansas.

A LOSS IN CONTEMPLATION

SIR,—I construe your publication's title, WAR WEEKLY, as implying that such publication will close automatically at close of war. Am I correct in this?

If such is a fact, then even the end of the war has its losses.

W. MORRISON.

Eldred, Pa.

WE CANNOT

SIR,—An English friend, to whom I send the WAR WEEKLY, inquires: "Do you see that Ford is handing over *all* his war profits to the Treasury? How is that being worked?"

Is he, and how is he? Can you help me out?

HARRIET GAYLORD.

New York City.

BEST WISHES

SIR,—With best wishes, and trusting that you will continue the WAR WEEKLY not only in war but in peace times as well, giving us the benefit of the unbridled truth, I beg to remain,

An unknown friend,

DENTON C. CROWL.

Metamora, Ohio.

GOD HELP US!

SIR,—Now can we not get rid of some of the Burlesons, Garfields, &c.? I see that Creel goes out of the domestic field December 1st, but is still allowed to "propaganda" abroad.

JOSEPH D. HOLMES.

Orange, New Jersey.

"A WEEKLY JOY"

SIR,—Your WAR WEEKLY has been a weekly joy to me, and I try to extend its circulation by every means in my power.

LAWRENCE GODKIN.

New York City.

WE SEEM TO PLEASE

SIR,—Joy! Joy! over your WAR WEEKLY. "Carry on"!

NANCY KIMBALL.

New York City.

The Holy War

By

GEORGE HARVEY

and

The Coming Peace Congress

By Roland G. Usher

League or Entente

By John Jay Chapman

"The Real Colonel House"

By Judge F. W. Henshaw

War's Aftermath for the Railroads

By G. P. Garrett

The Czecho-Slovak Nation

By L. E. Van Norman

After the War

Maj.-Gen. W. H. Carter, U. S. A.

Venice at War

Gertrude Slaughter

in

The North American Review
for December

PUBLISHED

November 30th

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BY GEORGE HARVEY

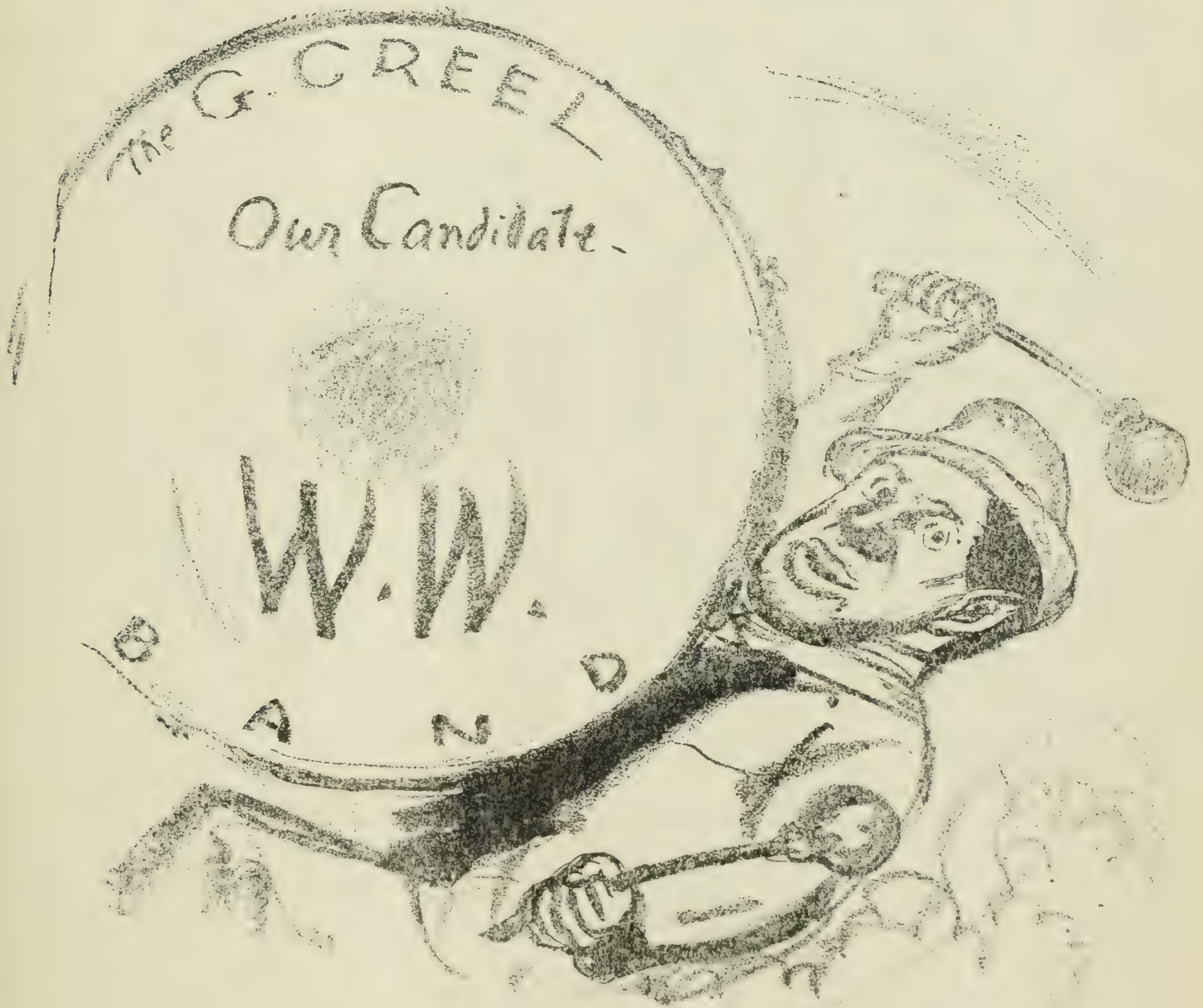
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VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING DEC. 7, 1918

NO. 49



"THEY'RE OFF"

The President Forsakes His Post

WELL, the strain is over. They're off. So far as anybody can learn from official or unofficial information, they don't know where they are going, but they are on their way. By "they" we mean Mr. and Mrs. Wilson and Mr. George Creel, accompanied by their respective retinues. None of the other voyagers, except, of course, the foreign ambassadors who were asked along to give tone to the party, really counts,—the Peace manikins least of all. It is the most regrettable and most ridiculous performance that this country ever had to bear up under; everybody feels that, with mingled indignation and disgust; but our own inclination is to concur in the sentiment of Dame Columbia, elsewhere illustrated, that since they had to go we are glad they have gone. Tension such as has held the whole country in its grip for the past few weeks is not healthy. It has already produced a sense of helplessness and dismay in the minds of all who are conscious of the immensity of the problems which must be resolved quickly if our National well-being is to be conserved.

It is bad enough in all conscience that the Captain should forsake the ship in waters so troubled, but better even than than perilous drifting upon a sea of uncertainty. The crew is left anyhow, and a first mate, although the Lord only knows where his authority begins or leaves off or whether he has any at all. Presumably the Captain held some opinion on the subject, but if so, he did not see fit to vouchsafe it to the bewildered passengers and slipped off on the *Spree*, misnamed the *George Washington*, without saying a word.

Other views we have pondered till we are black in the face. The most impressive is that of the venerable George F. Edmunds, who still ranks, outside of the Supreme Court itself, as our first authority on Constitutional law. Ordinarily few would be so presumptuous as to challenge his dictum upon a question of this kind, and his unqualified assertion that Mr. Marshall is in fact President and empowered to act as President at this moment cannot readily be brushed aside. But even though the great jurist's opinion be well grounded, the fact remains that the Constitution cannot enforce itself; nor could the Supreme Court, conformably to its traditions, voluntarily assume jurisdiction.

The power of initiative lies in Congress, and if that body should formally declare that, in view of Mr. Wilson's inability to perform the functions of his office, the Vice-President must act in his stead, it is highly probable that the Supreme Court would decline to intervene, and the judgment would stand. This undoubtedly is what ought to be done, but it will not be done by the present Democratic Congress and, in fact, would hardly be approved by the people unless a crisis in the form of physical disturbance or financial necessity should arise.

Meanwhile, the wheels of legislation are blocked practically, if not absolutely. This fact appeared upon the first day of the session when, apropos of the introduction of a measure to build a bridge, Mr. Mann pointed out that, even though duly enacted and enrolled, the bill would not become a law without the President's signature at the end of ten days for the reason that it had not been "presented" to him personally, as required by the statute. If this conclusion be correct, as it certainly seems to be, clearly Congress might as

well adjourn and go home; but again that would hardly do because, if it should, who could call it together to meet a possible emergency?

In any case, it is quite evident that, apart from indicating his personal views, the President wasted his breath in urging Congress to press forward legislative measures of vital importance to readjustment, particularly of the business affairs of the country. It was well enough perhaps, for example, to demand speed in disposing of the railway problem, but "the result of the President's attitude," as Senator Underwood remarked, was to "throw the whole matter into the lap of the next Republican Congress," which, unless called in extra session, will not meet till next December. Discussion of the many domestic proposals laboriously argued by the President and left on the steps of the Capitol to no purpose during his indefinite absence seems, therefore, to be somewhat academic.

The real interest in the President's speech centered, of course, in what he might have to say about his excursion in foreign parts. This fascinating enterprise naturally overshadowed all else and the whole country was on tiptoes of expectancy. But Mr. Wilson treated it quite casually and rather audaciously cuttlefished the whole business. He "welcomed the occasion"—as if, forsooth, any occasion were required—to announce his purpose, he realized "the great inconveniences" attendant upon his forsaking his post, "particularly at this time", etc., etc.; but the conclusion that it was his "paramount duty to go," in defiance of the unanimous judgment of the people, which he had sought only to ignore, had been "forced" upon him by considerations which he hoped the Congress, too, would regard as imperative.

What were these impelling considerations? Oh, yes, to be sure. Well, it was like this: The Allies and "the Central Empires also" had accepted his "bases of peace" and now, oddly enough, wanted to know what they were; so "very reasonably" they wished him to come over and tell them. That was Point No. 1.

Point No. 2 was that American soldiers had been fighting for the ideals embraced in those bases and obviously it was his duty to "make good what they offered their life's blood to obtain." Stripped of its hazy verbiage, that was all there was of the whole statement of pretexts for deserting his post. To pronounce it "inadequate" and "disappointing", as everybody did immediately, is to speak with mildness savoring of positive misrepresentation. It was bunk, plain, unadulterated bunk. We cannot say that the Allied Governments do not "desire" Mr. Wilson's personal presence; quite likely they do; they naturally would, for the simple reason that they will have him at a great disadvantage in close quarters, as compared with the influence he would wield from Washington through capable representatives; but if they have actually requested him to come, why on earth should not their implorations be made public? We have been fed with stories to that effect for a fortnight now and we frankly do not believe there is a word of truth in any one of them,—that is, as to England, France and Italy. We believe there was some Bulgarian Turk who put up a wail for succor, but he is the only one we have heard of except, of course, distressed Austria and afflicted Germany,

who fully expect—and not without reason—Mr. Wilson to do all in his power to lighten their just punishment.

As to the "acceptance" of the Fourteen Commandments, it suffices to remark that the Allied Governments kicked the only two that amounted to anything out of the window and now, according to the President himself, are seeking to discover what the others are about. One fact is certain: Nobody in this country knows or can find out and a large majority of the people were so suspicious of the whole programme that they repudiated it at the polls, along with the President himself and all his cohorts.

The consequence is that he goes abroad, not as the spokesman of the American people nor of a majority of them nor of even an overwhelming proportion of his own minority party, but only of himself. That fact is already well known abroad, and the further fact that Congress, now the real representative of the country, is going to have vastly more than the President to say respecting any treaties involving American interests, is likely soon to be made no less evident.

The talk about our soldiers fighting for Mr. Wilson's vague "ideals" and no less misty "bases" is pure gush, of course. They are as ignorant as the Allied Governments; they don't know what those aspirations are. They went to war for their country and fought a good fight and won, and they want to see France and England get all they can get out of the barbarians and make them impotent for all time; and if there is anything left over they wouldn't mind a small contribution to our own comparatively small expenditure in lives and money. That incidentally is the way our own people feel about it, too, as Mr. Wilson will quickly discover when the day of settlement approaches.

When the Kaiser told Mr. Gerard that the time would come when America would have to reckon with Germany, he spoke for once in his life the exact truth,—and the time is not now far off.

Of the President's tender consideration of the Congress as manifested in his speech we cannot speak too highly, although we did have to laugh at that ever delightful plea for "common counsel," now ingenuously translated into "friendly countenance and encouragement," which brought a disrespectful guffaw from the Congressmen present. Nevertheless, for one who recently underwent so irritating an experience at the hands of the people, he was more than gracious, as witness the following, effectively arranged by the *Tribune*:

May

I now hope, gentlemen of the Congress, that in the delicate tasks

I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea, in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love,

I may have the encouragement and the added strength of your united support?

I realize the magnitude and the difficulty of the duty

I am undertaking.

I am poignantly aware of its grave responsibilities.

I am the servant of the nation.

I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the best that is in me to the common settlement which

I must now assist in arriving at in conference with the other working heads of the associated governments.

I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement.

I shall not be inaccessible. The cables and wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and

I shall be happy in the thought that

I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal.

I shall make my absence as brief as possible.

There let us leave the wretched business for a week. It wearies us to proceed.

The Peace Manikins

THE great guessing match was finally ended abruptly by the issuance from the White House of the following official bulletin:

It was announced at the Executive Offices to-night that the representatives of the United States at the Peace Conferences would be the President himself, the Secretary of State, the Hon. Henry White, recently Ambassador to France; Mr. Edward M. House and Gen. Tasker H. Bliss.

The careful phrasing was curiously naïve in indicating that only the Secretary of State did not and only Mr. White did require identification, but most highly significant, of course, was the reference to "the President himself,"—an appellation needing only the use of a capital H to be perfect. Nevertheless, after attributing the obvious restraint to modesty well becoming a master who would appear as the servant of a people, one could hardly fail to miss the point that it mattered little what names followed. So, in point of fact, the country did construe the announcement and, but for a sense of obligation to perfunctory history, we frankly should regard even casual consideration of the merits of the supernumeraries as wholly supererogatory. Responding manfully, however, to the call of custom, we present herewith the inscriptions which should be placed upon the tags to be worn for purposes of identification in case *George Washington* should get mad and turn turtle in mid-ocean, to wit:

Name	Occupation	Representing
WOODROW WILSON.....	President.....	Himself
ROBERT LANSING.....	Secretary of State.....	The Executive
HENRY WHITE.....	None.....	Nobody
EDWARD M. HOUSE.....	Scout.....	The Executive
TASKER H. BLISS.....	Soldier...	The Commander-in-Chief

We cannot pretend to regard this delegation to the greatest international conference the world has ever known as in all respects comprehensively representative of the United States of America. Indeed, many alternatives quite as satisfying occur forthwith to mind. Here, for example, is one which suggests itself at random:

Name	Occupation	Representing
EDWARD J. WHITE.....	Chief Justice.....	Supreme Court
ROBERT LANSING.....	Secretary of State.....	The Executive
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK..	Foreign Affairs.....	The Senate
HENRY CABOT LODGE....	Foreign Affairs.....	The Senate
ELIHU ROOT.....	Lawyer.....	Statesmanship

Of substitutes who might be preferred for one reason or another, moreover, there is no lack, such for instance as Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes for the Chief Justice, Mr. John Bassett Moore for Mr. Lansing, Senator Charles S. Thomas for Senator Hitchcock, either Senator Knox, Senator Brandegee or Senator Borah for Senator Lodge and

Mr. Taft, Mr. Hughes or President Lowell for Mr. Root, and so on, *ad infinitum*. Back of any such combination, in reserve and holding ultimate authority would be, of course, the President—shall we say—Himself. Thus all parties to the great agreement—the Executive and the Senate who make treaties, the Supreme Court which construes treaties, the Republican majority party, the Democratic minority party, in brief, the whole people, would be fitly and powerfully represented.

Instead, we have—what? Mr. Wilson, who no longer speaks for a majority of the people, by his own unprecedented appointment, and four manikins, of whom six years ago only General Bliss was slightly known at home as one of a hundred brigadiers and Mr. White abroad as an agreeable diplomatist of no particular account.

We would not be understood as aspersing Mr. Lansing, a painstaking, long-suffering country lawyer for whom originally even the powerful Senator O'Gorman was unable to obtain the coveted position of Assistant Secretary of State; the very term of the official announcement shows that it was not he, but his title, that was appointed. Nor would we belittle Colonel House; we could not, after reading Mr. Justice Henshaw's incisive analysis of his attributes in the current NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Of dear old General Bliss it suffices to say that his presence at an international peace conference is about as fitting as that of an army mule would be in a church choir.

The position of Mr. Henry White is different. Although appointed presumptively as a solitary representative of the Republican majority, no evidence appears that he ever voted a Republican ticket and his amiability towards the present Administration, which still retains his son in the diplomatic service, has long been notorious. Of his qualifications nothing is known except that he has money, pleasing manners and a knowledge of the French language not possessed by any one of his colleagues from the top to the bottom. He also speaks German after a fashion and, if occasion should arise, will be able to act as interpreter for the President in conversation with the former Kaiser, whose intimate hospitality he has enjoyed. Also as the father-in-law of Count Ernst Christoph Roger Hermann Seher-Thoss, he undoubtedly will be able to obtain the privileges of that distinguished Prussian officer's undamaged castle at Rosnochau if the President should accept the kind invitation of the present German Government to pay a visit of condolence to the afflicted Fatherland. Taken all in all, we should say that Mr. White's usefulness may prove equivalent in inverse proportion to his popularity in France.

We shall reserve for another time consideration of the sympathies of Mr. White and his colleagues prior to our engagement in the great conflict.

The Federal Trade Commission charges the "Big Five" meat packing concerns with a combination in restraint of trade. We would respectfully suggest that it next turn its attention to the Department of Commerce, which is currently reported to have adopted a policy in restraint of trade.

Perhaps it is desirable to expound the Fourteen Commandments to the nations that dwell in darkness. But there are those who think that exposition might better have begun at home.

The President's Address

THE President is his own worst critic. The most unfavorable strictures which are to be passed upon the extraordinary production which some have called his "Farewell Address" are suggested by that document itself. Its almost naïve self-contradictions emphasize as perhaps no other utterance of his has ever done the peculiar inconsistency of his intellectual processes.

After the announcement of his absention on his self-sought peace mission, the most salient feature of his address is his discussion of the disposition which is to be made of the railroads of the country, and in this he reveals the inconsistency which we have mentioned. Hitherto he has frequently expressed himself in a most imperative and dictatorial manner, presenting his positive convictions on matters of complex interests and gravest import as quite indisputable. Indeed in this very address he more than once adopts that tone. Yet in regard to the railroad problem he frankly declares that he has no confident judgment of his own, and he turns for counsel concerning it to the Congress to which he has been wont to dictate policies without privilege of debate.

On two points in this connection his words will command general approval. One is, that it would be a disservice to the country and to the roads themselves to return to the old conditions unmodified. The other is the implication that those old conditions were unsatisfactory and undesirable largely because of unwise and unjust legislation and administrative meddling. That is unquestionably true. If in any respect the railroads have given better service under Government control than they formerly did under private control, it is because under Government control they have done some of the very things which their private owners and operators wanted to and begged to be permitted to do, but were forbidden by law to do. We might wish that the President had given greater emphasis to this point, and had recommended the remedy for the evil; but at least it is gratifying to have him recognize that it is a function of Congress to look into the matter and to effect by legislation the relief of which the roads stand in such urgent need.

It is probably inevitable that a message delivered orally instead of being transmitted in writing shall contain a considerable proportion of rhetoric and oratory, especially when presented by so confirmed a phrase-maker as Mr. Wilson. Nor in this case can we regard that as a serious blemish. In fact, it would have been ungracious to dispose of some of the topics without a touch of verbal exaltation. The achievements of the army and navy, and of industrialists, abundantly merit the glowing eulogiums which he pronounces upon

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them. Nor would we have had him dismiss the subject of peacemaking with less warmth of rhetoric than he has employed. But it is impossible to avoid regret that there is not more of detailed and technical presentation of public affairs. There are surely other matters concerning the state of the Union on which it would be interesting and helpful to have authoritative information.

The President speaks of the need of relief for Belgium and Northern France, in which he is quite right, and he urges the ratification of a treaty with Colombia which shall restore entirely satisfactory relations with that country; but he makes no other reference to foreign relations. Is there nothing, in connection with the new nations which are being formed, or with the neutrals, that it would interest the nation or be of service to Congress to know? His discussion of the problems of reconstruction, with its recommendations of the employment of returned soldiers upon great public works, is interesting and will prove helpful, despite the prevalence of more or less vague generalizations, and his brief reference to the state and needs of the treasury is probably sufficient in view of the existence of a detailed report from the Secretary of that department.

On the whole, the address will be generally regarded as noteworthy more for what it omits than for what it contains, and as an extraordinary illustration of nimble shifting of a quasi-dictatorship from one field of operations to another. Hitherto the President has sought all but unlimited autocracy in the paternal control of domestic affairs, for the sake of facilitating prosecution of the war. Now that the war is over he seems quite willing to abdicate that autocracy in order to assume a still higher degree thereof in the domain of peacemaking and international negotiations. In this as before he asks the nation to sign a blank check, for him to fill out with whatever amount he desires. He will speak for the country, but he will not let the country know what he is going to say in its name. He is the servant of the people, but he insists upon dictating the manner of his service. He solicits the encouragement and added strength of united Congressional support, but conceals the attitude and action in which he would be supported. The address was made upon perhaps the greatest occasion ever granted to an American President for such an utterance, and he made it in some respects the most unsatisfactory to which Congress and the American nation have ever listened.

The Redfield Trade Doctrine

THE chief question which we should raise concerning Mr. E. E. Pratt's characterization of the Redfield trade doctrine as intellectual Bolshevism would be whether on the whole it was not a little rough on the Bolsheviks. For with all their folly and crime Lenine and Trotzky and their followers are an enterprising and a thrifty gang. They take bribes, but we cannot imagine them declining to accept any more until various others had received their share of bribe money. But, *mutatis mutandis*, that is precisely the rule which Mr. Redfield purposes to apply. As Secretary of Commerce he is supposed to promote and to safeguard American commercial interests. Yet here he is announcing that the Administration will not permit American commerce to expand until its rivals have had a chance to catch up with it. Brought down to its ultimate analysis, his dictum appears to mean that our Government will check and

restrict our exports to South America for a year or two, until Germany has had a chance to regain her former footing in the markets of those countries. As we said before, it seems a little rough on the Bolsheviks to call that intellectual Bolshevism.

We must confess, however, that we are not altogether surprised. We should not, of course, be surprised at anything Mr. Redfield did, unless it were something wise and statesmanlike. But for this particular bit of folly we were prepared by a warning. Long ago, early in our participation in the war, the President was requested to appoint a commission which should take in hand the work of promoting our foreign trade by taking advantage of the opportunities which war conditions afforded. It was pointed out that, as indeed everybody knew, all the chief commercial nations of Europe were doing that very thing, constituting for the purpose commissions of their very ablest men. But the President declined to do so. Doubtless he feared that the world would think that we had gone into the war for the sordid sake of trade-expansion; just as his creel hourly thanks God that we were unprepared for war and that therefore nobody can say that we wanted to go into it. After that decision of the President, we were quite prepared for any folly which his Secretary of Commerce might commit.

Seeing that, according to Emerson, consistency is something with which a great mind has nothing to do, to charge the President himself with inconsistency would be tantamount to impeaching his greatness of mind, which of course would be *lèse majesté*. Yet it is not devoid of curious interest to recall that at the beginning of his Presidential career Mr. Wilson was particularly hot and intense for the widest possible expansion of trade. He conceived the strange notion that our commerce had been cribb'd, cabin'd and confined by an iniquitous tariff dam, which he purposed to break down. It did not matter that perhaps the tariff was needed for the protection of American labor. He wanted expansion of commerce, at no matter what cost. By the side of that, compare the present policy of constricting our export trade, not with a tariff but with an arbitrary embargo!

We cannot, however, say that the two are inconsistent in all respects. On one salient point they are in exact accord. That is, in disregard for American interests. Six years ago the policy was to give other countries freer access to our markets, no matter how our wage earners might suffer. Now it is to give other countries a free field in the markets of the world, no matter how much our commerce and therefore our industries may suffer. And in promulgating this doctrine the Secretary is more royal than the king—or, to Democratize the saying, more Presidential than the President. Mr. Wilson was content with refusing to send out an official commission. Mr. Redfield seems inclined to forbid the sending out of private commissions, until Germany has had a chance to get busy with the machinery and materials which she has stolen from Belgium and France, and to flood the markets of the world with her forged and shoddy goods. If that is not what he means, we should be glad to be informed of what he does mean; or what he thinks he means.

The proofreader's copyholder officially reports that the customary "May I not?" occurs only twice, with a single supplementary "Is it not?" We thank God and take courage.

Great Britain's Day

THIS is Great Britain's Day. Or perhaps we should say that it is the day of that world-encircling empire of freedom and democracy of which Great Britain is the centre and the soul. Many years ago the degenerate despot who has now fallen strove to compass the destruction of England through a league of Germany with France. That was when German propagandists were playing the unclean part of provocative agents in stirring up suspicions and animosities between France and the United Kingdom, and were insidiously suggesting "der Tag" when, as the Kaiser himself expressed it, "Pickelhaube and Red Breeches should march together against the Modern Carthage." How far away Fashoda seems, since Ypres and the Marne! "The Day" instead of "der Tag" presents an antipodean contrast.

The Day demonstrates the solidarity of the British Empire. That is one of the most impressive and most significant facts in human history. It was not only the foes and the indifferent friends of England who confidently predicted the dissolution of that empire under the stress of war. Her own statesmen, even so intense an imperialist as Disraeli, looked for the refusal of the self-governing colonies to exert themselves in war for the United Kingdom, and their consequent secession from the Empire. Read to-day the refutation of those forebodings in the record of the Canadians at Ypres and the Anzacs at Gallipoli—yes, and in the record of Pathans and Sikhs and Ghoorkas on the plains of Mesopotamia and amid the hills of France.

We say that this rallying of all members of the empire to the support of the United Kingdom is impressive. It is unprecedented in human history. But greater still is its significance. It is a vindication of the virtue of British imperial government and of the world-wide democracy of the Anglo-Saxon race. The Russian Empire falls to pieces. The Austrian Empire is chaotic. The German Empire, despite the "Fatherland" traditions, trembles upon the verge of dissolution. The reason is plain. Each member thinks that it could govern itself better than the empire has governed it. But every member of the immeasurably greater British Empire feels that the Imperial Government is doing better for it than it could hope to do for itself unaided; and so the furnace heat and anvil strokes of war but serve to weld them all together the more indissolubly.

The Day reminds us of the triumphant efficiency of sea power. There is more credit than we can well express to be given to many of the factors which made for victory in the great war, but to none more than to those silent watchers of the solitary deep who, day and night, winter and summer, year after year, girt Hunland with a floating ring of tempered steel, through which there could be neither ingress to supply nor egress to ravage, and so maintained the freedom of the seas for the peaceful commerce of the nations, and kept the sea lanes safe for the feeding of the nations and for the transport of our soldiers to do battle with the Beast. The British fleet has been the world's salvation. It has been America's salvation, and it is well that we give this day to grateful commemoration of the fact. Nor should we ignore the very practical lesson of that fleet's preparedness. It was the one militant factor among all the Allies that was prepared. If only there had been comparable readiness of all the other factors, how vastly different the outcome would have been!

The Day commemorates the swift demonstration of a military and industrial efficiency unrivalled in the history of the world. Grim humor recalls the Kaiser's sneer at the "contemptible little army." He little thought of the potentialities which lay behind the martyred few of Mons and Ypres. The Day reminds us that before the all-prepared Hunnish legions could triumph over that "contemptible little army" more than eight millions of free men rallied beneath the British flag with a perfection of discipline and equipment surpassing that of Germany herself; of whom four-fifths came from the United Kingdom. It reminds us of the development of an industrial potency in Great Britain by the side of which the great establishments of Germany seemed petty. In four years Great Britain did more than Germany had done in forty. Nor must we forget the cost. We mourn our own great casualty list of more than a quarter of a million in killed, wounded and losses of all kinds. But the British Isles lost three times that number in killed outright, with a total casualty roll of millions. That tells us something of what England has done in the war—and has done for the sake of the United States as well as for her own.

It is a Day of demonstrated faith. That is perhaps the most inspiring reflection of all. These other things, great as they were, were largely material. But the prime motive of British participation in the war was spiritual. It was for the keeping of pledges and for the vindication of good faith between nations as between individual men. Great Britain was not attacked. She had not lost provinces to regain. But she had pledged herself to maintain the integrity of Belgium, and in certain contingencies to stand with France; and those pledges were not in her sight "scraps of paper." There never was a moment's question or hesitation. The moment faith and honor required it, her decision was made. German hatred raged against her, with "Gott strafe England!" solely because of her faith and loyalty. Germany railed against her as "treacherous" simply because she was not treacherous but true. Germany had vainly and vilely counted upon England's being as false and hypocritical as she was herself, and as selfish and sordid, and it was the climax of her disappointment and exasperation to find that such was not the case. Never before had history seen a nobler example of a nation risking its all and incurring immeasurable anguish and sacrifice just for the sake of keeping faith and honor true.

It is a Day which we are especially called upon to honor, by every motive of fitness, of gratitude, and of racial pride in the great empire of which we were once a part and in which, though now forever separated from it politically, we can never avoid a peculiar interest and sympathy. We say that we are forever separated from it politically, and in this Day there is a reminder of that fact and of its beneficence. There has been talk of alliances, and there will probably be more such talk, even to-day. But we recall that just as the world-war broke upon us, we were commemorating the completion of a full century of unbroken peace between ourselves and the British Empire; and it was a century of peace without alliance. In that century the two countries cherished mutually a steadily increasing and strengthening friendship; and it was a friendship without alliance. They cooperated harmoniously in many great undertakings for the welfare of both and of the world; and it was a cooperation without alliance. For a year and a half they have been fighting side by side against a common foe; transcendently demonstrating

that as was said in a former conflict "Blood is thicker than water"; and they have been doing so without alliance. They are about to engage in the tremendous task of settling the issues of the great war and of largely reorganizing the world, and they will do it harmoniously and successfully; and they will do it without alliance.

It is indeed the crowning glory of this Day, that the world-wide democracy of the British Empire and the world-wide empire of the American Republic are so closely united in mind and heart and spirit, in sympathy and in aims and in ideals, that no alliance is needed to assure their invariable co-operation. It is in that vein that we to-day raise everywhere the Union Jack by the side of the Stars and Stripes and pay the eager tribute of grateful reverence to "the great name of England, round and round."

Abdication

"**T**HERE is no refuge from confession but suicide; and suicide is confession."

The memorable words of Webster might well be applied to the abdication of the Kaiser. He has been unwilling to confess the failure of his plans for universal conquest. He has been unwilling to confess his crimes against his own people, against the nations of the world, and against humanity.

He has been unwilling to confess the monstrous falsehood of his pretence of divine right. Rather than thus confess he has sought refuge in flight and abdication. But abdication is confession.

Let us consider its meaning. He is beaten in the war. That is the first thing. And it was a war intended to achieve universal conquest. We remember his boast that he would succeed where Alexander and Cæsar and Napoleon had failed. We remember, too, his boasts, down almost to the end, of the invincibility of Germany, of the certainty of victory for "our good German sword," with the incidental assistance of "our old German Gott." There was to be no peace save the peace of the sword, his sword. That was his spirit from the beginning down to just before his ignominious flight. It is inconceivable that he should have fled and abdicated unless he was himself convinced absolutely of the irretrievable failure of his plans. Of that failure, abdication is confession.

Comparable with his boasts of military prowess have been his professions of benevolence toward his German people and toward the whole world, to whom he was a second Messiah; and also his boasts of the loyalty of the German people to him and to his dynasty. He has been unwilling to confess what he has all along known to be the truth, that he has corrupted, degraded and oppressed the German people until half of them hated him and half stood by him only for the sake of the loot which his successful conquests might secure; that his whole reign has been a crime against the rights of man; and that in this war he has flagrantly violated the national laws of Germany, the international laws of the world, the common laws of humanity, and the eternal laws of God.

If he had not realized these things, and his own indescribably criminal status, he would have stood his ground and faced the end among his own people, confident of their loyal affection and of the justice of his cause. But he did realize his hideous criminality, and rather than confess it he

fled and abdicated; and abdication is confession.

Most striking of all to the reflective mind is his confession—and the manner of his confession—of the infernal hypocrisy of his mouthings about "divine right" and his direct commission from "our old German Gott." Inheriting the spirit of his predecessor who refused to accept the imperial crown because it was beneath his dignity to accept anything offered to him by the people, he was never weary of declaring that he had received his crown and throne and sceptre from the hand of Gott and no other, and that he was accountable to Gott and to Gott alone for his stewardship. That was from first to last the dominant note of his reign. The people had no right to question the wisdom and righteousness of his acts. His Ministers had no right to question them. He held his commission to rule from Gott and from Gott alone. He knew, of course, that it was a lie, invented and persisted in as an excuse for tyranny, but he was unwilling to confess the fact. So he abdicated, and in his written act of abdication he did not so much as once mention or indirectly refer to his much-vaunted Gott. There was not a word about Gott having directed him to abdicate, or about Gott having released him from the tremendous duties and responsibilities which had been laid upon him.

There could not have been a more complete confession of the utter hollowness and insincerity of all his "divine right" pretensions. If he had really believed in them, he would have stuck to his Gott to the last and would have piously referred to him in his act of abdication. But he did not believe in them, and because he was unwilling to confess his hypocrisy and fraud he abdicated; and abdication was confession.

Perhaps the most practical phase of the case is that which relates to his personal accountability to justice for the crimes which he has committed. It is scarcely conceivable that he imagines that abdication of his imperial and royal pretensions will give him immunity from the consequences of the acts which he committed while he exercised those pretensions. It is quite certain that his abdication does not place him in any better light before the world which he has outraged. On the contrary, as we have already suggested, it serves to emphasize his culpability, for it is in itself his personal confession of his crimes.

Standing resolutely by his throne, even to the ultimate cataclysm, he would at least have been consistent and might even have commanded some degree of respect for possessing at least the brute courage of his evil convictions. But it was not in him so to do. Poseur, liar and hypocrite from first to last, he dared not persist longer in his false pretensions, and he would not in terms confess them, so he fled and abdicated; and abdication was confession.

The proposal to feed the Huns is doubtless humane. We should not care to have them starve to death. It is true that in 1870-71 the Germans deliberately imposed starvation upon the French and killed many in that way. When Frenchmen begged Bismarck to relax the rigors of war a little so that babies might be saved from starvation, he refused, roaring with a Gargantuan grin, "Babies? Donnerwetter! I thought you had eaten them all!" But then we are not Huns. So we should not object to letting benevolent Americans feed the Germans—after we have made sure that nobody in Belgium or France or Serbia or Russia, or any other civilized country, is hungry.

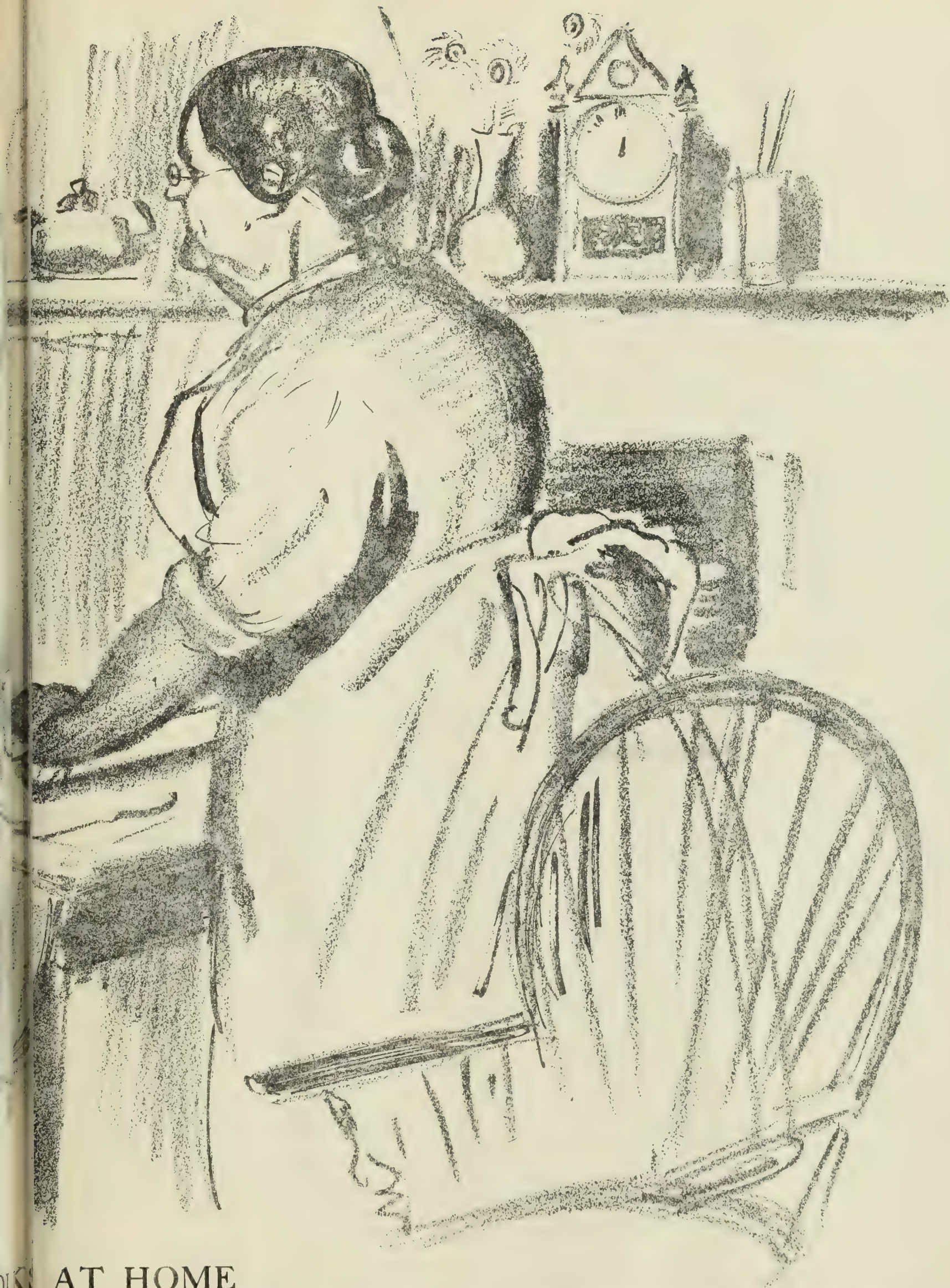


THE OLD

"They're off, mother, the whole kit and kaboodle; fancy cooks, bands and troubadours, fireworks, creels and movies and goodness knows what all."

"Well, I'm glad of it. If they had to go, I'm glad they've gone. I don't know when I've been so upset as I have been by all this mystery business. Now I hope we can settle down and give the boys a good welcome. But how is it going to leave things, Samuel?"

"Oh, it's an awful muddle. Nobody knows anything about anything. But we'll get along somehow."



AT HOME

I'm going over to Washington tonight and tell them to go right along about their business, just as if nothing had happened."

"But will they do it? They all seem kind of scared to me."

"Blast 'em, I'll make 'em. This whole country ain't going to stop just because Woodrow goes off on a spree."

"How long are they goin' to be away?"

"I don't know and, by gum, I don't care!"

The Week

WASHINGTON, December 5, 1918.

SOMETHING doing, to be sure; both at home and abroad. Herr Hohenzollern issues a formal abdication, with a large and able Senegambian lurking in the adjacent woodpile. The American and other Allied armies march many parasangs across Prussian soil, despite the confident assurance that "while yet one drop of blood throbs warm . . . no foeman steps upon the strand." King Albert and General Leman reenter Liège; an incident which appeals to sympathetic imagination as few others in our age have done. Montenegro decides to dispense with the further services of King Nicholas and to reunite with Serbia; which is a mere anticipation of what was long ago agreed should be done when Nicholas's reign was ended by his demise.

Meantime at home Congress reassembles. The President informs it that he is going abroad to expound his Fourteen Commandments to the Powers, in order that the whole business of peacemaking may not be hopelessly botched by misunderstandings of his meaning. Therewith he sails away, occupying the "imperial suite" on the big ship. Jim Ham's proposed resolution, that "the King can do no wrong," not having passed the Senate, another of quite a different kind is introduced, not by Jim Ham, declaring that the President's absence from the country creates a vacancy in that office which must be provided for by the action of the Vice-President. There is, by the way, an interesting parallel between the act of the Montenegrin Skuptschina in declaring the throne vacant and the proposed act of Congress declaring the Presidency temporarily vacant. If the one act "goes," why not the other? There can be little doubt that the Congressional action would be in accord with the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

Having grabbed the cable systems as a war measure after the war was officially announced to be ended, the Political-master General zealously sets about merging the two companies in such fashion as to make it as hard as possible ever to separate them again, and whenever an officer of one of them protests against the process he cries "Off with his head!" quite like the Queen in Alice's Wonderland. Perhaps some day somebody will say to somebody, as Alice did, "Pooh! you're nothing but a pack of cards, anyway!"

Mr. Winston Churchill spoke sound sense the other evening when he said that no League of Nations could ever be a satisfactory substitute for the British fleet, and we fancy that most responsible statesmen in other lands take the same view of the subject. No such league should ever make us neglect to keep our army and navy at suitable strength and in instant readiness for service. With all the President's talk about a League of Nations, some very influential men at Washington must share Mr. Churchill's opinion; for it is noteworthy that at the very time when the President is on his way to Europe to press his league of nations fad for adoption at the Peace Congress, his Secretary of the Navy is energetically prosecuting a programme of naval expansion intended to make our fleet at least as powerful as that of Great Britain

herself. Well, academic talk about leagues of nations and universal disarmament will be quite innocuous if at the same time we keep right on building dreadnoughts and battle cruisers and destroyers.

The ways of the Hun were characteristically displayed in the closing days of the war in the Briey Valley, the seat of the most important iron mines and foundries in France. When they found that they would soon be driven back from that region they stole all the stock on hand; German manufacturers went through the works picking out all the machinery and tools that they would like to have, to be shipped to Germany; and then, when all had been stolen that was wanted and that could be carried away, they destroyed so far as possible everything that was left. We would not have anything in Germany wantonly destroyed. But we would have German factories stripped of machinery to replace that which was stolen from France and Belgium.

The proposal, which is to be made by Great Britain at the Peace Congress, that the width of territorial coast waters be considerably increased, is not new, but it will probably be made with greater force than ever before. The present width, three marine miles, was thus fixed because it a little exceeded the utmost range of artillery in use at that time. The enormously increased range of modern artillery certainly suggests the propriety of increasing that width. To do so would, however, have some important effects in peace as well as in war. If the width was increased to ten miles or more, many straits and inlets which are now parts of the high seas would become national territorial waters.

The stories of anti-Jewish pogroms in Poland should be received with much caution, if not with outright skepticism. Some excellent authorities declare that nothing of the sort is occurring, and that the false reports are put forth by German propagandists in hope of discrediting the Poles and obstructing the creation of an independent Polish state. It will be observed that some of the worst reports of such things come from Berlin. Some of them bear intrinsic indications of spurious manufacture, and all are subject to suspicion.

Dr. Solf, the German Foreign Minister, complains that the German Soldiers' and Workmen's Council is in intimate communication with the Soviet Government in Russia. But why not? The Soviet Government in Russia was conceived and organized in Germany or by German agents in Russia, and was encouraged and even subsidized as long as Germany could make use of it for her own sordid and treacherous ends. The Huns should not now frown upon their own creation.

Oswald the Unhappy thinks that it will be dreadfully unseemly for us to insist upon independence for the Czechoslovaks and Jugo-Slavs, if we do not at the same time bestow it upon Porto Rico and the Philippines, and if Great Britain does not bestow it upon Ireland and India. We must confess that we are not greatly impressed by his logic. Just be-

cause one empire, through a war which it wickedly provoked, comes to smash, and various component parts of it decide to set up for themselves, does not seem to us a convincing reason for immediately dissecting every other country in the world. Just because the Peace Congress upholds the right of Bohemia to separate itself from Austria, would Mr. Villard have it also declare that our Southern States must have an opportunity of doing, unrestrained, what they attempted to do in 1861?

The Secretary of the Navy has developed so many admirable qualities and has done so much good work that we are sorry to see him betrayed into lending unintentional countenance to German propaganda. In a generally excellent address at Buffalo on Thanksgiving Day, after very properly urging strict justice in dealing with Germany and her criminal rulers or ex-rulers, he added: "But no policy of hatred, no spirit of vengeance, should guide this world renewal." That is perfectly true, of course; but it is equally true that nobody is proposing or desiring any such policy or spirit. German propagandists, however, are industriously and insidiously saying exactly what Mr. Daniels said, and thus are inciting loyal men, like Mr. Daniels, unthinkingly to repeat the rubbish. There would be just as much pertinence in saying that we must not ravish German women nor burn to death German babies. The subtle insinuation that there is danger of our pursuing a policy of hatred and revenge is made by Hunnish agents in the hope of discrediting a policy of simple justice, and making people think that unless we let the Huns go scot-free, unwhipped of justice, we shall be acting with wicked hatred. We trust that Mr. Daniels and all other loyal and judicious citizens will discreetly refrain from playing into the hands of such conspirators.

It is significant that Captain Persius, Professor Schuecking and other distinguished exponents of Hunnish "Kultur" have now come out as veritable hot gospellers for a League of Nations and the Freedom of the Seas. They do not fancy a League to Enforce Peace, but rather one like that which was formed at The Hague for arbitration and adjudication. True, the Herr Professor admits, it was Germany that brought the Hague scheme to shipwreck, but that is of course no reason in the world, to his mind, why a new league should not be formed with Germany as an equal member in it. This advocacy of it may commend it to the favor of thoughtful Americans; but again it may not. We have our doubts.

The Federal Naturalization authorities do well to make it clear that Germans, Austrians and Hungarians seeking citizenship will have to give strong proofs of their loyalty. There has for years been entirely too much laxity in such matters, and it would be simply criminal to continue it. American citizenship is not so light and cheap a thing as to be bandied about to all comers without the most scrupulous determination of their fitness to receive it.

The reorganization of international scientific societies so as to eliminate and exclude Germans, which is being undertaken, is an extreme step, but it is entirely justifiable. Indeed, it seems imperatively incumbent upon those societies, if they

are to retain their self-respect and that loyalty to truth which should be their foremost characteristic. It can never be forgotten in our generation or the next that for years before the war German "exchange professors" and permanent professors, too, in American universities were subsidized agents of the German Foreign Office, engaged in treacherous and hostile propaganda; and that early in the war practically all the prominent scientists in Germany signed a public manifesto supporting the Berlin Government in its most flagrant falsehoods and crimes and attempting to justify even such an infamy as the destruction of Louvain. Such prostitution of their professional status stamped them as unworthy of further recognition, for not only did they incur personal dishonor but also they discredited their integrity as scientists. Men capable of signing that manifesto would be quite capable of promulgating falsehoods in the name of science.

Every day brings new demonstrations of the hollowness and sham of German "discipline." The armies in retiring have become lawless mobs. The people of the cities are anarchic. Chaos threatens the empire. A truly disciplined people, such as the French or English, would not act thus. In advance and in retreat alike, the French and British armies have been orderly. Before the Miracle of the Marne the French Government withdrew from Paris, but there was no disorder and there were no attempts at revolution. German discipline has been mere despotism; and once the despotic power is broken, the long pent-up passions burst out beyond control. The only well disciplined man is the free man who is self-governed and therefore self-controlled.

Several of the largest plants in England which have been producing munitions during the war have now already turned themselves to the works of peace and are manufacturing vast quantities of goods such as before the war were invariably imported from Germany. In that is a lesson which America should make haste to learn. The munitions plants in this country which will no longer be needed as such should be turned to other uses at once, and preferably to the manufacture of goods which we used to import from Germany. In that way the total of our industrial output could be enormously increased without glutting the markets or causing any disturbance in commercial affairs. We do not know to what extent the new munitions plants here were constructed with a view to such conversion. In Great Britain all were thus planned with special care, so that the process of conversion can be performed quickly and easily.

Colleges and universities are now getting back to a peace basis and will no longer be chiefly military training schools. But it is to be hoped that the brief experience of the war will leave a profound and enduring mark upon them and upon our entire educational system. A certain measure of military training should be universal, for the sake of the physical, mental and moral benefits it bestows as well as for preparedness against a possible—however improbable—war. Also, there should be a radical house-cleaning of text-books and curricula, so that hereafter the truths of history will be taught, and not distorted or manufactured tales inspired by prejudice or malicious propaganda.

The Hohenzollern Rat

WE had long known William Hohenzollern to be a liar and a brute, but it still remained for him to disclose himself to us as no less a fool. This he has done in the utterance of his attempt to plead innocence of the war and to throw the odium upon his Ministers, Bethmann-Hollweg and Von Jagow. According to an authoritative writer in *The Cologne Gazette*, he would have us believe that he was the victim of his wicked Ministers. They sent him away, out of the country, against his will, and while he was gone they brought on the war, which never would have occurred if he had been at home. Et cetera. Of course the whole story is false. It is so obviously false that in expecting us to believe it he shows himself as much a fool as he is a liar in concocting it.

We might, of course, ask what became of the Kaiser's fundamental principle, that his will was the only will and the supreme law, when his Chancellor and Foreign Minister thus bundled him off to Norway against his will. But there are stronger points than that. His participations in war councils shortly before the outbreak of hostilities are matters of record. His own dictation of acts tending to make the war inevitable is not to be denied. In addition, there is his record all through the war, in which his every utterance was a boastful glorification of the war and an expression of determination to fight it through to a "victory by the sword." All those things give the lie to his present whining protestations of innocence.

The motive is clear. He is thus playing the rat in hope of escaping the punishment which he knows is his due and which he knows he is likely to receive. But the trick will not work. It is altogether too obvious and too transparent. We can confidently leave to Great Britain the task of dealing with it, and with him. There are now, we believe, several indictments for murder standing against him in that country. Doubtless it seems, or would have seemed a little while ago, to him a monstrous thing even to suggest treating Gott's anointed vice-gerent like an ordinary criminal in the Old Bailey dock. Yet it has filtered into his caste-bound mind that such a thing may actually be done; and it is to avert it if possible that he concocts this crazy yarn about being the victim of the machinations and duress of his wicked understrappers.

Apart from this aspect of it, the incident is noteworthy as cumulative evidence of what we have already described as the yellow streak in the Hun. As such, it is supremely appropriate. We confess that we should have been disappointed if William Hohenzollern had shown a single symptom of valor, of dignity, of nobility, in his fall. It would have been incongruous.

Government Ownership of the Press

THE Press Associations," wrote Mr. Richard Barry in his article on "Freedom of the Press" in the November number of the *North American Review*, "carry only 'inspired' news. They give out only what is desired by departmental heads in Washington."

And, he might very well have added, what is desired by the

Administration head, Colonel House to-wit, in Paris. The abject servitude of the Associated Press in this respect was notably evidenced by a contemptibly fulsome eulogy of the wonderful results of House diplomacy abroad which was spread all over the country in an A. P. dispatch dated Paris, Nov. 25th. According to this cabled letter, the Colonel when he arrived in Paris "found little disposition among American and European friends to accept as a totality the framework of peace as expressed by President Wilson." In other words there was a revolt on against the Fourteen Commandments. So far as anybody could make head or tail out of the one about the "freedom of the seas," for instance, the Allies, notably Great Britain, objected to accepting it. They wanted to know what it meant. So did, and so does, everybody else. Nobody knew, in fact, save perhaps President Wilson and he had not told. The insinuation that he didn't know himself is gratuitous. Presumably he did, or thought he did, which is much the same thing.

Then, in addition to the revolt against the Commandments, there was a disposition on the part of the Allies to feel that as each of their respective losses in men ran into the millions, whereas ours were about a quarter of a million, and that whereas they had fought the war two years before we came into it, therefore they should have a predominant influence in shaping the new order in Europe.

Not, on its face, an unreasonable assumption. Any less gifted a diplomat than Mr. Wilson's House would have found it a hard nut to crack. And really the gifted House himself was rather put to it to get around the difficulty because, although these conceptions on the part of the Allies were "put forward in a friendly way," they were held with much tenacity and skill.

But the adroit House was equal to the occasion. He demonstrated to a finish that unless the Allies accepted the Commandments it would be only too painfully apparent that both they and the United States had been fighting the war for non-identical purposes. Just how the Colonel accomplished this argumentative feat is somewhat enveloped in obscurity. It is a sort of freedom-of-the-seas fog through which the correspondent leads us in this portion of his letter. But we get there somehow and find ourselves, just as did the Allies, facing what the A. P. Boswell describes as "a rather difficult issue at the outset." Moreover this issue suggested a dreadful alternative. It might mean the possible "submission of the entire subject to an American Congress." The bare suggestion of an American Congress, notably the Senate, having anything to do with treaty-making involving the American Republic was a terrible club for Mr. Wilson's House to swing over the cowering Allies' heads. But he swung it. Presumably the diplomatic hand that grasped the club was covered with a very soft kid glove, but it was a hand of steel just the same, and the club was there.

Naturally, that settled it. The "foreign ministers felt the full force of the views presented," says the A. P. Bozzy. They gave in. The Colonel and the Commandments won.

Now this is only a fair average specimen of the sycophancy in the way of Administration eulogy that the Associated Press has been turning out ever since the epoch of freedom of the press suppression began in Washington with the beginning of the war. That the A. P. still keeps it up, now that something like a revolt has in a measure broken the shackles, suggests interesting queries. In common with the telephone, the

telegraph and the cable lines, has the Politicalmaster General actually taken over the control and operation of the Associated Press also? Every surface indication points to his having done so. And why should he not do this and make a complete job of the thing while he is about it? He controls in his autocratic hands all the mechanism of news distribution, whether by mail or by wire. Why should he stop there? Why should he not control the news itself? With the Associated and other press agencies under its authority, the Administration would not only distribute but manufacture the news to suit its own exigencies. There might be among the newspapers a wilful few who would object. But they could be brought to terms very quickly. If we are to have Government Ownership of pretty much everything else, why not Government Ownership of the newspapers and their satellites, the press associations? The Associated Press apparently has been seized already. Why hesitate about taking over the rest of the press outfit and absorbing it all in the New Freedom?

Publicity on Its Travels

THERE are various reasons assigned for the mobilization of the Public Information forces for service abroad under the immediate personal command of Marshal Creel himself. They have been edited and revised frequently. They have been contrasted in scope with the encroaching pressure on front and flanks of intensified public criticism.

When the first flotilla sailed with a large detachment of assorted experts, some of them bearing names redolent of Hun extraction, we were informed that it was a contingent of "the official press mission of the United States to the Peace Conference." Next we were told that it was the mission of the Mission to "interpret American ideas" to the democracies of Europe. The illuminati of the Creel forces, with the Hun names, were to favor the darkest recesses of Darkest Europe with a flood of dazzling Creel light. "American ideas" were to radiate from a Creel centre on the boulevards. By way of handsome return for France's graceful compliment to us in presenting the statue which adorns New York harbor, we were to erect on French soil, not a statue, but the animate reality of Creel enlightening the World. Awed multitudes were to be privileged to see Creel himself in the actual act of enlightening.

But in a few days we changed all that. It was tried on and it would not do. From Washington headquarters itself, all prior announcements of purposes and objects of the Creel Mission Abroad were cancelled. By a final edict the scope and plan of Creel operations in foreign lands were broadened and at the same time narrowed. By and with the consent of the Politicalmaster General's pirated authority over the cables, the flow of news to and from France is not to be subjected, as originally planned, to the Creel visé as a condition precedent to transmission. From the standpoint of freedom of the press this is a distinct broadening. On the other hand, the concurrent announcement that the Creel forces are really to do nothing whatever abroad would seem to suggest a tendency towards contraction of purpose. We are now informed that these formidable organized forces of publicity, including the base of operations itself, are to be shifted from Washington to Paris for the sole purpose of "winding up the affairs of the concern in foreign countries."

But if that be the case, it might be captiously asked, why

was it necessary to ship over seas at very heavy expense practically the entire headquarters outfit? The query is impertinent. The taxpayers pay the bill and surely they are carrying cheerfully their trifling burdens of the hour. They still have a little money left in their clothes. They gladly pay the cost of a royal progress abroad that our light may so shine before men that they may see our good works and the worker thereof. And if we are going to dribble a few millions to make the greatest show on earth, holy or otherwise, of ourselves, why should we begrudge a paltry million or so more to carry the Advertising Department along with the rest of the caravan?

Of course it is obviously impossible even for the gifted Creel to disband, to "wind up," his foreign organization by cable or mail? To cite the theory that the Government of the United States may be perfectly well run from the high seas or from India's coral strand by wireless or by cable is irrelevant if not irreverent. It does not in the least apply to matters of such delicately nice adjustment as the Creel Administration Advertising Department. In order to discharge photographers and reporters in foreign countries, the whole Department, including Creel himself, obviously must be physically present to see that the job is thoroughly done. So there you have a full and sufficient reason, the one last advanced, for the mobilization on foreign shores of regiments and battalions of the Creel forces. It is a hardship, of course, to officers in command as well as to the rank and file. But duty calls. They must go. Still, the Paris restaurants are opening up. The gay city is rapidly resuming something of its old glittering animation. There is an abundance of the best there is to eat and drink. Both cost a good deal of money, to be sure, but what care our taxpayers for a million or so more or less, so long as they know our publicity boys on the boulevards are well fed?

Mr. McAdoo and the Law

THE Director General of Railroads, by a recent ruling, has relieved railroad employees of the annoyance of having money to meet their just debts seized at the source by garnishee process. "No moneys or other property," rules the Director General, "under Federal control or derived from the operation of carriers while under Federal control, shall be subject to garnishment, attachment or like process in the hands of such carriers, or any of them, or in the hands of any employee or officer of the United States Railroad Administration."

This reads like a decision handed down from the United States Supreme Court. Whether that respectable body of jurists and the Director General of Railroads agree upon the point of law that might be raised is immaterial. The Director General has decided the matter, and there's an end on't. That this new fountain of final-resort law does not necessarily intend to leave the door permanently open for a railroad employee who happened to be dishonest to escape paying his debts, is indicated by a paragraph appended to the above-quoted ruling. "If any rules or regulations become necessary," says the Director General, "to require employees to provide for their just debts, the same will be issued hereafter."

Meantime it is a closed season so far as the garnishee process-servers on railroad employees' wages are concerned. That is, unless some rude person undertakes to have the Director General's decision overruled by application to some plain, every-day law court.

Letters From Our Readers

WHO SAID IT?

SIR,—In my mail to-day comes a newspaper clipping, reading as follows:

WHO DID SAY IT?

We note that the learned *New Europe* unhesitatingly attributes the poetic saying, "*Lafayette, nous voilà!*" to the Commander in Chief of the A. E. F. The British weekly even states that the Commander in Chief addressed the epigram "to President Poincaré." All early accounts we have seen of the incident agree that the words were spoken at the Picpus Cemetery, in Paris, where a wreath was laid by the Americans on Lafayette's tomb (July 4, 1917). But some historians—including Heywood Brown—give the expression to Colonel Stanton of Virginia. Can nobody under the rank of general make a speech worthy of going into the history books?

The type and size of the column make me think the clipping is from *Harper's* or *Leslie's Weekly*. Not being certain of this, however, and knowing that your WAR WEEKLY is read by many interested in the different phases of the great war, I address this letter to you.

The man who said it,—who, seemingly inspired by the occasion, said the right thing in the right place,—is Colonel Charles E. Stanton, Q. M. C., U. S. Army, whose home is in San Francisco, Cal. He pronounced these words in his speech at the tomb of Lafayette at Picpus Cemetery, Paris, on July 4, 1917. Next day the account appeared in the French papers and in the Paris edition of the *New York Herald*, full credit being given to Colonel Stanton. In the *Saturday Evening Post* last spring an advertisement inserted by the New York Telephone Company attributed these words to General Pershing. Other publications have also credited the Commander in Chief with this saying. Colonel Stanton and I sailed from New York on the same ship with General Pershing, and from the little I have seen of the Commander in Chief I feel certain he is too modest a man, too just, to feel pleased at the statement that he said "*Lafayette, nous voilà!*" He is a man who loves to "Give honor where honor is due."

Under separate cover I enclose you my copy of a forty-seven-page book, entitled:

"LAFAYETTE, NOUS VOILA!"

(Paroles dites par le Lieut.-Colonel Stanton à Picpus devant la Tombe de Lafayette, le 4 Juillet, 1917.)

Essai par Gaston Riou.

On page 7 of this book you will read:

Par la bouche du colonel Stanton, l'Amérique unanime a dit à la France, "Vous avez volé au secours de nos pères, il y a cent quarante ans, pour les aider à être libres; en retour, nous volons aujourd'hui à votre secours pour vous garantir la victoire. Fils de La Fayette, nous voilà!"

And on page 27:

Mais voici qu'une formidable ovation s'élève. C'est le colonel Stanton, qui, prenant la parole au nom du général Pershing et des dix millions de conscrits d'Amérique, proclame avec fierté:

"La France est accourue vers nous lorsque l'Amérique combattait pour son indépendance. Nous n'avons pas oublié. La Fayette, Nous Voilà!"

On ne saurait traduire l'émotion soulevée par cette invocation prononcée sur un ton de virile énergie.

This book is now out of print. The publishers, Hachette et Cie., 79 Boulevard St. Germain, Paris, say they intend to issue another edition.

T. C. WILLIAMS.

U. S. A. Post Office, 702, France.

FANTASTIC

SIR,—Since you are opposed to forgiving our debtors in Europe the \$8,000,000,000 borrowed to win the war, might you not approve of an alternative?

It goes without saying that the debt will not be paid, for the United States after fifty years has not paid off its Civil War debt of \$2,000,000,000, and the Allies are far poorer countries. Since we have gone on record as wanting nothing, and have fulfilled our purpose to "make the world safe for Democracy," might we not relinquish this debt in return for German East Africa?

Having acquired that territory, of course, upon careful appraisal, and examination, we could use it to repatriate the negroes in this country. By buying them out they would be able to re-establish themselves in Africa, and the lands and buildings they occupy in the United States would be reoccupied by other races less handicapped for assimilation here than the negro.

We have learned what the problem of transporting 11,000,000 negroes overseas would be from transporting 2,000,000 of troops to Europe and know that it could be accomplished.

The details of the transfer of property and settlement of the negroes in Africa would be worked out in detail and satisfactorily to all. The United States would exercise a protectorate over the new nation for a generation after which it would withdraw, and leave it to look after itself.

H. H.

Chicago, Ill.

THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA

SIR,—Must the American people bow to a dictator? Are they to be treated like unruly school-children under the lash of a pedagogue? Is there an intention to treat us as the Germans were supposed to have been treated by *their* autocrat when he and his minions cut the nerves of the news and kept them in ignorance of what their masters were about? If not, what is the meaning of this seizure of cables at the moment when Wilson, against the sense of the American people, persists in thrusting himself into company that does not want him? In God's name, let us permit no man to lay unholy hands on the foundation stones of our Republic.

I am not writing this as a letter to the editor, but simply because my heart is full. I feel as if my country had the Old Man of the Sea on its back, and I am eager to see such forces of public opinion as you wield in full and instant action, for the crisis is pressing.

GARRETT P. SERVISS.

Closter, N. J.

WE INTERFERE

SIR,—I want to complain of two serious objections to your paper: First, it keeps me from my work. It comes to my home in the morning before I leave for my office, and I put it in my pocket to read on the way down town. When I reach my office I cannot get to work until I have read the whole darned thing through from cover to cover. In the second place, not enough copies of the paper come to this city. Some of the men in this building to whom I have shown my copies have subscribed at once. More of them borrow my copy and fail to return it, so that I cannot keep it for further use later along. I am not anxious to have the cause of the first objection removed, but the second should have your prompt attention. Kindly do your best to increase the circulation of this most admirable "journal of civilization," common sense, and patriotism. And please do not discontinue the publication of the WEEKLY because the war is over. The country needs it as much as ever in the trying times ahead.

W. J. GREENWOOD.

Indianapolis, Ind.

THE WAR NOT YET ENDED

SIR,—I have just finished reading three recent issues of your WAR WEEKLY handed to me by a friend, the first that I have seen of this publication. My first act has been to send off my subscription to your business office, and my next to thank you for the very great pleasure I have experienced in reading your comment upon vital issues, set forth in the issue of Nov. 2d and earlier issues. I sincerely hope that the WEEKLY will continue publication. The war is by no means ended; the military phase appears to be closing, but if so, hostilities will only be transferred to another field—and find the Allied and "associated" world about as little prepared, as little foresighted, as all and sundry were but little more than four years ago. Not until Rome had plowed up the ground where Carthage stood was Rome free from the Carthaginian menace. But still our alleged statesmen think, or think they think, that some magic arrangement of words can be set down upon some scrap of paper which will work a charm that no German ambition can undo!

Again thanking you for your courageous stand against a very real autocratic menace to our historical institutions, I remain

ALAN BRACKINREED.

Medford, Oregon.

SHIPS, MEN, AND TRADE

SIR,—It is with great pleasure that I read your NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and WAR WEEKLY, but this week on page 11 of the WEEKLY, in your article on the news of the week, you speak of our working to continue our trade with the South American countries, saying: "One of our chief competitors has been eliminated and the others have been handicapped."

It seems to me that since the chief competitor had to use her ships to take over to France 60 per cent of the troops because we could not do it, since apparently we had not ships in which to put them, it is taking a mean advantage of England's helplessness, which was caused by her helpfulness to us.

The fact that we had no ships to transport our own men, but found them to increase our commerce, is certainly open to misconstruction.

CAROLINE LIPPINCOTT.

Wyncote, Pa.

MUZZLING THE PRESS

SIR,—It seems to me as though Mr. Richard Barry, in his "Muzzling the Press", failed to touch upon one of the vital points that might be made in such an article. I refer to the ruling of the War Industries Board regarding country weeklies, compelling every country paper to reduce consumption of stock fifteen per cent., and the thirteen or fourteen rules laid down and the manner in which they are laid down. The ruling starts off by saying that the reduction may be made in one of the following ways, and then sets forth the rules. At the close it says that any publisher who shall have complied with all of these rules will have been deemed to have complied with the ruling. It leaves the country publisher in doubt as to what is meant. The one rule, if enforced, providing that weeklies must be paid up to within three months of expiration, would ruin sixty per cent of country papers if followed by them. They could not collect enough to pay for additional force necessary to maintain work on lists. They can not now find the help. Every country office has lost men in the draft and by enlistment.

The point I make is that this ruling is a species of terrorization. The country press is largely Republican. It is everywhere and plays a large part in moulding public opinion politically. Each country publisher feels that he runs a grave danger in criticising the Government, and that all that is needed to put him out of business is for the Government to notify the local postmaster that an investigation of his paper is called for to make serious trouble for him. It seems to me that in this way it is hoped to so muzzle the country press that adverse comment on things political will not happen.

The Government is to-day practically running the country press.

Look over one hundred weeklies, Republican, and find one that criticises.

WILLISTON MANLEY,

Canton, N. Y.

THE SOUL OF GREECE

SIR,—I have read with great pleasure and interest your editorial in your issue of November 23rd, entitled the "Grandeur of Littleness."

In my mind, and I am sure in the minds of many more, it is one of the very best, if not the best, pieces of literature written on Mr. Venizelos.

You have touched, with your expression, one of the tenderest chords of the soul of Greece. I have had your editorial translated and published in the front page of my paper, so that every Greek throughout this country, at home, and wherever my paper circulates, will read in your words the message of a man whose just and eloquent characterization of their leader will call forth their gratitude and thanks.

I felt I could not let the opportunity go by without expressing to you my feelings as well as the feelings expressed by the Greek people in their letters and messages to me regarding your editorial.

PETROS P. TATANIS.

(Owner of *The [Greek] National Herald*, New York.)

BLACK BRETHREN OF THE GERMAN COLONIES.

SIR,—You have given so much publication to me that I cannot expect you to print this letter, although I certainly do not forbid your doing so. I write to thank you a second time for your championship of the cause of the black natives of the so-called German colonies in Africa.

Other writers, so far as I know, discuss the future of those provinces as though they were merely spaces of land. You speak for the helpless dumb human beings to whom Nature gave those lands for their home. These natives are little known except to the foreigners who have enslaved and tortured them in what was once and should be still their own country. Will they have representatives at the Peace Conference? They should have them if only to tell the assembled wise men of this world about their agony and their desires. No matter how inferior they may be in racial development, they have the common human possession, which is the capacity to suffer and to desire. They are voiceless now. But, thank God, you are one of the few persons on this earth who are speaking for them; and so I repeat the blessing and reminder: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me." I repeat it because I know that, could they understand, they would feel that in what you do for them you are earning for yourself the meed which is in that greatest of all promises.

LILLIE BUFFUM CHACE WYMAN.

APPRECIATION

SIR,—I know of no language which will more fittingly express my great appreciation of the invaluable service which you are so distinctively, fearlessly, and effectively rendering this great nation at this time, than by paraphrasing the following quotation:

"Save for my daily range among the pleasant fields of Holy Writ, I might despair."—Tennyson.

Save for my weekly range among the pleasant pages of the WAR WEEKLY, I *would* despair.

S. W. SOWERS.

Philadelphia, Pa.

CONSTRUCTIVE

What an important position you would have been entitled to in the Administration if you had been willing to "fall down and worship," and how very different things might have been. As it is, your rapid fire of caustic truths in the WAR WEEKLY has done more to annihilate errors in Army organization, to instil into responsible heads of departments the necessity of sane and prompt action, and to brace-up wabblers, than has fallen to the lot of any other American writer. You have proved yourself an indefatigable, patriotic editor—the Northcliffe of this country—assuming, at times when it was extremely delicate and daring, constructive criticism, and all this in the face of financial loss. I admire your pluck.

J. H. HAYNES.

New York City.

IT DOES

SIR,—I go right on being benefited by the REVIEW and enjoying to the limit the WAR WEEKLY. I trust your organization includes some one who reminds subscribers that it is time for them to "come through" when the subscription nears its end.

EMIL B. DREYFUS.

Redwood City, Cal.

SOME QUESTIONS

SIR,—Thank you for the WEEKLY of today. Thank you for all of them! They are a continual joy. "May I not" propound a question or two? If the attraction of gravitation were suspended in the cases of Baker, Daniels, Burleson, Creel, Kitchin, Dent and Tom Marshall, would there be joy in heaven or only on earth? If their places could be filled with real he-men with headworks, would there be joy in both places? Speaking of the Political-master General reminds me—a letter mailed at New Brighton, S. I., an hour away, on October 10, reached me October 14, though very plainly addressed.

Yours for the internment of the talkative typewriter,
M. B. McCray, M.D.

New York City.

GRATITUDE

SIR,—Don't you think that the National Republican Committee ought to extend a vote of thanks to President Wilson for services rendered during the late campaign? His Macedonian appeal for the election of none but Democratic Congressmen was a real Republican asset. Edsel's "patriotic" (?) father will now retire from the limelight, for the Michiganders have assessed him at his true value. Readers of the WAR WEEKLY must thank Colonel Harvey for his trenchant editorials, but what ought we to say in gratitude to the Man in the White House who at the opportune moment "spilled the beans"?

T. C. HARBAUGH.

Casstown, Ohio.

"REFRESHING AND PERTINENT"

SIR,—Now that the war is over, let us hope that the WAR WEEKLY will not depart from our midst with the adjournment of the Peace Congress.

The need of your outspoken comment is not growing less, and under whatever title published, you will be cordially supported. Advance the rates as far as you like. It is enough to be under obligation for your refreshing and pertinent truths so ably expressed.

With appreciation.

F. J. B.

Binghamton, N. Y.

SELF-DETERMINATION

SIR,—A friend asked me today if the Postmaster-General spells his initials with one S or two. I told him I didn't know, but that probably Col. George Harvey could give him the information he desired.

H. L. B. ATKISSON.

Washington.

Letters From Our Readers

MAGYARS AND HUNS

SIR,—On page 14 of the WAR WEEKLY for October 12th, you speak of the ruling class in Hungary as "true Magyars, inheritors of the spirit and the ideals of Kossuth". Some acquaintance with Hungary and the Government there forces me to take issue with your point and to approve in contrast the totally opposite view advanced by Professor Hazen in an article in the last number of the *Saturday Evening Post*. Professor Hazen draws attention to the fact that the Magyars have evinced the same spirit in Hungary that has been manifested by Prussians in Germany and the Turks in Turkey, and that there is little to expect of real freedom from a people whose interpretation of freedom means liberty to tyrannize over all other peoples for their own ends.

I think that we shall do wrong in this country if we endeavor to make any distinction in principle between the ruling classes of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. They are all of a stripe and all deserve the same drastic punishment.

HERBERT L. WILLETT, JR.

Chicago, Ill.

[It is true that the Magyars, under their Austrian King, have oppressed the minority peoples of their composite realm, such as the Roumanians, Croats, Slavonians and Serbs. It is also true that the leader of the Hungarian Independence Party, in the address to which we referred and which formed the text and *raison d'être* of our article, declared himself in favor of accepting President Wilson's terms of peace, which, as we pointed out, would mean the granting of self-determination—or independence—to those peoples. It was to that enlightened attitude of his that we referred when we called him the inheritor of the ideals and spirit of Kossuth.—EDITOR.]

A TRIBUTE TO OUR VERACITY

SIR,—Is your splendid WAR WEEKLY to continue, now that peace is in sight? Surely we will have need of such a pen as yours during the trying days of reconstruction.

I cannot express to you our appreciation of your wonderful paper. We have come to think that "if you see it in THE WAR WEEKLY it's true."

RUTH C. CHASE.

Sparta, Ohio.

WHY NOT DO BOTH?

SIR,—I wish I were publishing a newspaper here. I always want to hand your WEEKLY to about a dozen different persons, and yet I want to keep it myself. Were I a publisher, I fear I would reprint the WEEKLY in full.

Keep up your criticism. It may have no apparent effect, and yet, who knows? Things might be a thousand times worse if it were not for you and a few other publishers who are not afraid to tell the truth.

B. F. McVAY, JR.

Washington, Pa.

WE'LL DO OUR BEST

SIR,—More power to the "write" elbow of our American Maxse! Don't let the talking men stultify our fighters.

Hence enclosed check for a year's subscription.

WILLIAM S. GOTTHEIL.

New York City.

HIS MOST IMPORTANT ACCOMPLISHMENT

SIR,—I wish you to know that I consider my subscription to the WAR WEEKLY as my most important accomplishment of the year.

GEO. A. SILL.

Duluth, Minn.

NEEDED

SIR,—Good for you! The WAR WEEKLY is just what the American people need.

CHARLES R. SKINNER,

(Librarian.)

State of New York Legislative Library, Capitol, Albany.)

The Holy War

By

GEORGE HARVEY

and

The Coming Peace Congress

By Roland G. Usher

League or Entente

By John Jay Chapman

"The Real Colonel House"

By Judge F. W. Henshaw

War's Aftermath for the
Railroads

By G. P. Garrett

The Czecho-Slovak Nation

By L. E. Van Norman

After the War

Maj.-Gen. W. H. Carter, U. S. A.

Venice at War

Gertrude Slaughter

in

The North American Review
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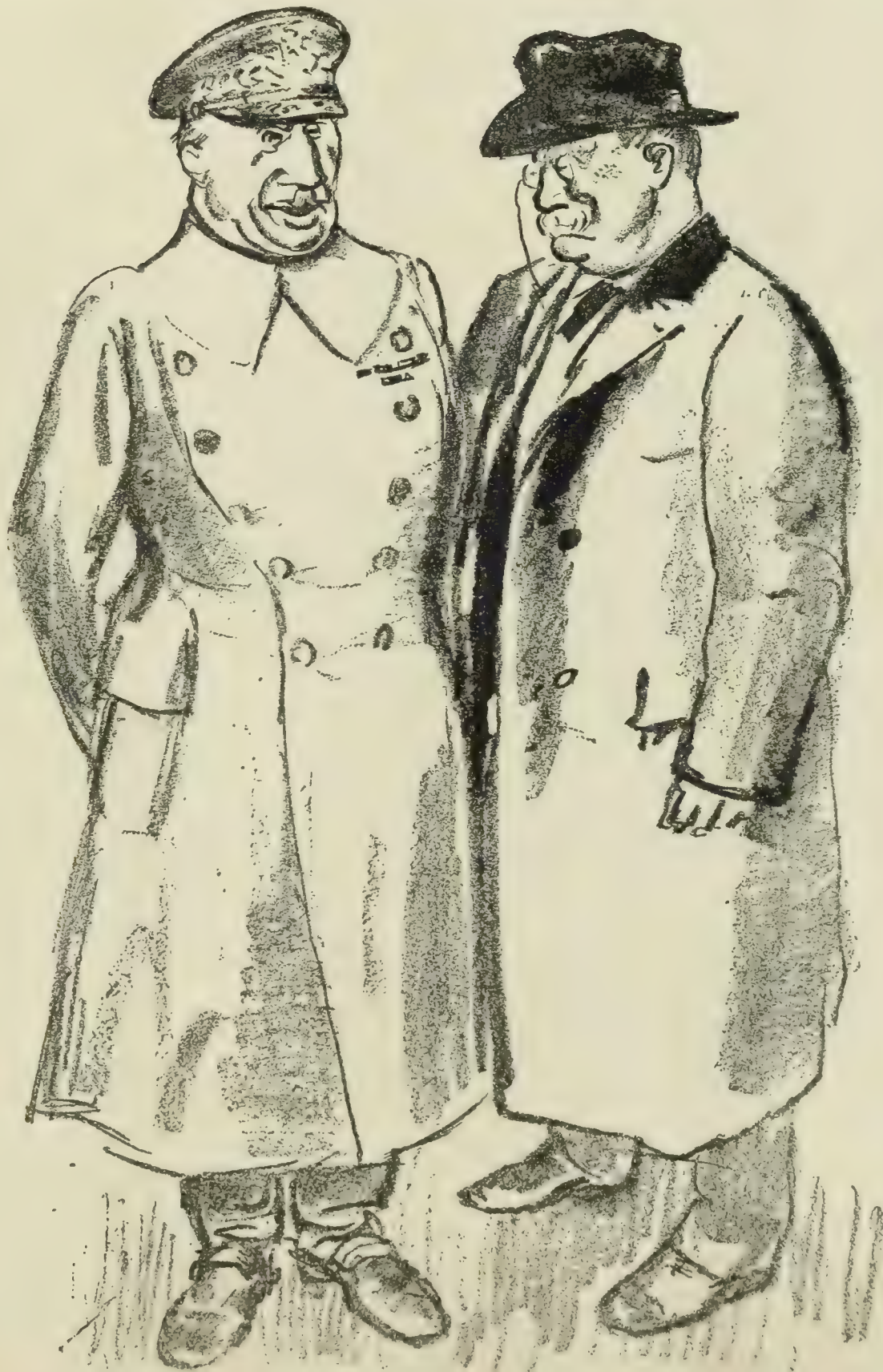
Four Dollars a Year.

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VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING DEC. 14, 1918

NO. 50



WELL, "HE KEPT US OUT OF WAR."

(Thanks to Don Marquis)

Announcement

WE have decided to continue the publication of this journal through another year.

We had not intended to do so, but the simple truth is that our readers have left us no option. We should feel like a quitter if we stopped it now.

The price will be increased of necessity and, since a "WAR WEEKLY" would appear as a paradox when there is no war, its name may be changed at the beginning of the New Year, but in all other respects it will be "as usual."

By way of hint to our readers, at whose gracious behest we have decided to continue publication of the paper, we venture to suggest that, if each subscriber would get another, we could more easily bear the inevitable loss involved.

But we can make it for another year and are going on anyhow.

Four dollars a year. Ten cents a copy.

That is the best we can do.

The new prices are in effect today on all new subscriptions.

Renewal orders from readers whose subscriptions expire up to and including the issue of December 21 will be accepted at the old rate.

Awaiting the Revelation

THE first meeting of delegates preliminary to the Peace Conference took place in London on December 3. All of the principal Allied nations, including the British dominions, were represented by their Premiers and foremost statesmen. The United States was not represented. Colonel House was reported to be ill or at least not feeling well enough to cross the channel, although on the following day he had recovered sufficient physical and mental strength to receive M. Clemenceau in his padded whispering gallery. Delegate Tasker H. Bliss was enjoying his usual good health and spirits, but apparently never thought, as nobody else thought for him, of attending. The American Ambassador, appointed early in August, had not yet reached his post. Thus shrewdly the way was left open for the unglossed entrance into London of the sole representative of America at his personal convenience.

Undismayed, however, by the gap in their ranks, the delegates in attendance proceeded forthwith to confer upon essential points and actually reached several important decisions. Of these the most prominent, according to the official announcement, were the following:

- (1.) Extension of the armistice.
- (2.) The date of the opening of the Peace Congress and the number of delegates to be sent to it by the principal powers.
- (3.) Amount and nature of the indemnities to be demanded from Germany and what was once Austria-Hungary.
- (4.) Replacement by Germany of merchant shipping destroyed during the war.
- (5.) The future of the German colonies.
- (6.) The position of the Poles, newly emancipated Bohemia, the Southern Slavs, and other liberated nationalities.
- (7.) Demand on Holland for the extradition of the ex-Kaiser.

The precise determination of these various questions was withheld from publication as a matter of courtesy to President Wilson, but Mr. Bonar Law rather grimly declared that each decision was unanimous and final and not subject to veto or amendment, thus plainly intimating that, if America expects to be heard in the conferences, America must be on hand when the bell rings. The opening, it must be confessed, did not augur favorably for future participation by manikins beyond the reach of their master's voice. The amazed "State Department" at Washington—meaning, we assume, Mr. Polk—promptly informed the Associated Press "that any action looking to a demand upon Holland for the extradition of William Hohenzollern will be held in abeyance until President Wilson reaches Europe," but Mr. Bonar Law did not seem to think so. However, we shall see.

There appears, in any case, to be no doubt of the significance of Mr. Churchill's declaration, immediately following the conference, to the effect that "we do not intend, no matter what arguments and appeals are addressed to us, to lend ourselves in any way to any fettering restrictions which will prevent the British Navy maintaining her well-trying and well-deserved supremacy." This, according to the *World* correspondent, was regarded "as being addressed especially to Woodrow Wilson" and, since it undoubtedly voices the unanimous sentiment of Great Britain, we rather guess it was, the obvious purpose being, of course, to save Mr. Wilson from the humiliation of asking for something which under no circumstances would be granted. Other friendly warnings, too, are slowly creeping into print,

one notably to the effect that if, as hinted, his notion of freedom of the seas comprises the opening of the Suez canal to all nations at all times, it would apply equally to the Panama canal,—which would hardly accord with American predilections thus far expressed, although in truth we are by no means certain that Mr. Wilson himself, in the new and larger rôle which he had assumed, would raise particular objection.

And that is just the point, or one point, at any rate, of quite considerable moment. Already, ridiculous as it may seem, the prospective negotiation between the President and the Allied Governments is coming to be regarded by the British as a trading proposition. Lord Northcliffe rejoices that Mr. Wilson is to be brought personally into contact with men who can convince him that the spirit which he denominates unselfishness necessarily resolves into "give and take" and Mr. Balfour acclaims a league quite frankly because "the United States would have to bear a large share in the work it involves,"—a most happy thought, simultaneously exemplified by the semi-official *Round Table's* proposal that Uncle Sam begin operations forthwith by assuming custody of the Dardanelles and "accepting the task of preserving the autonomy of Armenia, Arabia and Persia," thus "buttressing Russia from the south against the infections of anarchy" and coincidentally, of course, British India possessions from possible aggressions from the north. This serves well for a beginning, but other thoughtful suggestions along the same line will doubtless be ready for submission to Mr. Wilson when he arrives in eager pursuit of entangling alliances.

Mr. Balfour amusedly foresees the conference as "a rough and tumble affair," but it looks to us now as if more likely to resolve into a matching of wits between Mr. Wilson and the best minds of England. If so, the contest may not prove so unequal as one might suspect. True, the British have long been reputed the best diplomatic traders in the world and those in authority certainly do not lack experience, but Mr. B. M. Baruch assures us that Mr. Wilson is one of the ablest business men he ever met, and we would not undervalue the judgment of one whose vocation as a professional speculator has brought him into close contact with highly trained dealers in various kinds of exchange; but the fact cannot be gainsaid that it would be a case of several acting in perfect unison against one accustomed to function alone. And even though the actuality should prove to be a reversal of the tradition of the spider and the fly, it is not easy to perceive the advantages to be gained by a country whose sole requirement is opportunity to work out its own destiny without interference one way or the other.

The odds at the outset, moreover, are clearly against the President. All of the other delegations will be empowered to make and close a bargain on the spot, while he will be able only to lead his horse to water without himself knowing whether he can induce it to drink,—a fact as well known abroad as at home.

"It must be remembered," says the *Spectator*, "that the governing factor in all foreign policies of the United States is the absolute power of the Senate. No foreign treaty can be ratified unless two-thirds of the Senate are in its favor. In other words, President Wilson has not the least chance of getting any treaty ratified which is repugnant to the sentiments of the Republican party. We take it that the opinions

of the Republican party may fairly be summarized by saying that they are framed in unreserved support of Great Britain and France. It is well to understand this situation, as it enables us to approach the Peace Conference with all confidence. It gives ourselves and the French a position of great power, which we must neither abuse nor fail to use."

Naturally, in this connection, the Monroe Doctrine plays a large part in the "give and take" proposition but, while Mr. Wilson's views upon this subject are awaited with interest, "the prevailing opinion," says the Associated Press, "is that the authority of the league would be universal, covering the entire Western Hemisphere, South, Central and North America." This, it is said most politely, "would not be regarded as a substitution for, but rather as an extension of the Monroe Doctrine, whereby joint international action would supplement and reinforce it." That is to say, that if the House-Mezes army of etymologists, physiologists, horticulturists, ethnologists, phrenologists, bacteriologists and gynecologists are to reform the boundaries and relocate the peoples of Europe to comply with the lessons derived from the tons of data shipped on the *George Washington*, it is taken for granted that the European Powers will assume their original prerogative of doing likewise in "South, Central and North America." Whether Mr. Wilson's broadened vision has impelled his personal acquiescence in this clearly logical conclusion, however, is yet to be divulged.

In point of fact, all Europe seems to be in a state of expectancy respecting the whole anticipated revelation, corresponding to that in which the United States awaited the recent deliverance to Congress. "Our attitude," says a prominent Englishman to the *Times* correspondent, "is one of neither doubt nor suspicion; I should call it one of profound curiosity." To which we have only to remark, in language which he probably would not understand, that he has nothing on us. We are equally in the dark and, for that very reason to a large extent, are unable to comprehend why, in the words of the *Liverpool Post*, "President Wilson would be lacking in an understanding of the new era if he should remain outside the circle which is to shape the peace settlement." That the *Post*, however, should perceive and note impatiently in "the whole business" of American disapproval of the President forsaking his post a distinctly "parochial air" is neither surprising nor, if we may be permitted to add with suitable humbleness, especially disconcerting. The truth, frankly recognized by ourselves, is that we *are* parochial; we have been since 1776; we expect to continue to be for a long time to come; although we feel bound to say that if in the future the mother country should feel the need of such assistance as we can render in a righteous cause, she may be assured of aid equal at least in men, munitions and money to that which we supplied in the quite recent past. Meanwhile, as descendants in large measure, and striving to be worthy, of a courteous and considerate people, we shall refrain scrupulously from presumptuously passing upon their relations with either their king, their Premier or any other of their illustrious officials, such as we regard as mere servants of the Republic.

But we like the truth, the plain truth, and we are strongly disposed to believe that we find it in the frank observation of Mr. Jerome K. Jerome, a great favorite in America, apropos of Mr. Wilson's visit, that "there will be much flag-waving and fine speechifying, but the things for which the

President stands are now ridiculed and bespattered by the only voices one hears."

That is what we expected. Throughout all the gush and glorifying that is to come, Englishmen will continue to be, as they always have been and have an absolute right to be, for England and nothing but England.

Need we, then, feel abashed by the furtive hope that, in the confusion and stress of making the whole world free for democracy, somebody may in an idle moment accord a passing thought to America? Patiently, but watchfully, we abide events.

It remained for the New London *Day* to record that "Mrs. Wilson wore a dark mahogany gown trimmed with punk."

The questions put to Mr. Taft when he applauded the President for going abroad were less searching than they might have been. If someone had asked him, "Would you, while President, have thought of going?" and "If somebody else had suggested it, would you have gone?" we wonder what he, as an honest man, would have replied.

London, Friday.—Speaking before the Fabian Society tonight, George Bernard Shaw said that before the war England had a choice between an alliance with the United States or with Russia, and that she had deliberately chosen Russia, with "consequences we all know."—*The Herald*.

So he, too, has yet to learn that the United States has a Senate.

Mr. Henry Ford has remained at home to help Mr. Pipp get out the first number of his new paper, but Miss Jane is following close on the heels of the second Peace ship.

The Application of the Fourteen Points

"THE bearings of this observation lies in the application on it."

It would be undiplomatic and ungracious to say that our Associates (if we are forbidden to call them "Allies") are beginning to hedge. Yet it is perfectly obvious that they are not now regarding President Wilson's Fourteen Principles with the implicit confidence and unhesitating acceptance which were formerly imputed to them, and which were practically implied by the President himself in his Farewell Address. Upon two of them there are such expressions of dissent as seem almost certainly to doom them to serious opposition and probably to rejection. And concerning various others, there is unconcealed doubt. There are recognition and even open expression of the fact that acceptance of the scheme as a whole depends upon the President's exposition of his more or less cryptic utterances, and upon the application which is to be made of his various points.

In other words, "The bearings of this observation lies in the application on it."

Thus The London *Morning Post* thinks that the Allied Powers too hastily signified acceptance of the Fourteen Principles, without waiting for the President's definition of them. Everything depends, it says, "upon their interpretation and

application." So the London *Times* dwells upon the importance of having the President's personal counsel "in the interpretation and application" of his bases of peace. Also The *Daily Chronicle* declares that "his interpretation of them must be obtained in the first instance."

The situation reminds us of dear old Anthony Trollope, though in reverse. Seated one evening at the end of a long dinner table, he was appealed to by the gentleman at the other end for confirmation of some opinion which the latter had just expressed, but of which Trollope had not heard a syllable. "Don't you think so, Mr. Trollope?" Came the response in a thunderous roar, "I entirely disagree with you, sir! *What was it you said?*" Contrariwise, our friends over there exclaim, "We entirely agree with you, Mr. President! *What is it you mean?*"

Let us not be understood, however, as chiding or censuring them for falling into the facile trap. We have done it ourselves. Upon the President's enunciation of his "glittering and sounding generalities" there was a general approval and acceptance of them without any clear consideration or conception of precisely what they meant. Some of them seemed good, indeed, were good so far as they went, and we wanted peace. Just as the shallow parrot cry, "He kept us out of war!" was two years ago "a good enough Morgan until after election," so "the only possible programme of the world's peace" caught the popular fancy, and the Fourteen Commandments were swallowed, hook, bob, and sinker, and served as the law and the prophets until the time drew near for actually making peace instead of merely talking about it.

Then we, too, began to realize, as our friends across the sea are realizing, that "The bearings of this observation lies in the application on it."

But they, over there, are potentially better off than we. For he is going to them, to explain, expound, interpret and apply his Fourteen Commandments. That is why they are so agitated with a pleasurable titillation of expectancy. We longed for it here, but in vain. Like the little chap in the picture, we besought him wistfully, "Can't you speak?" But he spoke not. The Fourteen Commandments had been once delivered unto us, and it was for us to determine for ourselves their meaning, or to take it on faith. There was no *Œdipus* among us. But to those who sit in darkness beyond the sea, he goes with a great light; which haply may be reflected upon us. For we must humbly hope that when he has vouchsafed to them the information which he denied to us, his faithful creel will also condescend to permit it, by the grace of the Politicalmaster-General, to be relayed back to us.

Then we shall see that, indeed, "The bearings of this observation lies in the application on it."

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Some Things for Europe to Decide

OUR place is not at the head of the peace table. It is true that the President technically outranks, according to court etiquette of precedence, the mere Prime Ministers and others who will compose the remainder of that gathering, and he might therefore expect and indeed claim a certain primacy. But such a course would be foreign and repugnant to his disposition and will surely not be followed. No doubt he will be regarded with much respect and will be treated with all due deference, but his own fine taste will dictate, and will diplomatically impress upon his associates in the conference, the moral propriety of America's not taking advantage of his presence there to seek to dominate the gathering and its doings, but of our recognizing the superior interests and claims of the European nations in prescribing the terms of peace.

There are, of course, certain fundamental principles upon which we are entitled to be as insistent as any of them. The world must be made safe for Democracy. The rights of small nations must be safeguarded. There must be exacted from Germany all possible reparation for her crimes; and there must be the strongest possible guarantees against a renewal of her evil ways. These are things which we went into the war to effect, with others, and we have a right and a duty to insist upon them; assured in advance, however, that there will be no opposition to them from any of our friends. But there are many other details, of great importance, in which we have no immediate concern, or none comparable with that of the Allied Powers, and which therefore we should leave to the other members of the conference to dispose of according to their own interests and their own sense of justice.

We must therefore regard with approval the words of a prominent Englishman who is quoted in the *New York Tribune* to the effect that while Great Britain and France are quite willing to agree to anything that America deems necessary for guaranteeing her against any future menace from Germany, they must insist that America shall similarly agree to whatever they thus consider necessary for their own security; and they will with the utmost courtesy, but with unequivocal firmness, insist that America's position is different from theirs. Distance, size and other circumstances, put America in relation to Germany in a far different position from Belgium, Italy, France and Great Britain. On the questions which directly and vitally concern them, but which are of no moment to us, it is fitting that we should let them have their way.

Two specific respects in which European nations are entitled to have a decisive voice in the conference were suggested by the statesman already quoted. One is that of disarmament. America could obviously afford to disarm, on both land and sea, to a much greater extent than those countries which directly abut upon Germany, and it would be unjust for us to insist that they should maintain no greater forces, in proportion to their size, than we. The other is that of indemnity. The United States might afford to waive all indemnity, though it would be unspeakably foolish for us to do so. But it is simply inconceivable that Belgium or France or Great Britain should do so. On that question it will be fitting for the American delegates in the Peace Conference to wait for and listen to the demands made by the European

Allies, and then approve them and enforce them.

Apart from the obvious equity involved in such a course, there is a very practical and selfish reason why we should pursue it. That is for the vindication and maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, which is still well worth saving, despite the efforts which some make to pooh-pooh it as obsolete. That instrument declared that we had not interfered and should not interfere in the affairs of European nations which concerned themselves alone, and that therefore we insisted that they should not interfere in American affairs which concerned America alone. Now the question arises whether we are going to continue that abstention from meddling and thus maintain our title to claim freedom from their meddling. If we answer that in the affirmative, and we believe that national integrity and interests require that we shall, then we must not attempt to dictate at the peace table on any matters which are of purely European interest.

It was well for us to class the redemption of Alsace-Lorraine among the objects for which we were fighting, and also the self-determination of the peoples held subject by Austria-Hungary. But it would not have been well for us to put those demands forward on our own initiative. They are European matters which do not directly concern us. We back up those demands because they were first put forward by our Allies or Associates in the war. That is all. Of course, loyalty to our Allies requires that we shall be no less resolute in supporting their just demands than in putting forward our own. All that is requisite is that we shall keep it clearly in mind that we are supporting their demands and are not ourselves gratuitously injecting ourselves into European affairs which are no concern of our own.

"Do you know how many reporters the *Times* has?" Lord Northcliffe asked the American editors. "Two, just two, and one of them is so old that he is virtually a pensioner."—*Press report*.

Milord forgets himself.

The Epic of the Navy

"PUB. DOCS." are notoriously dry reading. But in a time which is an exception to all other times since time began, there may without surprise and wonder be an exception to this rule. Such has just come to us in the report of the Secretary of the Navy, which, beside its pages of estimates and programmes and details of tonnage and horse power and gun power and protective armor, tells to the world the epic of the "Bois de la Brigade de Marine." Is that an awkward name? Yet is it bracketted with Ypres and Verdun.

Never, as editor or as Cabinet officer, has Josephus Daniels delivered another utterance so calculated to thrill American hearts with grateful pride as this story of the deeds of the American Marines and Regulars, from Belleau Wood and Chateau Thierry to the salient of St. Mihiel. It is told with simple but convincing eloquence; with becoming modesty, and yet with the pride which it would be criminal to suppress in recounting some of the most heroic and most decisive achievements of the war.

News has teemed with mention of what we might call Territorial forces; troops identified with some special parts of the country. The appeal of such records to local pride, interest and affection is legitimate and strong. But the

Marines and Regulars belong to no city, state or section: they belong to all America. If then they have failed to receive the attention and the plaudits which have been not unworthily lavished upon the others, it is fitting that they should have their recompense in national recognition, such as Mr. Daniels admirably gives them.

What is the measure of their glory? Well, a few simple figures tell a volume. In the fiercest of its battles the Marine Corps had only 8,000 men engaged, but out of that number it lost 4,213 in killed and wounded—those sufficiently wounded to be reported by cable. That is a percentage of casualties such as few armies suffer. There were also 57 more who were lost, being taken prisoners. Only 57 prisoners, including those who were wounded while far in advance of the lines and were unable to resist their Hunnish captors! We are not sure which is the more noteworthy, that more than fifty per cent of all were killed or wounded, or that of all the losses only 1.1 per cent were prisoners.

What did these men do? They did at Belleau Wood and Chateau Thierry what the British did at Ypres and the French did at Verdun and the French and British did together in the Miracle of the Marne. They stood with their backs to the wall against an overwhelming force and grimly said "They shall not pass!" And the foe did not pass. Is it too much to claim that they saved Paris from capture? Consider: The Huns found the weakest spot in the French lines at the point that was nearest to Paris. They struck with savage force and broke through. They were sweeping resistlessly toward Paris, six or seven miles a day. They were the crack Guards Divisions of the Prussian army, the military flower of Hunland. And into their path to stop them were swung this little army of American Marines and Regulars.

What happened is history. They stopped them. They held them. They drove them back, with blow after blow, in a retreat that narrowly escaped being a rout and that did not stop until the armistice. It shattered German morale. It confirmed American confidence. It revealed to the Huns the depth of the abyss of disastrous blunder into which they had plunged with their fatuous taunt, "The Americans won't fight!" There was no more significant achievement in all the war.

We owe to Mr. Daniels warm appreciation and gratitude for his patriotic spirit in thus illumining a commonly dry and technical official report with so splendid a chapter of heroic history, and conversely for giving to the gallant Marines and Regulars the authentic record of such a report. Other detachments of the army receive praise from all the land, particularly from those parts of the land which have a special interest in them. These unsurpassed fighters are entitled to the highest and fullest recognition that all the land can give them, and also specially from every section and community in the land.

The Rutland *Herald* tells its readers, under a Brattleboro date, that relatives of Miss Marion Rice, a Red Cross nurse now in France, have just heard from her that the day before the mails brought her a Christmas package which was mailed in Brattleboro in November, 1916. Miss Rice was so greatly pleased that she referred to the Politicalmaster General as Old Reliable.

National Memorials of National Deeds

IT was once said, waggishly, that if the world should come to an end to-day, a company of Englishmen would have a dinner to-morrow in commemoration of the event. We might say that Americans would start a subscription for a monument in like commemoration, with a chance that the thing would be left unfinished.

This assumption is supported by the fact that a movement has been started, or perhaps we should say that an attempt has been made to start it, for a monument in France in memory of the New York soldiers who perished there in the great war; a movement so ill-conceived that we must feel profoundly grateful to the numerous gentlemen who, despite the invitation of the Mayor of New York, have refused to have anything to do with it. That is not, of course, because those soldiers do not deserve a memorial, but because of certain inherent vices in this particular scheme which should be sufficient to damn it in every right-thinking mind.

These vices have been set forth with admirable directness and vigor by Mr. Henry C. Frick in his letter declining to serve on a committee for the scheme. They are chiefly two. One is, the local character of the proposed memorial. No doubt New York soldiers did splendid work. But so did those from Chicago, and Seattle, and Squedunk, and Way-back Four Corners, and these latter are just as worthy of such a tribute. Just because New York City is the biggest and richest community in the land is no reason why its soldiers, however brave, should be exploited and exalted above all the rest. It would be a gross perversion of history, implied if not declared, to make it appear that only New York soldiers fought and died for freedom in France. There is just as much reason for memorials of soldiers from a thousand other places as there is for one of New York troops. But if all the thousand other places also erected memorials, there would not be room for them in France without crowding; the requests for sites for so many monuments would be embarrassing to the French Government; and there would be an unpleasant contrast between the showy and grandiose memorials raised by the big, rich cities and the modest shafts erected by lesser communities.

The second point well made by Mr. Frick is that as one compensation for the war has been the unifying of America, we should avoid anything that would mar that unity, as the erection of a memorial representing any one place or section would do to a dangerous degree. It requires no inventive imagination to see how such a glorification of New York troops, to the invidious neglect of all others, would rouse throughout the country bitter resentment against that city. We trust there is no occasion to think that it would arouse in that city itself such feeling against some one party, class or clique, though we must recognize that there is not the entire absence of such danger that we could wish.

Mr. Frick is exactly right. This has been the whole nation's war, and the people of the whole nation should be interested in a fitting memorial of the soldiers of the whole nation. We should think ill of a New Yorker, and reckon him no true American, who was not as ready to aid in erecting a monument to soldiers from California as to those from Manhattan Island. There should, we believe, be erected

"somewhere in France" a memorial to the American soldiers who there perished that humanity might live, and it should be a memorial worthy, so far as human genius and munificence can make it so, of the great country in which it stands, of the great country which erects it, and of the great cause and achievement which it represents. But such a monument should be the work of no one man, either vain or sinister in his self-seeking; of no one party or faction, thus to be exploited; of no one city or State, which would thus gain exaltation above its fellows. It should be the work of the whole nation, without regard to personality, party or place. The soldiers who died in France, whether from New York or Nevada, died not in a local war but in the nation's war, and not for some special locality but for the whole country. Their only fitting memorial must be as lofty as their sacrifice and as broadly representative as their patriotism.

We regard the appointment of Mr. Carter Glass as Secretary of the Treasury as the best that the President could have made from the Democratic party, and we wish him well.

Many of the people talked of coming to America as soon as peace was signed, and it seems that unless we prevent it we will have an influx of German immigrants from the Rhineland, which our sailors have christened "Dutch Uncle Belt."—*Dispatch from the front in Germany.*

We want none of them. England has barred them absolutely. Let Senator William P. Dillingham, Chairman of the Committee on Immigration, take notice!

Sound Sense from Senator Knox

THE League of Free Nations in its action condemning the Knox Senate resolution concerning the Paris Peace Conference, seems to misapprehend just what the Knox resolution really is. The League describes it as an "arbitrary settlement which would be short-lived in its effect and would vastly increase the growing danger to world safety."

This is inaccurate in about as many ways as it well could be. The Knox proposition is not a "settlement" of the League of Nations question, still less is it an "arbitrary" settlement of that same. Furthermore it would not "vastly increase the growing danger to world safety," for the reason that there isn't any growing danger to world safety. On the contrary, whatever, if any, danger to world safety there may be is diminishing with headlong rapidity with every passing day. The growing season for world danger was coincident to, and an integral part of, the past fifty years' growth of the German Empire. Thanks to Providence and the strongest battalions, the German Empire is smashed. Its power for international villainy is ended. And with the downfall of Germany went, for a long time at least, the danger to world safety which the worthy people of the League of Free Nations see so ominously increased by Senator Knox's very clear-headed and common sense resolution.

By that resolution the Peace Conference would occupy itself, so far as the United States is concerned, with the objects for which the United States went to war, and with these objects only. These objects Senator Knox clearly and accurately defines. They "were to vindicate the ancient rights of navigation as established under international law, and in order to remove forever the German menace to our

peace." The Senator then recites the fact that "conferences are about to take place with the purpose to complete, perfect and to guarantee the attainment of these war aims and thus to pass to the state of formal peace." The resolution then provides for the safeguarding of these attained war aims by a definite understanding that, "the same necessity again arising, there shall be the same accord and co-operation with our chief co-belligerents for the defense of civilization."

This covers and comprises all that the Peace Conference need consider, so far as clearing the way for the formal proclamation of peace is concerned. What we want and what all our co-belligerents want is, as Senator Knox put it, to settle this war as speedily as possible upon the essential issues involved and to return the soldiers to their homes. To this end the resolution demands the withdrawal of the American armies and navy from foreign countries and foreign waters except insofar as their presence there is temporarily necessary to establish the status contemplated by the armistice. And, simultaneously with this speedy promulgation of formal peace, the resolution provides for the withdrawal with the greatest celerity possible, consistent with the national interest, of those extraordinary powers conferred upon the President for the prosecution of the war.

So far as the project for a League of Nations is concerned, or so far as any sweeping change in the ancient laws of the sea, as heretofore recognized in international law and violated by the Teutonic Powers, is involved, that is postponed for separate consideration, not alone by the victorious belligerents but by all the nations, if and when, at some future time, general conferences on these subjects might be deemed useful.

This programme is sound and sensible in every way. It strips the pending Paris discussions of all that is non-essential to the early attainment of those objects for which we went to war. It is on the fully established attainment of these objects, and upon that alone, that the formal ending of the war depends, the reign of peace is established, and our soldiers, sailors and civilians are relieved from the burdens and duties of actual belligerency. All the rest is collateral and irrelevant. Let the Peace Conference establish peace and clinch it by such drastic measures as will make the enemy impotent to break it. That is the Conference's first duty. All other problems are subordinate. They may be worked out in detail and with due deliberation in subsequent international assemblages. The nebulous "freedom of the seas," the equally nebulous unrestricted economic relations, the still more vague and uncertain League of Nations dream may then be threshed over at leisure, unembarrassed by the clamors of a world impatient to be released from war burdens, war autocracy and war restraints, when war no longer exists except as a technicality resultant solely upon prolonged deliberations over matters only collaterally relevant.

Mr. Knox's resolution is not, as the League of Free Nations asserts, a "settlement" of the League of Nations plan any more than it is a settlement of the "freedom of the seas" idea, whatever that remarkable idea may be. It is a "settlement" of nothing. It merely puts the United States Senate on record as favoring relegation of the befogged Fourteen Commandments to their proper place for consideration, after formal proclamation of peace, on their own merits and in their own appropriate time and order.

"Have We Lost Our Republic?"

MR. HUGHES in his recent Columbia University address touched with his customary clarity of expression upon a number of matters pending and impending which call for all the sagacity and non-partisan bias in their handling which the country possesses. It is clear that in the distinguished jurist's mind, however temperate his language, there was an uneasiness over certain centralizing tendencies in the Administration of which there have been latterly only too many instances. Mr. Hughes is by no means alone in entertaining anxieties of this sort. They have been general, increasingly so, throughout the entire country. The speaker only put into his own words the thought that has long been in many minds when he said: "Some anxiously ask, 'What has become of our form of Government? In saving the world, have we lost our Republic?'"

As long as the war lasted, anxieties over putting strange and unprecedented autocratic powers into single hands were submerged. They were there none the less. There was even, in the most crucial moments of our stripping for the terrific physical battle before us, a latent dread that the restoration of these powers into the hands of the people of the Republic, to whom alone they rightfully belong, might be blocked or impeded by one specious pretense after another and with the ultimate purpose of surrendering them only when finally absolutely forced to do so.

These powers were granted, reluctantly granted, and only granted on the positive assurance, as in the case of telephone and telegraph seizure, that they would be exercised in case solely of dire necessity, and then only for so long as the war creating that necessity lasted. It was under this same patriotic conviction that the country's very existence demanded it that these sacrifices, these departures from all precedent were tolerated. It was in the same spirit which gave up vast private properties to public control that Congress temporarily abandoned, in effect, its rightful prerogatives and became, to all intents and purpose, a mere instrument to voice and give form to decrees of the Executive. Congress chafed under the galling restraint, as well it might. The press of the country very properly sounded notes of warning, and with relentless clearness presented the full extent of the surrender and the dangerous tendencies which it might well entail.

And we have seen that the anxieties thus evoked were by no means groundless. Encroachment of the Executive upon the Legislative has shown alarming indications of becoming a fixed habit. Matters even went to the astounding length of a direct appeal to the country to elect a Congress that would do the Executive's bidding. It would be natural to suppose that the sharp rebuke the electorate gave to pretensions so preposterous would have been sufficient to repress, for a time at least, such manifestations of a fixed purpose to saddle a semi-autocracy upon us. But such was not the case. The habit, it would appear, had already become too deep-rooted to be broken. The arrogant and illegal seizure of the cables was one of the first acts of the Administration the moment the war was ended.

"The astounding spectacle of centralized control which we have witnessed," said Mr. Hughes, "has confused many and turned the heads of some." And he might have added

that it had angered very many more than it had confused. The outburst of indignation at the high-handed cable-seizure brigandage very clearly reveals the extent and the intensity of that anger. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Hughes did not have this outrageously insolent act clearly in mind when he said:

Whenever, in the desire to take advantage of the situation for the purpose of fastening some new policy upon the country, there has been resort to arbitrary power through acts unjustified by real or substantial relation to a state of actual war, such acts will receive the condemnation they deserve when they are brought to the determination of the proper tribunals.

Regarding the respective merits of private and Government ownership and operation of public utilities, Mr. Hughes but puts in words the result of all but universal experience when he says that such Government ownership and operation mean inefficiency for one thing, and for another, the deadly danger to a Republic of vast bodies of organized political office-holders and job-holders. But Government Ownership is not the question which now concerns the country. It is not up for decision by the American people. What is before the people, and before them in ominously aggressive form, is whether the country shall be dragooned and tricked into a policy of Government Ownership without having an opportunity to say whether it wants it or not. It is that dragooning and chicanery process to which we are now being subjected. It is for the promotion of that Government Ownership policy in the interests of scheming politicians and Socialistic faddists that that temporary authority, granted under the impulse of generous patriotism, is now being exploited to ends never contemplated when it was granted.

Mr. Hughes again echoes public opinion most emphatically when he touches, indirectly, upon another weakness of the Administration—a weakness from which many deplorable consequences during the past two or three years have come. Nothing is more regrettable in a public official wielding vast authority than that petty, feminine jealousy and egotism which excludes persons of proven capacity and experience from an advisory and directing share in the exercise of that authority—the narrowness that seeks an environment of little men in dread, seemingly, of being overshadowed by contrast. It is only in general terms that Mr. Hughes touches upon this point, but his words lose nothing in their force from the broadness of their application. He said:

And here let me say that I hope that one lesson of the war will be increased respect for expert knowledge on the part of those to whom is entrusted the difficult matter of supervising the activities of industry and commerce. The future has no reward for ignorance, and the stupid arbitrariness and partiality of little bureaucrats selected in the course of payment of political debts do not spell the liberty for which our sons went forth to die.

There are other fields than those of industry and commerce over which the blight of bureaucratic manikins has fallen, and nobody, coming fresh as he does from the airplane investigation, knows this better than does Mr. Hughes. But it was to larger fields than this mere episodic airplane incident of scandalous inefficiency that the comments of Mr. Hughes apply. As he took pains at the outset of his address to explain, he had in mind in his broad generalizations more particularly the Food Administration, the Coal Administration, and "the apparent attempt on the part of the Administration to restrict the natural expansion of our foreign trade in times of peace."

Disposing of William the Damned

WHAT is to become of the former Kaiser of the Huns? Something will obviously depend upon whether he remains in Holland or returns to Germany. If the former, the Powers may secure his extradition and his surrender to them, as an international criminal. If on the other hand he leaves Holland and returns to Germany, either at the demand of Holland, which that country has of course the right to make and to enforce, or at his own volition, then Germany or Prussia may dispose of him itself, or may be compelled, as it properly may be, to surrender him to the Powers. It is of special interest to observe that the propriety of his extradition from Holland seems now to be pretty generally conceded, and that the Dutch Government seems inclined to acquiesce in the right of the Allies to demand that he be surrendered to them.

His present status seems to be clear. He has abdicated the German imperial throne and also, we understand, the Prussian royal throne; but he has not renounced his lesser dignities, nor been deprived of them by law. He is therefore still Count William of Hohenzollern, and for all we know Duke of This and Baron of That. Also, he is a subject or citizen of the Prussian state, kingdom or republic or whatever it may be. In that capacity he is entitled to the protection of Prussian law, and is subject to its penalties; provided that he has need of the former or that the latter are invoked against him. It is an ancient saying that "there are judges in Berlin"; and it may be that now they would pass judgment upon a Hohenzollern.

Whether he is dealt with by Germany or by the Powers, the question of his accountability to the law will doubtless be raised, though the answering of it will probably cause little embarrassment. Any head of a state is exempted from accountability for his official acts, but only to a limited extent. For crimes against the common law, of the state or of nations, he cannot claim immunity. The world has outgrown and discarded the notion that for assassination of a ruler a man can find asylum in a neutral state on the ground that it was a "political offense," and therefore non-extraditable. Similarly it has outgrown the notion that crimes committed by rulers are to be regarded as "official acts" and therefore unpunishable. A king or a President has no more right to commit murder than a peasant has.

Precedents for dealing with this Hohenzollern criminal are numerous and suggestive. The latest was provided by Russia, where the Bolsheviks, under original incitement from the Hohenzollern Government, simply butchered the former Czar and his family, without trial. We do not expect that to be the fate of William Hohenzollern. The Germans themselves are not likely to do such a thing, and of course the Allies would not countenance it. To go back to the first pertinent example, Charles I of England was deposed by a revolution, tried, condemned, and put to death; and James II at his deposition probably escaped a like fate by flight. The case of Louis XVI of France closely paralleled that of Charles I, though his trial was less orderly and legal, and his fate was less deserved. Charles X was permitted to retire from France with dignity, and to spend the rest of his life in unmolested exile. Louis Philippe fled and was smuggled into exile, where he too was unmolested.

There are two conspicuous examples of sovereigns who fell before alien attacks. Indeed there are three, for Napoleon the Great thus fell twice. The first time he abdicated his throne and was permitted to retire to Elba, to have that island as his possession and to retain the title of Emperor. It is interesting to recall that if German or Austrian counsels had prevailed, he would have been put to death; treacherously and secretly, by poison. The second time, after Waterloo, was more significant. He was declared an outlaw by the Powers, and the Prussian army was directed to seize him, alive or dead. He then abdicated the throne, and was ordered by the Provisional Government to leave France. That Government was unable to secure a passport for him, however, so that instead of escaping to America he was compelled to surrender himself to England; and that power on its own responsibility and by its own authority sent him to St. Helena for the rest of his days, a prisoner of state. Napoleon III was taken as a prisoner of war at Sedan, and was held as a prisoner by Germany until the end of the war, when he was released, to pass the rest of his life in England. Immediately after his capture at Sedan the French Deputies proclaimed the fall of the Empire. Months afterward he was more formally deposed by the Assembly at Bordeaux, and was declared responsible for the woes which had befallen France, but no attempt was made to put him on trial or to inflict any punishment.

Thus far, the examples of history. But William Hohenzollern stands in a different category from any of these. He is far more an international outlaw than Napoleon was charged with being, and for his flagrant and innumerable violations of international law might well thus be proclaimed. His personal culpability, in ordering and sanctioning capital crimes against the common law, surpasses that of any other person of modern times if not indeed of any age of the world. To permit him to go unpunished would be the greatest failure of justice in the history of mankind. His plea for immunity must be based upon the "divine right of kings." But this war has been fought distinctively for the denial and everlasting abolition of that pretended right, and it would be an astounding anomaly to let that discredited principle still be potent for the protection of the world's worst criminal.

The Dallas *Times* records exultingly that "a postal card mailed to William Whitehurst, 4008 Gaston avenue, from Waco, has just been delivered," having been posted late in 1912, just before Mr. Burleson took charge of his Department; the purpose of the publication being, we gather, to show how well the Politicalmaster General looks after the interests of his home folks.

The one startling exception appears in Pershing's comment upon the supply of 75 mm. and 155 mm. cannon, the standard types of which the overwhelming majority of the artillery has consisted. Pershing writes that "there were no guns of the calibres mentioned, manufactured in America, on our front at the date the armistice was signed." All such guns used by the expeditionary forces, a full supply for some thirty divisions, or over 800,000 men, came from the hard worked French factories.—*Evening Sun*.

And no combat planes, no machine guns and no tanks!

The Week

WASHINGTON, December 12, 1918.

PROGRESS is reported by the Peace Pilgrims. The *George Washington*, alias *Spree*, with its imposing retinue, moves majestically toward the shores of France. Wireless telegraphy keeps its august passenger constantly in touch with the faithful Tumulty. The Presidential typewriter clicks and crackles beneath the autocratic touch that produces reams of rhetoric with which "the applause of listening Senates to command."

Meantime Brother Tumulty, left in charge at home, can scarcely report that "All's quiet along the Potomac to-night." In fact, all is uncommonly unquiet. Conservative counsels, for the sake of our appearance among the nations, restrained the pressing of resolutions declaring absention to be tantamount to abdication; though, according to common sense and the Constitution, that is what it is. But nothing could prevent the opening of a slashing debate upon the President's peace policy as it may, might, could, would or should be. Indeed, Fidus Achates John Sharp Williams was himself largely responsible for this, seeing that just as the fire of debate got to burning nicely, but not too fervently, he upset a whole frying-pan full of fat into it; with the orthodox result.

The real beginning of the debate was, however, the work of Senator Frelinghuysen, who introduced a resolution calling upon the President to explain his Fourteen Commandments to Congress before attempting to impose them upon the Peace Congress as the Law and the Prophets and as the will of the American people. Obviously, this was, or rather would have been, a most proper request; but obviously, also, it came a few days after the fair. We might have wished such a request to be made and to be complied with before the sailing of the *Spree*, alias *George Washington*. But surely, to expect that treasure ship to put back from Flores in the Azores for so trifling a purpose as to fulfill a neglected duty to Congress and the Nation, or even to expect the manipulation of the typewriter or the cadences of the jazz band to be interrupted in order to send back by wireless telegraphy the speech which the President forgot to make—of a truth, that would be, as A. Ward remarked, "2 mutch."

Progress is reported, too, from "over there;" in a dual sense. The chief statesmen of the Allied Powers, courteously realizing how great a strain his transatlantic voyage must be to the President, are doing all they can to lighten his labors by discussing and determining the terms of peace before his arrival. As they have already, as he assured us, accepted his Fourteen Commandments, they are of course simply following out his policy, and are leaving nothing for him to do when he gets there, weary and worn from his self-sacrificing journey, save to approve their work with a "Well done, good and faithful servants!" He will not even be asked to assume the labor and the undesired prominence of presiding at the sessions of the conference, since, as they are to be held in France, custom prescribes that the chief French representative shall be chairman. More and more the outlook for the Presidential villeggiatura suggests the classic incident of the Young Lady of Niger, who rode on the back of a tiger. It will be remembered by nature non-fakers that they came back from the ride with the lady inside, and a smile

on the face of the tiger. (N. B.—The familiar soubriquet of Dr. Georges Clemenceau is "The Tiger.")

The troops, too, are making progress: Belgian, French, British and American. Next after King Albert's re-entry into Brussels we should have liked to witness the Belgian occupation of Duesseldorf—a triumphant Belgian army occupying a conquered German city! And what a contrast to, let us say, the German occupation of Louvain! There is the difference between civilized men and Huns. But it was superb, also, to see the British in Cologne, the French in Mainz, and the Americans in Coblenz. Where now is "die Wacht am Rhein"? As Hans Breitmann observed on a memorable occasion, "All goned afay mit die lager bier, afay in die Ewigkeit!"

Day by day German camouflage becomes more obvious. Our troops in the Rhineland find no marks of famine or dire distress. Meat markets and groceries are well stocked, and the people are well fed and prosperous. The plaintive bleatings for pity and mercy and therefore for a relaxation of the armistice terms, because of their lamentable plight, were nothing but pretence. More and more it appears probable that the Germans surrendered not because they were at the end of their resources, but because they thought that by shrewd camouflaging they could obtain better terms than would be possible if they fought to a finish; and also that they planned and are still trying to work out a trick that would, if successful, win for them in peace what they failed to win in war.

In connection with this it is interesting to observe the tone of the German press toward the President and his mission. The organ of the National Liberals expresses agonizing fear that his Fourteen Commandments "will have only a shadowy existence at the Peace Conference;" while another important organ declares that "It is almost unimaginable optimism to hope that Wilson's intervention will mitigate the destructive conditions of peace." That is, we trust, quite true. The President's vague vaporings will have little weight with the serious statesmen of the conference. But by what right do Germans regard his "intervention" as being in their favor? Since when have they been entitled to look upon him as their attorney and advocate in the Peace Conference? Has he not spoken of the German Power as a hateful Thing that must be crushed?

It cannot be said that America greatly honored herself in honoring Great Britain on "Britain's Day." She did entirely too little honoring. There was no such display of British colors as there should have been; there were no such public demonstrations as justice to the occasion demanded. There was nothing like the tribute paid to Great Britain that Great Britain has more than once paid to America. Yet Great Britain has done in the war far more for us than we have done for her, and she has borne ten times more of the burden of the war than we. It was of course lamentable that the President was not here to take the lead in a great national demonstration. We have no doubt that he tore himself away from that prospective duty and delight with the greatest of reluctance and with genuine heart-anguish. But "Duty, Stern Daughter of the Voice of God," compelled him to go when he did, and thus to be on the seas whose freedom he

is so passionately seeking at the time when he would have liked to be voicing America's tribute of gratitude and appreciation to Great Britain. So we must take the will for the deed and be grateful. But was it the creel or the Political-master-General who was responsible for the failure to transmit by wireless telegraph from the *Spree* his generous and thrilling message on The Day, beginning as usual, "May I not"? There were messages from King George, from Mr. Balfour, from M. Clemenceau, from General Pershing, from Admiral Sims, from Colonel Roosevelt, and—oh, yes; there was a colorless and unsympathetic note from the President, more about himself than Great Britain, which evidently was written at Washington some time ago and left in cold storage with Brother Tumulty, to be exhumed at the proper moment. Unfortunately, Brother Tumulty, in his profound reverence for the *ipsissima litera scripta*, did not venture to edit it so as to make its phraseology fitting to the occasion; wherefore we are pained to know that it was greeted by the audience with snickers of merriment.

The President did send a wireless message of greeting to the returned soldiers, which was right and proper; particularly if it was specially delivered to that detachment of wounded heroes who were permitted to enter the country and be dispatched to their destination without so much as a kindly word of greeting from anyone. But the creel was obviously too busy telegraphing that "The President took his usual walk on deck and then rested. He did not work during the day," to be able to transmit a mere message to the British Day celebration.

On the whole, the finest tribute paid on Great Britain's Day was the British Prime Minister's tribute to America.

Sir Auckland Geddes is quite right, from the British point of view, in saying that it would be better to run the risk of Germany's never paying all her debts than to let her dump her cheap manufactured goods upon the British market. It would also be quite right to say precisely the same from the American point of view. Indeed, we can say it the more unhesitatingly, from even the most sordid point of view, because we have no such vast indemnity to collect from Germany as Great Britain has. Of course we should collect a considerable sum, but we should not be at all embarrassed if we were unable to get a dollar. On the other hand, we have at least as much reason for excluding German goods as the British have. It was an astounding thing that a cargo of German toys was permitted to enter this country a little while ago, and it was something that should not be repeated. The argument that we must surrender our markets to Germany and subject our workmen to Hunnish competition, in order to enable Germany to pay her debts, is revolting to sense and to decency.

Mr. Redfield continues his emulation of Secretary Baker as the brakeman of the Administration. He is palpitating with zeal to apply the brakes to American commerce, so that we shall not get ahead of other nations in after-the-war trade expansion. There isn't a bit of danger, Mr. Redfield, of the appalling horrors which your vision scans. Let Ameri-

can commerce have the freest course and the fullest advantage, and it will not be over-expanded. All the danger lies in the other direction. We have not heard British or French economists expressing any such apprehensions concerning their fiscal and commercial future as our Secretary of Commerce seems to be cherishing in his altruistic soul. A fair field and no favor is all they ask and is all they need. That is all that we ask for, too; and we do not think that the American people will permit even the super-sapient Mr. Redfield to deny it to them.

Mr. Bielaski is doing a commendable work in exposing the machinations of Hunnish propaganda, and in pillorying those Americans who sold themselves to Germany. But we must hope that he will not mar his work by excess of zeal, after the fashion of the slacker raids of a few months ago. Dagnet processes are not generally commendable. There are doubtless many men of sterling patriotism whose attitude toward Germany has undergone a material change since 1914 and 1915. We loathe traitors; and we confess that we are unable to understand how any intelligent and patriotic American could ever have been pro-German or, since August 4, 1914, anything but intensely anti-German. Yet we must confess that it seems to us a perilous and also an unjust thing to sweep together into a common dust-pile those who were merely undecided or neutral in 1915, and those who were venomously disloyal in 1917 and 1918.

The President did well to express his gratitude for Mr. Schwab's services in shipbuilding, which he rightly described as "invaluable." The selection of him as Director-General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation was one of the wisest and most profitable of all the President's acts during the war, and it was one of those most splendidly justified by the event. If only all important places had been as well filled!

If Great Britain demands forty billion dollars indemnity from Germany, as an authoritative agency indicates, and if France, Belgium and the others make proportionate demands, the total will far exceed the assessed valuation of the whole German Empire. But that fact is not the slightest reason in the world why the demands should not be made and inexorably enforced. Of course it would mean that Germany would be kept hard at work for a considerable term of years, paying off her debts. Why not? She has been working for many years preparing for her war of conquest against the world. Now let her work for as many years, if that be necessary, to pay for the damage which she has caused to other nations. We should think that we might squeeze a hundred billions out of her in the course of thirty or forty years; during which time she would, of course, pay for the maintenance of an Allied army of occupation. And we have a cheerful notion that for that period and a little longer the peace of the world would be quite safe from disturbance by the Huns. Again we ask, Why not? Would such exaction of indemnity be more than justice? Remember the *Lusitania*. Remember Louvain. And remember the good old principle, Who breaks pays!

Mr. Vanderlip's Sane Optimism

THE sound American common sense in the optimism of Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip in his address before the Academy of Political Science is refreshing. There has been a deal of misgiving and anxious head-shaking over what may happen to us in the epoch of transition from war to peace conditions which, in the healthy sanity of Mr. Vanderlip's views, will not in the least be justified by the event. It is the proclamation season just now. Mr. Gompers, on the part of labor, is proclaiming that war wages have come to stay. Despondent employers of labor have been proclaiming a general shut-down of factories. Then again we are told that there is to be a rapid turning adrift of tens of thousands of employees who are to be left stranded without occupation, and the high cost of living going on just the same. There is to be the deuce and all to pay generally, and no wages wherewith to pay it.

All of which does not worry Mr. Vanderlip in the least, and he makes a comfortingly convincing argument that it need not worry anybody else. As to the labor demand, he points out that during the past four years we should normally have had 5,000,000 immigrants. Instead of that we had so few that their numbers are quite negligible as a factor in the labor demand. As a matter of fact, they are more than offset by the thousands whom the war drew back to Europe. And this says nothing of the million and more men of our own army who are to be held in the service for an indefinite time ahead.

That there will be a rapid shutting down of war industries and consequent release of many therein employed is of course inevitable. As a matter of fact the shutting down is even now in progress. Yet there is no lack of employment for all able and willing to work. Indeed, the demand for labor is heavily in excess of the supply. Within a fortnight it was estimated that 200,000 more employees were wanted than were obtainable. Besides, as Mr. Vanderlip observes, there has been a great damming up of American industries. Hundreds of branches of normal activity have either virtually ceased or have been running with greatly reduced forces, and these forces, too, were in the nature of more or less unsatisfactory substitutes. With the return to normal these industries will be resumed with their full ante-bellum equipment. In many cases the ordinary forces will be largely increased to make up for lost time and to meet the demands of depleted stocks and expanded markets. All things considered, it would seem to be about the worst time in the world for pessimism over lack of employment for labor.

In speaking with wholly justifiable pride, as an American, of our country's splendidly vast development of productive energy to meet the war demand, Mr. Vanderlip does not overlook certain regrettable tendencies and confusions of mind which the exigencies of centralized direction have left in their wake. We have had to resort to Government regulations of persons and property; to Government control and operation of industries which by the very genius of our American traditions and fixed convictions should have the unmatched stimulus of individual initiative, individual pride of achievement and individual competitive ardor. Under such untrammelled freedom of action and under such individual incentives, our railroad, our telegraph and our telephone systems have so far surpassed those of any other

country that we are first and the rest nowhere. To be sure, in the case of our railroads, the blight of demagogue-inspired Governmental meddling had brought about a condition which was rapidly moving us towards the threatened wreckage of years of labor directed by men of wide vision and masterful intelligence.

Perhaps nothing short of an autocratic Government seizure and control of the entire mechanism of railroad transportation would have demonstrated the narrow-minded destructiveness of the legislation, State and National, with which our superb railroad system was thus being strangled to death. At all events, Government operation of the railroads, accompanied as it was by instant throwing off of the regulative shackles, did demonstrate that fact. Moreover, it has brought the demonstration home to the consciousness of the entire country in a way that probably no other agency could have effected.

But this has its unfortunate as well as its fortunate aspects. It is one of the "hurts" which Mr. Vanderlip describes as inevitable to victory. Combined with other acts of necessary Government control of industries, it has created a tendency to look to and lean upon the Government in matters which really are none of the Government's business. It has fostered that autocratic-socialistic conception of the Government as an entity separate and apart from the people, a vast paternal Power which has only to reach out into the depths of inter-stellar space to pull down wealth illimitable, which wealth it is its mission to expend for the operation of almost everything the complex interests and necessities of the country demand.

These, as Mr. Vanderlip says, are some of the fictions which recent Government regulation have brought into our industrial and commercial life, and which have had unfortunate results on the minds of a certain number of people who have come "to believe that Government can do things which in the end Government cannot do."

How far that particular obsession has taken hold of the minds of the American people remains to be seen. That whatever tendency in this direction there is will be industriously exploited by Socialistic fanatics and political schemers, who see in it alluring possibilities of creating a partisan organization backed by millions of Government employees dependent upon political allegiance for their wages, is only too certain. Indeed, the activity along those lines is already portentous. But there is always the saving sound sense of the American people to count upon. That is a rock on which many a promising demagogic scheme has split in the past, and, unless we are very grievously mistaken, it is the rock on which the politico-socialistic Government Ownership craft will come to grief in the not distant future.

The Senate cannot compel appointments and it cannot "make treaties," but it can reject them if it will. Nothing more is to be said. The Senate has no affirmative power whatsoever.—*The World*.

It has the affirmative power to serve notice that treaties in process of making which encroach upon the sovereignty of the United States will not be ratified and consequently might as well not be submitted—a fact of which Senators Lodge, Borah and Brandegee seem to be fully cognizant.

Mr. Rockefeller's Industrial Creed

THE Industrial Creed, if we may so term it, enunciated by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., at the reconstruction congress of the United States Chamber of Commerce in Atlantic City last week, is a combination of sound business judgment, readjusted to conditions as they are and not as they were, and of practical philanthropy, in the best meaning of that much abused term. Under ten groups Mr. Rockefeller seems to have assembled about the best presentment thus far advanced of those laws governing industrial activity towards which the best thought of this country, as well as of the more enlightened countries of Europe, is now evidently tending. That there is not to be, that there cannot be, a return to old conditions of strife and contention between labor and capital, between employee and employer, is generally admitted. The futility and waste of the old methods were long ago obvious through reiterated demonstrations. Between the contending sides of the controversy, however, there had grown up a bitterness which tended rather towards a widening than closing up of the breach. A dogged Toryism, perhaps, on the one side,—at all events, an unyielding pride of opinion from habits of autocratic control,—had been met with outbursts of radical violence on the other. Into a fair court of arbitrament probably neither side could have come with entirely clean hands. In many cases contention had developed into something painfully akin to mutual hatred.

Now the war, in a very great measure, has done away with this. There has been a drawing together of men in all walks of life. There have come more intimate associations and sympathies. The way is wide open to such better understandings as will be of inestimable value to those most intimately concerned, to say nothing of the value to the entire country, whose prosperity and well-being are dependent upon harmonious team-work between those who furnish the capital and directing intelligence and those who furnish the skill and the muscle.

The propositions laid down by Mr. Rockefeller outline a road which if followed should carry us far towards this very desirable end. He recognizes three equally interested parties in all industrial activity—capital, labor and the community. He believes that the purpose of industry is quite as much to advance social well-being as material wealth, and that interlocked with both are the interests of the community. The social well-being of the community implies the social well-being of employees as respects living and working conditions, which should be as carefully guarded as should be conditions which make possible an adequate compensation for invested capital. As practical means to attain the end sought, he advocates full and adequate measures for uncovering and promptly adjusting grievances. After premising that the most potent means for bringing about industrial harmony and prosperity is adequate representation of the parties interested, he makes this specific suggestion:

I believe that the most effective structure of representation is that which is built from the bottom up, which includes all employees, and, starting with the election of representatives in each industrial plant, the formation of joint works' committees, of joint district councils; and annual joint conferences of all the parties in interest in a single industrial corporation can be ex-

tended to include all plants in the same industry, all industries in a community, in a nation and in the various nations.

How plans so broad in scope would work out in industries of varied magnitude and character is of course pure matter of speculation. Mr. Rockefeller is far from suggesting his views as a solvent of the problems growing out of the relations between labor and capital. He merely lays down certain broad propositions to which he is willing personally to adhere as guiding principles. That they are propositions involving ends highly desirable of attainment is beyond question.

In view of the fact that British ships transported nearly 70 per cent of our troops, former Judge Lacombe thinks it was hardly generous of the President to restrict his remarks upon the service to the single phrase, "In all this movement only 758 were lost by enemy attacks, 630 of whom were upon a single English transport, which was sunk near Orkney Islands." In passing, we may note that Mr. Oliver, the distinguished biographer of Alexander Hamilton, took the same view and expressed it most pointedly in the *London Times*.

Jerome K. Jerome enters Lenine against our candidate for President of the United States of the World, but we are not alarmed; Creel can be relied upon to make short shrift of *him*.

"He Kept Us Out of War"

THE *Chicago Tribune* well says that "To the men who have gone through the trial of battle we give our thanks and admiration, but we must also realize that the men who did not 'get across' were ready and would also have given themselves to the glory of the flag and the success of our cause." The finest tribute to these disappointed soldiers we have seen was paid in the following official communication:

1. In the performance of military duty to one's country in time of war it is not for the citizen called to the colors to select the kind of service to be done by him. One who has willingly and loyally responded to the call to arms and who has put his best efforts, mental and physical, into the training, and performed all military duties required of him to the best of his ability, standing ready always to make the supreme sacrifice of life itself, if need be, has done all that a good citizen and soldier could do to insure the successful prosecution of the war.

2. Although I appreciate how keenly you feel the disappointment of your failure to secure duty overseas in the actual battle area, I know you rejoice, together with all Americans, in the prospect of a righteous and just peace imposed upon the enemy and the termination of the terrible conflict which has involved the whole civilized world. You have done your best. You have cheerfully and loyally discharged the clear duty of every citizen in time of war and your work has been a part of the great national effort which has aided in securing a victorious peace.

3. You are discharged from the army because your services are no longer required in the present emergency. You will return to your place in civil life all the better for the training you have had, and I feel sure you will take with you a better and higher appreciation of the obligations of citizenship, including the obligation of every man to be trained, prepared, and ready to render service to the nation in war as well as in peace.

It bore the signature of Major General Leonard Wood—still *Major General*—who trained the two divisions pronounced by foreign officers the most effective, and who himself was brutally cheated out of his clear right to command at least his own devoted soldiers abroad.

"He kept us out of war."—Page 1.

Chairman Hurley's Mission

THE President has sent Chairman Edward N. Hurley, of the United States Shipping Board, to Europe with instructions to procure from the European nations an agreement to conform to the shipping laws of the United States, to the end that the American merchant marine may be enabled to compete with foreign vessels without either the reduction of sailors' wages or the repeal of any of the provisions of the Seaman's Act. Not the least curious feature of the incident is that Mr. Hurley departed blithely on his extraordinary mission. What induced a man of Mr. Hurley's business acumen to believe that, even with the backing of President Wilson, he could induce the European nations to bind themselves to conditions which, were they to adopt them, would probably result in transferring to Japan, and possibly to China, the bulk of the world's shipping? It may be surmised that any such expectation is based on the prestige Mr. Wilson is assumed to enjoy in Europe, and on the work done by Mr. Samuel Gompers toward uniting the industrial workers of Europe. The dispatch of Mr. Hurley on this simple mission appears to be Mr. Wilson's answer to the argument that, unless either American shipping laws are materially changed or a system of Federal encouragement is adopted, American ships built during the war will pass rapidly to foreign registry and the American flag will again disappear from the ports of the world.

In 1830, under a system of preferential duties, 89 per cent of American goods exported was carried in American bottoms. With the repeal of those duties came a steady diminution until, under the evil influence of the La Follette-Feruseh Seaman's bill, the proportion was reduced in 1914 to less than 1 per cent—.97 of one per cent, to be exact. In 1913, before the Seaman's bill got in its deadly work, about half the American trade on the Pacific was divided about evenly between Japanese and American vessels, each carrying twenty-six and a fraction per cent. After May 1, 1917, Japanese vessels were carrying 50.90 per cent of the American trade and American vessels, 1.97 per cent. In 1914, figures were compiled showing the wages paid on three vessels of equal indicated horse-power and practically equal tonnage. The American ship was compelled to carry forty-seven men with a payroll of \$3,720 a month; the British steamer, 36 men, paid \$1,308 a month, and the Japanese vessel, 36 men, paid \$777 a month. It is not difficult to foresee the result Mr. Hurley would achieve should he succeed in inducing the European nations to conform to the wage standards and regulations which have had such a disastrous effect on American shipping.

There are, moreover, some provisions of the Seaman's law which it is a physical impossibility for American vessels to obey. Lacking the courage to face this situation and repeal the provisions of the law, the Administration has simply ignored them during the war, and it is doubtful if it will attempt to enforce them now that the war is over. For instance, the provision that 65 per cent of the crew must be certified able seamen not only inflicts an unnecessary expense on American skippers, but cannot be observed, because there are not sufficient certified seamen to be had. Any attempt to enforce this provision would tie up half the ships now in commission. Another provision of the Seaman's law requires that on demand the crew shall be paid half the wages they

have earned on reaching any port. The purpose of this was to enable the men to desert without completing the voyage. The effect has been simply to encourage drunkenness and disorder.

The provision that at least 75 per cent of the crew must understand the language of the officers, is effective, not, as designed, to insure American crews, but to increase the number of foreign officers; and in view of the objection of Americans to working in the fire-room, especially in the tropics, and in the steward's department, it would, if it worked, merely constitute another obstacle to the maintenance of the American marine. The record of the Inspector at San Francisco, shortly after the Seaman's bill went into effect, shows that of 2,064 sailors examined, only 8 per cent were American born, 17 per cent naturalized Americans, and 75 per cent foreigners.

The great fleet of American vessels, consisting of interned ships seized and vessels built to meet war necessities, and the mustering out of thousands of naval reservists, constitute an unparalleled opportunity to establish an American merchant marine; but to do that the laws and regulations must be revised, regardless of the agonized protests of the labor agitators. Provision should be made for the payment by the Government, directly to the sailors, of the difference in wages between those paid on foreign and those paid on American ships; and these things should be done systematically and expeditiously. In the absence of such legal enactments, the mission of Mr. Hurley must prove a failure, even though he enjoys the support of the omnipotent Gompers.

What startled the public in learning of the total American casualties in France was not so much the number as the fact that the War Department apparently did not know the true figures. Shortly after the signing of the armistice, the War Department issued an official estimate that the casualties would not much exceed 100,000. Now Gen. Pershing's reports push up the number to 235,000. The deaths rise from an estimated 30,000 to more than 50,000 actually. It is difficult to understand how cable congestion, or even the intensely hard fighting of the last few days before Germany surrendered, could account for the enormous discrepancy.—*Evening Post*.

It was not the cable congestion; it was the election.

What will happen to Colonel Harvey's WAR WEEKLY now? Would it be possible, think you, to convert it into a peace weekly? But perhaps that is what it has been all the time.—*Minneapolis Tribune*.

For peace through victory; quite so!

It was explained tonight by a member of the Sisson party of Creel writers that every American communication to the press must pass Mr. Creel.—*Paris dispatch to the Herald*.

We shall see about that. Mr. George W. Wickersham, who goes over for the *Tribune*, is not likely to forfeit his rights without a struggle. Neither is the *Herald*, for that matter.

On the day after the war ended, Postmaster Patten of New York City wrote to the publisher of the *New York Call*:

This issue has been submitted to the Solicitor for the Post Office Department in accordance with the provisions of Section 481½, Postal Laws and Regulations, 1913, for advice as to whether it is mailable, and any copies mailed will be held until instructions are received from the Department.

We repeat: Burleson ought to be impeached.

Shirt-Tail Sagacity

IT seems that it was in what he describes as "a shirt-tail"—or was it pajamas?—interview with Washington correspondents, that Secretary Redfield came out strong in favor of our holding aloof in foreign commerce until everybody, including Germany, had a good lead on us before we entered the race for business with the outside world. On just what grounds the Secretary of Commerce seems to feel that there is a mitigating circumstance in the fact that he talked foolishness in his shirt-tail instead of fully garbed, as he usually is when he talks that way, or talks at all, which is much the same thing, it is difficult to comprehend. What he said in the course of an explicitly authorized interview, printed in *Federal Trade Service*, published by the Publicity Corporation of Washington, was this:

We have a great decision to make. It is whether we shall take this opportunity and the immediate rich profit it offers or whether we shall restrain our energies for a while, giving France, England, Belgium, Italy, even the neutrals and even Germany's reborn people a fair and free opportunity to get on their feet.

Mr. Redfield now says that this statement was "garbled," and that it was a shirt-tail statement anyway. As to its being garbled, that is incredible. It has the true Redfieldian ring. If it really was a shirt-tail statement it was in every way worthy of a proved shirt-tail statesman. So there is no incongruity in that quarter. Indeed, all the evidence, direct, presumptive and from the essence of the statement itself, is overwhelmingly convincing of accuracy.

There really is no other alternative. The charge of garbling must be dismissed. Had the statement been garbled it would have been improved. Had anything been done to it, it would have been improved. But it would not have been Redfieldian. So there remains only the Secretary's contention that the statement was "misunderstood." But how could it be misunderstood? The meaning is remarkably clear. It is simply that we are to mark time for an indefinite interval while the rest of the nations, Germany included, get the better of us in the world's markets. If words can make anything plain, Mr. Redfield's words make that proposition clear as daylight. Subsequently he issued an interpretive comment on the text. It was in the nature of a characteristically graceful allegory. "We cannot," he said, "turn the American eagle, which flies high, into the American hog which gropes low."

As to how Mr. Redfield was attired when he was delivered of this beautiful parable we are not informed. There is that in the figure of speech itself, to be sure, which strongly suggests shirt-tail inspiration. Yet he might have had some of his clothes on. Maybe he was speaking diplomatically and was only in his shirt sleeves. But if Secretary Redfield was in his diplomatic shirt sleeves and not in his commercial sagacity shirt-tail when he so strongly hinted a comparison between the American merchant and the American hog, he clearly will not do even for shirt sleeves diplomacy. The American merchant, like the American in every walk of life, has a good-natured tolerance for mountebank absurdity in officials. He is used to it. It hits his sense of humor. But of course the thing might go a shade too far. And when the Secretary of Commerce of the United States impliedly likens American merchants engaged in foreign trade to low-gropeing hogs some might think the limit was about reached. Our neighbor the *Herald* fails to see how

Mr. Redfield betters himself by the comparison. Of course he doesn't. Nor does he make himself worse. He couldn't. But the *Herald* also says it is difficult to believe that the Secretary of Commerce is without knowledge of the very active rivalry which American business men must meet in South America. The difficulty is entirely imaginary. The Redfieldian resources in lack of knowledge are limitless.

Waxing enthusiastic over the achievements of the War Department, the amenable Associated Press reported:

To meet demands which the French railways were unable to meet, 843 miles of standard gauge lines were constructed. Five hundred miles of this have been built since June 1. The department of light railways reports the construction of 115 miles of road and 140 miles of German light railway were repaired and put in operation. Two hundred and twenty-five miles of French railway were operated by the Americans.

Simultaneously an American engineer and officer in the army, of whom the editors said "We know him and assure our readers that he speaks with responsibility and authority," was writing to the *Outlook*:

American people have been given to understand that on the engineering side, for instance, great engineering achievements have been accomplished in France, and that these achievements are proper foundation for abnormal pride both at home and abroad, and that our French and British associates have been astonished at our engineering work. Statements have been made to the American people through the press and by word of mouth that at least one, sometimes it is said to be two, double-track railways have been built from the coast to the front; and yet the fact is that no such construction has ever been started.

Pray, what is one to believe in these creelian days?

We were just thinking of proposing a consolidation of the WAR WEEKLY and the *Official Bulletin* when, poof! Creel sailed away. However, we can wait.

The *Petit Journal* tells of a one-eyed *feldwebel*, the tyrant of a prison camp, who is sent back to the front when German reserves are running short, and, as a captive, encounters an escaped French officer whom he had maltreated. Says the officer who is telling the experience:

He recognized me at once. Perhaps you believe that the executioner, finding himself suddenly face to face with his victim, straightened up defiantly? Or that he flinched and begged for mercy? Or, at least, that he showed some sense of shame?

Not at all. He smiled complacently, as if he had just met an old comrade. . . . He held out his hand to me and gazed at me with his eye. Humble and gentle, caressing, with hardly a trace of timidity, but already affectionate and almost tender, his single pupil turned toward the good patron whom it hasn't seen since the night before and is charmed to see now. In the turn of a hand the torturer became the café waiter again. . . . These fellows know only two kinds of existence. They are either waiters or hangmen.

"There," comments the *Tribune*, "is German psychology in all its nakedness. The German either terrorizes or cringes. He is either ferocious or servile. In Belgium and the invaded districts of France the world saw him in his first mood. Our soldiers and the other Allied soldiers in Germany are going to see him in his even more disgusting second mood."

WILSON PARDONS TWO ARMY OFFICERS.—*World headline of December 4.*

Lucky officers, just under the wire! Two days later he couldn't have done it. Others may be less fortunate.

How like Josephus to call for a big navy as soon as the war is over!

Letters From Our Readers

A MATTER OF OPINION

SIR,—I wonder if you are as big a man as many of the readers of the WAR WEEKLY think you are. Here is a test: if you will publish the enclosed editorial from the San Antonio *Express* then you will prove the fact that you are a big man and willing for your readers to hear both sides of the case.

G. B. CARSTARPHEN.

Yoakum, Texas.

[The editorial is too long to republish in full. There exists, moreover, no necessity for doing so, since the first portion is designed only to prove that there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent a President from leaving the country,—a fact generally admitted. The only point in issue is whether "as Chief Executive of the world's greatest democracy he [the President] should be there [at the peace conference]; as personifying America's ideals he should be there; as a commanding figure representing the great truth that civilization is capable of devising a successful means of settling national differences without resort to the bloody arbitrament of battle, he should be there." The *Express* thinks he should be; we think not. In the expressed hope of the *Express*, "May his presence serve to bring forth a happy issue from the deliberations," we heartily concur.—EDITOR.]

THE ALLIES AND THE FOURTEEN POINTS

SIR,—Controversy arises as to whether or not the Fourteen Points of Peace laid down by President Wilson have ever been officially accepted by the Allied countries in any manner or form.

Your opinion on this point would be appreciated by the undersigned, who is a subscriber.

J. H. GWINN.

Chicago.

[Secretary Lansing, in his Note to the German Government of November 5, 1918, quoted as follows from a "memorandum of observations" sent by the Allied Governments to President Wilson:

"The Allied Governments, . . . subject to the qualifications which follow, . . . declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses.

"They must point out, however, that Clause 2, relating to what is usually described as the Freedom of the Seas, is open to various interpretations, some of which they could not accept. They must, therefore, reserve to themselves complete freedom on this subject when they enter the peace conference."

—EDITOR.]

"CHARGE MORE FOR IT"

SIR,—Having been an enthusiastic reader of the WAR WEEKLY, I am fearing the day when it will be announced that, because the war is over, the WAR WEEKLY will be discontinued.

There are few men who can say things the way you do, and I would like to suggest that the WAR WEEKLY be continued by you after the time when its title becomes wholly a misnomer.

Charge more money for it if necessary, change the form if desirable, and take on some advertising if such is a requisite to make it pay, but do not deprive the country of the pleasure and profit so many of us have when we read weekly what you have to say.

THEO. E. KNOWLTON.

Rochester, N. Y.

FROM PRESIDENT HUMPHREYS

SIR,—With me, it goes without saying that the WAR WEEKLY of November 30th is a joy, from the first word to the last.

I note particularly what you say on page eight about the activities of Hooper Alexander, U. S. District Attorney for Northern Georgia.

I had a somewhat similar experience in my conduct of the Army Section of the Students' Army Training Corps here at Stevens. Last October I received a letter from a certain official in which instructions were given to the military commander as to placing before the "student-soldiers" their duty to subscribe to the Liberty Loan. One paragraph stated that if any student-soldier refused to subscribe, giving as a reason that he could not afford to do so because he had to support dependents, his case was to be exhaustively investigated, and he was to be particularly investigated as to disloyalty, etc. The whole circular was most peremptory in tone.

I replied in such terms that the gentleman came back with an apology and suggested I had misunderstood him. Because he apologized I do not mention his name.

This was quite in line with the Washington Committee's management of the Army Section of the S. A. T. C., and so I was continually writing to them to express my views and my refusal to follow their suggestions, etc. The great majority of these instructions and suggestions were contradictory in themselves. The story would be interesting for you to hear sometime, though disquieting as a further indication of Washington's bureaucratic incompetency.

The Navy "Unit" went along first-rate because it was directed by Naval Officers, and the Washington Department gave us only general directions.

Your November 30th number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW was fine—as usual. If I were financially able (which I am not) and you were willing, I would reprint in pamphlet form three of the articles and distribute them among our students:

"America at the Front,"

"Freedom of the Press,"

"The German Chemical Myth."

This last subject I have taken a special and personal interest in for many years. I have always contended that the German claims were unwarranted. Our professional educators have lent themselves too generally to the German propaganda in this connection, and too many of them, I believe, are yet pro-German in their sympathies.

ALEX. C. HUMPHREYS,

President, Stevens Institute of Technology.

Castle Point,
Hoboken, N. J.

A LETTER TO THE COLONEL

SIR,—Now that the Great Bestower has gone abroad to bestow equality on the equal and the unequal, let me thank you for what you did to put the moral, mental, and man power of the country on the firing line. You are Junius in the flesh, and your work will not go into the dust-bins of history.

As part expression of my homage to you, let me inclose a copy of my letter to Colonel Roosevelt, on his recent Carnegie Hall speech, in which I refer to your part in the noble symphony of courage and patriotism.

Verily, God never permits his work to be made manifest by cowards.

EDWARD SHAUGHNESSY.

New York City.

[ENCLOSURE]

60 Wall Street,
October 29.

DEAR COLONEL ROOSEVELT:

I have just written Marshal Payn that your speech of last night was the ablest of your career, and I think that opinion prevails. Each sentence was a triphammer blow, and you toppled the verbal impostor from his syntactical pedestal.

He is a word milliner and a dealer in the plumage of phrase. His fatal facility of expression had almost brought us to the verge of ruin, when you and Colonel Harvey drove the country out of its spell of mental and moral atrophy.

He played with his seductive rhetoric on the plastic minds of the people until there existed a belief that there was but a single dependable mind in the entire country. Now you have left the huxter in words as impotent and as confounded as a whale on dry land.

Look out that the President doesn't reply and shake his "index finger" at you. If he writes you a note, you must fall down dead, so as to be in the fashion.

EDWARD SHAUGHNESSY.

OURSELVES AND THE ARMISTICE

SIR,—Your November 30 issue has given me almost as much joy as the signing of the Armistice.

New York City.

BELLE DA COSTA GREENE.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW'S WAR WEEKLY

BY GEORGE HARVEY

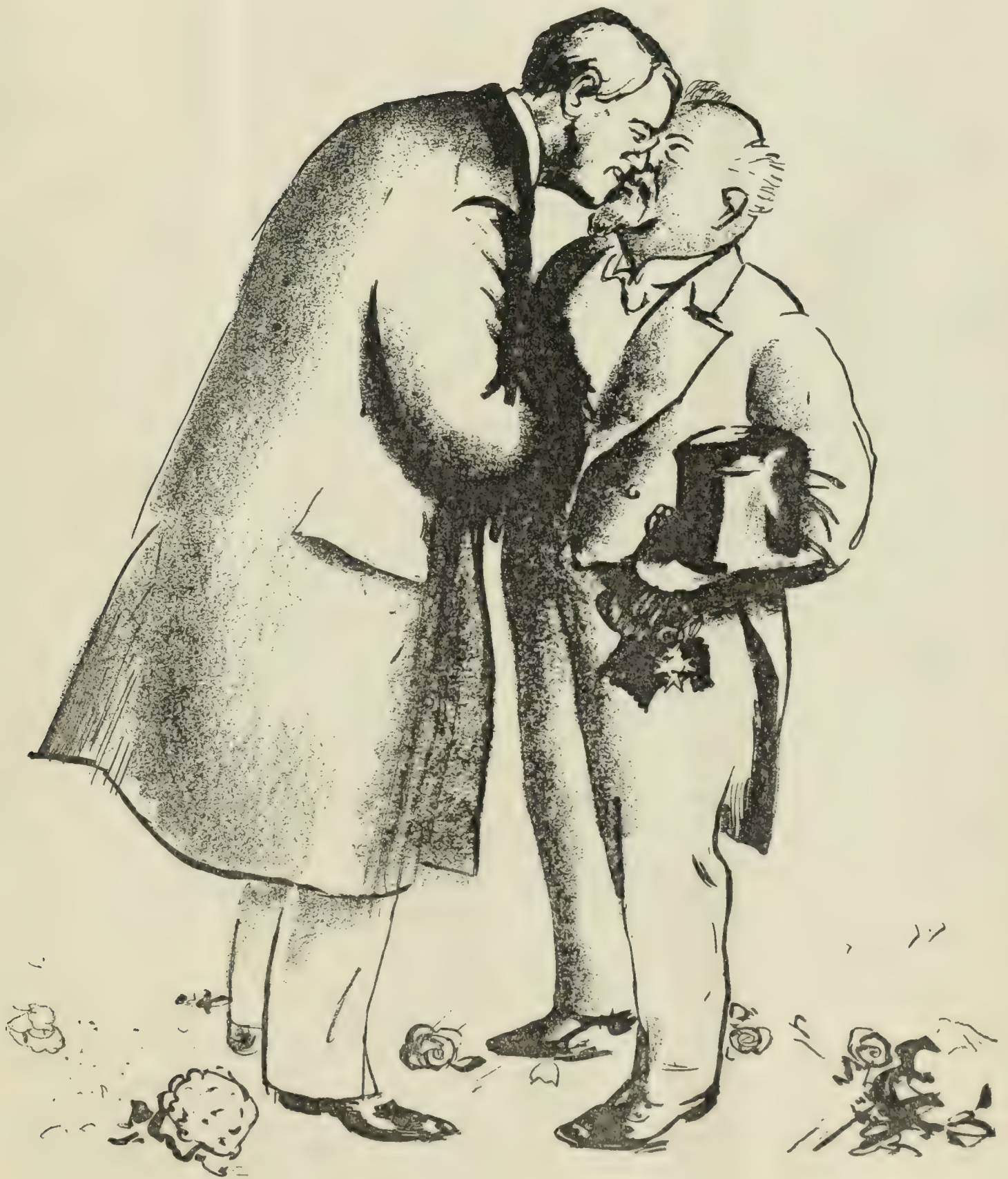
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SALUTATIONS

A Good Beginning

ALL uncensored accounts agree that, when the President of France grasped both hands of the President of the United States and probably kissed his unaccustomed cheek, the roof of the dingy old Gare Montparnasse nearly took the balloon, so vociferous were the huzzas of the assembled multitude. "There were no 'ifs' or 'ands' about it," says the *Times* report, "the tone of the Paris press, 'We are glad you are coming, Mr. President, but hope that you won't insist upon our doing what we don't want to do at the Peace Conference,' " was ignored for the moment and the greeting was of unqualified spontaneity.

"*Vive les Etats Unis!*" was followed immediately by "*Vive le Président Veelson!*" and this was the note and the order scrupulously observed by M. Poincaré in his nicely discriminative speech of welcome. "Faithful to the memory of Lafayette and Rochambeau, America came to the aid of France, because France herself was faithful to her traditions. Our common ideal has triumphed. Together we have defended the vital principles of free nations. Now we must build together such a peace as will forbid the deliberate and hypocritical renewing of an organism aiming at conquest and oppression. * * * To such a vast and magnificent task, Mr. President, you have chosen to come and apply yourself in concert with France. France offers you her thanks. She knows the friendship of America. She knows your rectitude and elevation of spirit. It is in the fullest confidence that she is ready to work with you. * * * I drink to the prosperity of the Republic of the United States, our great friend of yesterday and of other days, of tomorrow and of all time. I lift my glass, Mr. President, in your honor, and in honor of Mrs. Wilson." Altogether a graceful and charming little speech.

President Wilson was equally felicitous. It was "very delightful" to find himself in France and "to feel the quick contact of sympathy and unaffected friendship between the representatives of the United States and the representatives of France!" he brought "the greetings of another great people to whom the fortunes of France are of profound and lasting interest;" and, in return of courtesy, no Prohibitionists being present, he, too, raised his glass to the health of Monsieur and Madam and "to the prosperity of France."

Quite naturally and somewhat diffidently the President disclaimed all personal credit for America's participation beyond "an attempt to speak the thought of the people of the United States truly, and to carry that thought into action,"—which nobody can or would wish to deny. When he added that "from the first, the thought of the people of the United States turned toward something more than the mere winning of this war," he yielded for an instant to his unconscious tendency to confuse himself with the country, and he may have stretched it a little when he credited our soldiers with fighting to "give reality to their," or his, "ideals," rather than merely to lick the Germans for outraging their country, but the hyperbole was harmless and in keeping with the somewhat sweeping characterizations presaged by the Fourteen Commandments.

What gratified the French most was the President's expressed anticipation of looking upon the havoc wrought by

the Huns with "repulsion and deep indignation" equal to their own and of his recognition of the "necessity of such action in the final settlement of the issues of the war as will not only rebuke such acts of terror and spoliation, but make men everywhere aware that they cannot be ventured upon without the certainty of just punishment." We here can hardly realize the sense of relief conveyed by these words to those who, not without cause, had come to fear that Mr. Wilson might appear as an advocate of lenient treatment in the guise of a "just and enduring peace." In England, too, the *Times* reports, the President's stern, though necessarily somewhat vague, declaration went far "to remove one grave apprehension" and to make easy the satisfaction of a universal "demand for justice, severe and retributive, though without vindictiveness." Needless to add, the gratification was felt hardly less by our own people, who were becoming distinctly irritated at the President's apparent acquiescence in persistent misrepresentation of their real attitude.

But most cheering of all to us is the evidence, though only implied, of Mr. Wilson's determination to voice "the thought of America." It is a strange thing to say, but is nevertheless the fact, that his extraordinary reticence, accompanied by his designation of manikins instead of truly representative delegates, had created an uneasy feeling that his real purpose was to assert his own dogmatic views, with little heed to the wishes of the country whose servant he professed to be. His first utterance, we are happy to remark, seems designed to dispel this impression. We can only hope that, unlike his equally solemn assurance of the adjournment of politics last Summer, this declaration will be substantiated in good faith.

We also pray that he may read the thought of America aright. Truth to tell, he has not shone in that respect since he drew into his shell and put full reliance upon vaunted intuition. He certainly misjudged public intelligence when he attempted to disguise the rankest partisanship in garments of pretense, and he no less surely misread public judgment when he wrote his first temporizing German Note, to say nothing of his ridiculous insistence upon woman suffrage as a war essential or of his futile demand for the defeat of candidates for Congress upon the ground, forsooth, that they were "pro-war but anti-Administration." These recent glaring instances of inaccurate divination, we have to confess, inspire far less confidence than might be desired, with respect to the immediate future; and yet it may happen that distance will supply a clearer perspective and that enforced contact with other humans upon a basis at least approaching equality will induce a better understanding of the wishes of a fairly capable people who need only to be let alone and seek no favors.

All we ask of Mr. Wilson is that he forget himself and remember the United States. Surely that is not too much. After all, we pay him.

Meanwhile, his beginning is good; so let us as good Americans, proud of the honors bestowed upon our President and through him upon ourselves, scrupulously refrain from cavilling at something he may do, and wait at least until he does it.

Up to the Republican Party

WE were not of those who jeered when the President confessed to Congress that he was stumped by the railroad situation. Indeed, we found his frankness refreshing. It was his first admission in recent years of inability to form "a confident judgment" of his own and, as such, it constituted a disavowal of that omniscience, persistently claimed for him by his sycophants and tacitly sanctioned by himself, which has proved so mischievous. His recognition of the fact that it was a real problem which could not be solved offhand but "must be studied, studied immediately and studied without bias or prejudice" by those directly responsible for its solution, was particularly encouraging. So, too, was his consignment of the whole matter to the legislative body, where clearly it belonged. No matter if he did wish to wash his hands of the perplexities involved in order to free his mind for consideration of the larger affairs which he had assumed as a personally delegated delegation to the international conference; the net result of his passing the buck to the direct representatives of the people was highly desirable. Hence our satisfaction.

But, alas, it was all an illusion and quickly dispelled. The President made his frank confession on Monday, December 2. The next day he signed papers, conferred an unexpected commission upon patient Mr. Marshall, gave final instructions to Mr. Tumulty, had his hair cut, packed up and started for his yacht. Thereafter he was at sea, taking his meals in the former Emperor's suite, promenading the decks, conferring nominally with the manikins, attending divine services, listening to the jazz band, contemplating the seas as they swelled in perfect freedom, preparing impromptu addresses, etc., etc.

And yet during this busy week he found time to analyze the complexities which he had just pronounced insoluble and reached a definite conclusion. How he did it and how he conveyed the information to Washington can only be imagined. It may have been by carrier pigeon or by wireless or—and this is by far the most likely supposition—by telepathic suggestion. Perhaps it doesn't matter. In any case, we have Director General McAdoo's word for it that "the President has given me permission to say that this [his own] conclusion accords with his own view of the matter," thus evidencing the intention of the Administration to adhere to the Director General's quite rigid determination, even after the Director General himself shall have retired to private life, presumably a fortnight hence.

What, then, is the programme so precipitately evolved from the hitherto hidden recesses of Executive cogitation? But three courses, Mr. McAdoo assures us, are open: (1) Government operation of the railroads for one year and nine months following a proclamation of peace, which would mean, in his judgment, Government operation for a period in no event longer than two years and three months; (2) the prompt return of the railroads to private control; or (3) extension of the period of Federal control to five years.

Although the Director General strongly urges the adoption of course No. 3, continuing Federal control to January 1, 1924, the proposal need not even be considered, since Congress has already made plain the certainty that it will not be entertained for a moment. So pronounced, indeed, is the

unanimity in opposition that no measure to that effect is likely even to be introduced.

Course No. 2, threatening immediate return of the railroads to their owners without remedial legislation is equally unworthy of serious consideration upon both practical and moral grounds. The increases in wages granted by the Director General total the huge sum of \$700,000,000 and, according to Chairman Sines of the Wage Board, "there are remaining over 650,000 employees who will be included in orders to be issued in the near future," thus making the "average increase in wages" nearly, if not quite, 50 per cent. Despite the increase in rates, now incidentally in process of reduction, therefore, present operation is producing an enormous deficit. Obviously the throwing back of the properties upon their owners under such conditions would be disastrous beyond calculation. Probably not one-fifth of the railroads would be able to meet their fixed charges, to say nothing of dividends, with the inevitable result that four-fifths or more would be plunged into bankruptcy.

What this would mean, in view of the billions of railroad securities held by insurance companies, trust companies, savings banks, trust funds and millions of investors, one hesitates to contemplate. Depreciation in values, of course, upon a scale so vast that, almost to a certainty, in the very time of its greatest possessions, the country would be engulfed in a panic such as has never been dreamed of.

Whether the President, in even tentatively approving such a proposition, appreciated its gravity, especially in recollection of his pledge of December 27, 1917, that "investors in railway securities may rest assured that their rights and interests will be as scrupulously looked after by the Government as they could be by the directors," may well be doubted; but surely Mr. McAdoo was awake to its dangers, and, probably for that very reason, it was taken none too seriously, but rather as a goading of Congress into action.

Put forth for that purpose as a virtual threat, it is understandable, though hardly, we regret to say, excusable. In any event, we may rest assured that Mr. McAdoo has no intention of spoiling his own admirable record at the last moment of his incumbency or of advising President Wilson to wreck his Administration by precipitating a panic upon the country. Upon the whole, we are disposed to suspect that, in his eagerness to secure extension of Federal control, for some reason not clearly defined, the Director General advanced this proposal very much as the President himself demanded woman suffrage as an absolute essential of success in the war and as, only last week, Mr. Lloyd George tickled the fancy of British electors by talking about collecting one hundred and twenty billions in cash from Germany.

There remains finally course No. 1, namely "Government operation for one year and nine months following a proclamation of peace, which would mean, in my judgment, Government operation for a period in no event longer than two years and three months."

Strange to say, Mr. McAdoo discards this quite natural procedure, prescribed by the Administration's own Act, as wholly impracticable. Why? Because, in the first place, "less than three months of the present Congress remain,"—an insufficient time for "providing a permanent solution." This, as a statement of fact, is undeniable. Most assuredly the present incapable Congress will expire on March 3, greatly to the relief of the whole country. But Mr. McAdoo

laboring under an hallucination if, as it would seem, he thinks the world is coming to an end or legislation is going to cease simultaneously. We fully agree that a sane solution of this or any other problem could not be expected from this Congress in three months, or in three years, or ever. That is why the people took our advice and booted it out of existence.

But there is another Congress coming in on March 4, when it should and probably must be called into action. And that is the Congress which, Mr. McAdoo seems to have forgotten, was chosen deliberately as a Reconstruction Congress and charged by the country with the responsibility of solving this and all other problems bearing upon readjustment. If it should fail to straighten out the railroads within the allotted time, neither Mr. McAdoo nor the President nor the Democratic party can be held in fault. The blame will rest squarely upon the Republican party. Why not leave it there? There is no better place in sight. Nor is there anything more certain than that, if the Republican party cannot re-establish the railroads upon a sound basis in two years, it cannot in five.

The other reasons set forth for continuing Government operation for five years hardly call for mention since, as we have said, Congress won't have it. Nor do we consider it essential to speculate upon Mr. McAdoo's motives in hurling a virtual ultimatum at Congress in the twilight of his reign. They may be political or may not. We neither know nor care. But frankly we do think it rather silly to suspect him of trying, by this peculiar method, to divert attention from the failure of his own operation of the railroads. In fact, we do not consider that it has been a failure. It has been most unsatisfactory, of course, both financially and in service, but it had to be done and we doubt if anybody could have done it better. The morale of the great army of employees, as Mr. McAdoo dolefully admits, has deteriorated shockingly, but that is not his fault; it is the defect inherent in Government operation of anything. Sometimes we think there may be slight palliation for the hopelessness of Baker or even Burleson, but that, of course, is going far, farther than the imagination can easily carry.

What we chiefly object to in Mr. McAdoo's scheme is the same old pernicious thing of perpetuating a war measure to engraft upon the country a policy which the people have never passed upon. He wants five years of experimentation,—in what? In anything to do with war? Not at all. In Government operation; in Government ownership to all intents; in Government socialism in effect. And the wicked thing about it is that Government ownership and Government socialism is precisely what it leads up to and would probably render inevitable.

Away with all such deceit! The people are weary of restrictions, tired of autocrats and sick of shams. The war is over and they want a chance to get to work and to regain enduring prosperity for themselves and their children in their own individual ways, as their fathers and grandfathers did before them.

The Republican party was elected to give them this opportunity. The Democratic President is away. The Democratic party is a wreck. The Republican party is potentially in authority at this moment. It can appoint a committee to take up the problem of the railroads as well now as later. Let the Republican party go to it and prove itself!

"Standing to His Guns"

HERE is one thing to be said of Secretary Baker: He stands to his guns, whether he has any to stand to or not. "Our machinery for war," he declared, by way of self-eulogy, at Atlantic City last week, "was a great product of genius of the American people." It seemed like old times. Here are a few of the things said officially by Mr. Baker upon previous dates:

January 10.—Our initial needs have been met. Every man in France has full equipment. Every man who goes will have full equipment.

January 28.—The American army in France, now and to be there, is provided with artillery of the types they want as rapidly as they can use it. Our own manufacture is in process. Deliveries of some pieces are already begun, with a rising and steadily increasing stream of American production.

May 11.—(Official Statement) The Ordnance Department has thus far met every demand imposed by the new programme for overseas shipment of American troops. Tonnage is a limiting factor in the shipment of ordnance. Sufficient supplies of artillery—French 75-millimetre and 155-millimetre and American heavy railway artillery—are already in France to meet the present demand.

May 9.—There is no present shortage of light or heavy guns in either France or America and there is no shortage in prospect.

June 28.—The artillery programme is now approaching a point where quantity production is approaching.

July 2.—(Inspired dispatch to the *World*) American-built 155-millimetre howitzers are moving to France. One American firm is turning out howitzers at the rate of ten a day.

What became of these products of American genius nobody knows. They certainly never reached the firing line.

"Our entry into the war," says General Pershing in his official report, dated November 20, "found us with few of the auxiliaries necessary for its conduct in the modern sense. *Among our most important deficiencies in material were artillery, aviation and tanks.* In order to meet our requirements as rapidly as possible, we accepted the offer of the French Government to provide us with the necessary artillery equipment of 75's (3-inch), 155-millimetre (6-inch) howitzers, and 155-millimetre G P F guns from their own factories, for thirty divisions.

"The wisdom of this course is fully demonstrated by the fact that, although we soon began the manufacture of these classes of guns at home, *there were no guns of the calibers mentioned, manufactured in America, on our front, at the date the armistice was signed.*

"In aviation," he continues, "we were in the same situation. * * * As to tanks, we were also compelled to rely upon the French. Here, however, we were less fortunate, for the reason that the French production could barely meet the requirements of their own armies."

"It was undoubtedly this lack of tanks," says the Phila-

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delphia *North American*, as its conclusion from thorough investigation, "that made the fighting in the rough Argonne country so costly in American lives." And yet as long ago as May 6, this inspired news dispatch was sent broadcast from Washington: "The programme for tanks has been expanded. Tanks well into thousands are being constructed."

"I am not worried now," said Mr. Baker with his usual smirk months and months ago, "about any possibility that may have existed regarding shortage of shells"; and probably he wasn't; but Pershing was.

"The United States," writes Mr. Whaley to the *Chicago Tribune*, "eighteen months after entering the war, although dozens of factories had been making munitions for the Allies during the preceding years, was actually delivering virtually no ammunition at all at the front. It is almost inconceivable. If the plans had not called for any production it would have been a different matter. But they did call for production. They called for deliveries which should have been made months ago. There was simply a collapse."

"It would seem to be impossible," Senator Poindexter said in the Senate last week when offering a resolution calling for an investigation, "that by mere inefficiency, by mere mistakes, such a tremendous failure as is alleged here could have occurred. The same failure occurred in the production and shipment to France of airplanes; and the same sort of mistakes were made in regard to the supplies which came under the activities of the Quartermaster General of the Army. So the query necessarily arises as to whether or not this colossal failure of a great and wealthy nation to supply its troops with essential ammunition, artillery, and ordnance was not caused intentionally, whether or not there were treasonable activities that were thwarting the efforts of the War Department."

Meanwhile, as the unsuspected total of casualties, carefully withheld until after election, continues to grow, the complacent Secretary sticks to his mythical guns and shells, whose failure to reach the battlefield resulted in the sacrifice of God knows how many American lives.

The United States has no desire to interfere with European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite willing to be shown that the settlements she has suggested are not the most enduring. They are only her provisional sketch of principles and of the way in which they should be applied.

This is the interpretation of his Fourteen Points made by President Wilson himself in his address to Congress on February 11. We expect him to stick to it.

1. OPEN DIPLOMACY.
2. FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.
3. LEAGUE OF NATIONS.
4. DISARMAMENT TO POINT CONSISTENT WITH DOMESTIC SAFETY.

These are important questions for international consideration, but they have nothing whatever to do with terms of peace with Germany. The Senate cannot make that fact plain too quickly.

Brest be the tie that binds!

The Same Old "Freedom of the Seas"

THE welcome assurance is now made, with solicitous iteration, that there is every prospect of harmony in the peace conference on the question of the freedom of the seas. That is most gratifying; but in order fully to appreciate its purport, we must recall what were the original points of view and what is implied in their now being brought together upon common ground.

The second of the President's Fourteen Commandments has been described as "somewhat hazy." Yet if two and two make four, its purport is sufficiently clear. Let us recall its exact words:

Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

It would be trifling with common sense to pretend that that did not mean abolition of the right of search, of the rules of contraband, and of the enforcement of blockade, excepting as such processes might be maintained by the concerted action of a league of nations. The President's proposal would certainly forbid any single nation, on being involved in war with another nation, to search the merchant ships of that antagonist, to sequester its contraband supplies, or to blockade its coast. It would be an insult to his intelligence and to his singularly expert and precise use of the vernacular to pretend that that was not exactly what he intended in his Second Commandment.

It is equally certain, however, that that proposal was and is quite repugnant and unacceptable to Great Britain, and can never by any possibility be agreed to by that Power in the peace conference or elsewhere. That has been made plain, not alone by the unanimous declarations of the press of all parties, but also by the unequivocal utterances of authoritative statesmen, such as Mr. Lloyd George and Colonel Winston S. Churchill. In brief, the President and the British Government are diametrically opposed to each other on this fundamental question.

It has been intimated that a satisfactory ground of agreement may be found in the establishment of the League of Nations which is demanded in the President's Fourteenth Commandment. To that it is, however, to be objected, first, that it is doubtful if such a league will be or can be formed; and second, that if it is formed for any purpose, there is not the slightest reason for expecting Great Britain—or the United States, either—to relinquish in its favor the three belligerent rights which we have mentioned. It may be, of course, that some day the sky will fall and then we shall all catch larks; but until that halcyon and vociferous time, we have no expectation of seeing a Senate of the United States ratify a treaty pledging us not to search the commerce, seize the contraband goods, or blockade the coast, of a country with which we were at war. The committing of suicide is not a Constitutional function of the Senate.

There is yet one other suggestion. That is, that Great Britain and the United States, as the chief two naval Powers of the world, shall serve as the international police force of the high seas; they alone exercising the powers of search, seizure, and blockade. But the mere statement of such a

scheme should be sufficient to condemn it, from both the subjective and the objective points of view. It would entail upon these two nations the onerous and odious task of meddling in every ruction that occurred between any two nations of the world, and would come unpleasantly close to justifying the epithet which Germany applied to Great Britain, of being the world's "naval bully." We can imagine nothing more repugnant to a nation sincerely desirous of "peace and honest friendship" with all the world. On the other hand, it would subject the other nations of the world to an intolerable inferiority, denying to them the rights which were arrogated by these two great Powers. What then would become of the fine sentiment of the President's Fourteenth Commandment, concerning "political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike"?

Let us suppose a practical application of the principle. Let us suppose China and Japan to become again involved in war. Then neither of them must interfere in any way with the commerce of the other, nor blockade the other's ports, but must leave all that work, if it is to be done, to the intervening and meddlesome fleets of Great Britain and the United States. It is simply inconceivable that either of those countries would agree to that in advance. If it did, it would no longer deserve to be ranked as a sovereign state. It would be impossible to conceive any arrangement more malignly designed to involve the world in another hell-broth of universal war.

The conclusion must be, therefore, that if there is to be complete accord on this point in the peace conference, it must be attained by the President's abandonment of his ill-advised proposal and his acceptance of the British policy, which is equally the American policy. There was nothing upon which we more resolutely insisted, fifty-five years ago, than the rights of search, of seizure, and of blockade; and we are unable to perceive any inclination on the part of the American people to abandon or to renounce those rights. We believe that it would be perilous and might be disastrous so to do. Indisputably, the true American policy is that of freedom of the seas, a principle for which in our youth we fought a war with the greatest naval Power of the world; but that means freedom *in peace*, such as the world has enjoyed for a hundred years; and war is war, subject only to the just, impartial, and universal regulations of international law. An attempt to impose peace conditions in war would be as illogical and impossible as to impose war conditions in time of peace. Recognition of that is the only sure means of securing harmony at the peace conference on the subject of the freedom of the seas.

While according full credit to Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Davison and Mr. Perkins for their magnificent service in the cause of humanity, do not overlook the fact that Mr. Munsey induced the faithful readers of the *Sun* to send the boys nearly half a million dollars' worth of cigarettes,—for which, we hear from them constantly, they can never hope to show adequate appreciation.

"The day of isolation in the United States," said Mr. Daniels, "has passed for good or ill, and I profoundly believe it for good,"—referring, we assume, to his boss's recent emergence from his vacuum.

Monroe and Meddling

SECRETARY DANIELS is reported as saying that "the day of isolation for the United States"—which, we beg to say, has never existed—"has passed, for good or ill. This Republic must concern itself with every problem that touches the people of every portion of the globe."

To that we demur; and we do so on the ground of the very next words which the Secretary of the Navy himself uttered.

"The Monroe Doctrine," he said, "will always abide as our pillar of cloud by day and our pillar of fire by night." And yet we are to concern ourselves "with every problem that touches the people of every portion of the globe."

In the words of Nicodemus, "How can these things be?"

The Monroe Doctrine, or the preamble to it upon which the Doctrine is based and from which it derives its justification, explicitly declares that "In the wars of the European Powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defence."

But now we are told that we are to concern ourselves not alone with matters which invade or seriously menace our rights, but with "every problem" which touches any people in any part of the world. In other words, we should rewrite Monroe's Message so as to make it read: "In the wars of the European Powers in matters relating to themselves we purpose hereafter to take part." How much of a pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night would the Revised Doctrine be?

"Every problem that touches the peoples of every portion of the globe." Then we are to intervene in the delimitation of the boundary between Italy and the Jugo-Slav state. We are to take part in determining whether Limburg is to remain Dutch or become Belgian. We are to be concerned in the question of a republic or a kingdom for Finland. We are to have a voice in the extension of Home Rule in Hindustan. We are to help solve the problem of governmental organization in China. And when the Akhoond of Swat goes forth to battle with the Begum of Bhopal, an American Expeditionary Force must be present to umpire the ruction.

That way madness lies. We subscribe to the doctrine that as a humane nation we are interested in the general welfare of humanity. We believe that whenever our rights are invaded or seriously menaced we should resent the injuries and make preparation for our defence. We agree that the violation of a treaty to which we are a party, or indeed of any treaty which involves a fundamental principle of international law and justice, is an invasion of or a serious menace to our rights. But beyond that, either individually or as a member of a league of nations, it does not comport with our policy to go.

Certainly if we do go beyond that limit, we shall have hard work to vindicate the Monroe Doctrine. For if we are to concern ourselves in the dispute of Holland and Belgium over Limburg, by what rule of consistency or equity could we deny the right of some European Power to concern itself in the dispute of Peru and Chile over Tacna and Arica?

A Shady Transaction

ON the 16th of July last Congress by joint resolution authorized the President to take possession of land and marine telegraph and telephone lines, "when-ever he shall deem it necessary for the national security or defense," during the continuance of the war. It was not until the 2d day of November, nine days before the actual signing of an armistice which totally ended the war, so far as possibility of further enemy resistance was concerned, that the President, acting under the authority granted him four months back, seized all the cables of both oceans, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea.

That the Administration knew on the 2d of November that the war was over, so far as active belligerency was concerned, is beyond question. All the military men at the front knew it. All the statesmen of France, England and Italy knew it. To assume that the Administration at Washington did not know it is to assume an absurdity. The Administration at Washington did know it. President Wilson knew it. He knew, too, that the seizure of the cables was not "necessary for the national security or defense." He knew also that his authority to seize and control the cables was based solely and explicitly upon conditions involving national perils incident to an actual, critical state of active warfare. Those who believe that he did not know he was going beyond the spirit, if not the very letter itself, of the Congress resolution of July 16th when he seized every cable line within the jurisdiction of the United States are at liberty to cherish that belief if they wish to do so.

For our part we do not believe it. We do believe that President Wilson knew perfectly well that he was taking advantage of a technicality to do what Congress never intended to authorize him to do, when, after insistent pressure and explicit pledges on the floor of the Senate that the authority sought probably would never be exercised, that it was only a measure of precaution to meet possible grave danger, it at last reluctantly passed the resolution the President desired. We believe, furthermore, that Mr. Wilson, knowing the signature of an armistice was imminent, hurriedly commandeered the cables, fully appreciating that in the face of such total enemy collapse as that armistice would demonstrate, such a high-handed seizure of private property would rouse intense public indignation. We go still further and believe that in a private transaction, a resort to petty trickery like that involved in this cable seizure would be regarded by Mr. Wilson himself, as well as by all straightforward business men, as being shady to the verge of downright dishonor.

We believe that Mr. Wilson was fully conscious of all this. We believe he knew, when he seized the cables, that he was laying himself open to severe criticism for thus lending himself to the Burleson greed for political power and to the Burleson public ownership obsession. That the President fully knew that the exigency of national security or defense was not in the remotest degree involved in this high-handed grabbing of private property is only too clear from his own explanation of that indefensible act. In his message on the eve of departure he did not even mention such an exigency. Indeed, to have done so would have been to provoke derisive laughter from the representatives of the people who listened with such icy coldness to his excuses for abandoning his post of duty at a critical moment. He had to advance something

more plausible than a plea of danger when danger had vanished. He tried to do so. How far he succeeded is an open question. There is a pretty widely diffused opinion that he did not succeed at all; that his explanation is disingenuous in the extreme. In this opinion we fully coincide. The President said in substance that the reason he took over the cables was because it was necessary to keep two cables open between France and two Washington Departments—War and State. For this reason he seized 14 or 15 cables between here and Europe and all the cables from the Pacific Coast to China, Japan, the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands, as well as all the cables to South and Central America and the West Indies. And all this that there might be two clear cables between France and Washington! Of course if the Government had wanted two clear cables or four clear cables, the cable companies would have furnished them. Of course the cable companies, as a matter of fact, did furnish all the cable communication the Government demanded during the time of actual warfare. The cable service the Government had during that time of real stress was full and satisfactory. There was not a single complaint filed by the Administration as to the quality or secrecy of that service. Government censors were in full control of every word transmitted in either direction. And yet, when the war is over, the season of stress passed, every cable under both oceans and the Gulf of Mexico is seized and handed over to Mr. Burleson because it is necessary to have two cables free between France and Washington, when double that many could have been had from the cable companies for the asking!

And now, as a climax to this bit of brigandage, made doubly odious by the shabby cloak of hypocrisy thrown over it, we have the Commercial cables and land lines seized and handed over to the full and absolute control, by grace of the Autocrat of the Postoffice Department, of the Commercial Company's aggressive business competitor. And, contemporaneously with this little episode of Prussianism at its rankest, we have Mr. Burleson introducing in Congress, through Representative Moon, a resolution continuing indefinitely Government control of all the wire systems and providing for an evaluation of them as a preliminary to Government purchase and permanent operation. And this, too, Mr. Moon affirmed, is with the full approval of the President.

Here we have fully uncovered a part at least of an Administration plot, evidently long matured and perfected, to foist socialistic paternalism upon us in full swing whether we want it or not. It is simply damnable.

Though we are glad for our readers to peruse what Taft, Roosevelt, Colonel Watterson, George Harvey and the rest of us suggest and advise in these stormy times, it is well enough for them to remember that our suggestions and advice are offered to the government, not requested by it.—*Houston Post*.

We don't suggest or advise; we tell 'em.

The war being ended, and hence also, supposedly, the career of the WAR WEEKLY of Col. George Harvey, may we not venture to hope, as Mr. Ford's most prominent apologist would say, that the Colonel will receive an opportunity to stay in the weekly field by becoming associated with Mr. Ford?—*Baltimore News*.

Only as an associate, not as an ally.

We know where the Kaiser is and the Crown Prince, but where are the other five edsels?

We May Need a President!

THE impropriety, to put it mildly, of the President's absence from the country is impressively emphasized by the tragic incident at Tampico. It is still further brought into unpleasant prominence by disturbing reports of another Mexican revolutionary outbreak, which are coming of late in rather ominous volume from that bedeviled country.

The situation seems to be that at any moment there may be such an explosion of Mexican violence, involving deadly peril to American lives and American property, as may make firm and swift action, either armed or diplomatic, on our part an imperative necessity. Awkward as it would be to have an armed clash with the irresponsible bandits beyond the Rio Grande precipitated while the Chief Executive and Commander-in-Chief of our Army and Navy is 3,000 miles away from his post of duty, that is precisely what is among the by no means remote possibilities.

When the uniformed customs guard at Tampico assaulted an officer of our navy gunners from the steamer *Monterey*, a fight ensued that in itself was satisfactory so far as results were concerned. The captain of the Mexican customs guard was shot dead and a subordinate under his command was mortally wounded. None of our men was seriously injured, and a demand from the Mexican authorities for the surrender of those who were engaged in the conflict was peremptorily refused. The State Department now gives us the soothing assurance that the incident "has become a diplomatic question between this country and Mexico."

Which is all very well as far as it goes. But what is under the cover is that there is a seething, Hun-inspired hatred of us in Mexico, and particularly in the Tampico District, which may at any moment break out in a form of violence and outrage which will get beyond the power of Mexico and this country to confine within the resources of diplomatic adjustment. The Hun propaganda and intriguing against us is now as virulent and active in Mexico as it was prior to and during our participation in the war. The motive, of course, is patent. It is a Hun article of faith that an armed conflict between this country and Mexico would revive the latent antagonism of all Latin America against us and would thus work to German advantage in future struggles for South American trade. And coupled with that motive, naturally, is the Hun's own personal hatred of us for our share in blocking the Potsdam game of world domination.

So here we have across the Rio Grande almost as critical a situation as has existed at any time since the murder, arson and miscellaneous bandit anarchy began in that country and continued during all those years of watchful waiting and William Bayard Hale investigating. The *World's* Washington correspondent writes that the *Monterey* men's battle at Tampico is not the first incident that has taken place in that bandit and Hun-ridden oil territory. What, if any, authority Carranza is capable of enforcing there is problematical. What we know is that his attitude towards foreign capital invested in Mexico is distinctly confiscatory. He has forced through the Mexican Legislature laws which threaten the foreign-held titles to vastly valuable oil and mine properties in the Tampico and Tuxpam Districts. Against the confiscatory oil decree the United States and Great Britain have entered vigorous protests. The only result to date is a post-

ponement of the time of confiscation. Not a cent of interest has been paid to the holders of Mexican Railway securities. Carranza would not permit it. The debt now amounts to nearly \$100,000,000.

And in the meantime there are rumblings of an anti-Carranza revolution in the air, to the accompaniment of a pretty lively rattle of sniping fire upon our civilians and guards along the border.

In his rather regrettable Indianapolis speech of not remote date, the President informed the country that "Woodrow sat and chuckled" during a prior reign of conditions similar to those which now exist in Mexico. Probably he could chuckle in the Murat mansion, or in Buckingham Palace, or while waiting an audience at the Vatican as well as he could in Washington. We do not question his resources as either a setting or peripatetic chuckler. But the fact remains, unfortunately, that despite the laudable efforts of the State Department to prevent episodes like the last one at Tampico from "becoming an irritant between the two countries," as the *World's* Washington correspondent puts it, there is a well-founded apprehension that Mexican matters are now in such a posture as may, at almost any time, make it highly desirable for us to have a President of the United States, and to have him in Washington and not in London, Paris or Rome. As it is now, even Colonel House would not be available to us in a critical domestic emergency. And as for William Bayard Hale, he is too much occupied just now with his Potsdam reminiscences to resume his Mexican investigations. There was, to be sure, a certain Scandinavian sage whom the President sent on a sort of Colonel House exploring expedition into Mexico. His name doesn't matter. Nobody every heard of him before the President unearthed him, and he has disappeared into the same Cimmerian darkness from which he was so suddenly dragged into the glaring light of pitiless publicity. In fact, not one of that strange Board of Philosophical and Ethnological Curios on whom the President relied for a kindly guiding light in the former critical stage of Mexican affairs is now to be counted upon. It seems to be more or less a question in some people's minds whether we even have a President. And that, too, at a time when we are likely to need one at almost any moment!

Question is raised of what will happen to Col. Harvey's war weekly. As plain *Harvey's Weekly* we predict it will be warlike enough to suit the most pugnacious.—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.

No, sir; we are like all the rest of them,—for peace on our own terms.

Sooner or later a Tennessee Polk always has to untangle Mexico.

The Costa Rica Mystery

AT last there is a prospect of some light being shed on one of those many public matters which it has pleased the President to envelope in mystery. When Tinoco was chosen President of Costa Rica by processes satisfactory to the Costa Ricans he was in due course recognized by every Latin-American country from Cape Horn to the Rio Grande. But Mr. Wilson did not approve the choice the Costa Ricans had made for their Chief Executive. He refused and still refuses to recognize him. Why President Wilson disapproved

of President Tinoco we are not informed. For about two years now it has remained a closely guarded White House secret. It is one of those Executive Mansion mysteries which it is hoped a pending Senate inquiry may clear up. Its illumination may, perchance, throw a side-light on the meaning that attaches in the Presidential mind to that inherent right of all nations to self-determination in the matter of the form and personnel of their respective governments of which Mr. Wilson is so ardent a champion.

The WAR WEEKLY several months ago spread before its readers a fairly full statement of this Costa Rican matter and the astounding attitude of our Government with reference thereto. As was then related, the title of President Tinoco to the office to which he was duly elected by the people of his country rests upon a legal basis indubitably sound. That alone, it would seem, was sufficient to entitle him to recognition. But there were other things that plead for him. The Government which was driven from power by the election of Tinoco was intensely pro-German. Hun intrigue carried on in the approved Hun way during a long series of years had firmly fastened the Teutonic grip upon the Gonzales Costa Rican Administration. Indeed, the election which resulted in the ousting of Gonzales and the choice of Tinoco pivoted on precisely this Hun and anti-Hun issue. Costa Ricans by a large majority were tired of having their country exploited by Huns and exclusively for Huns. Tinoco represented and headed this anti-Hun revolt. He was triumphantly elected. The moment he and the element with which he was identified were in power, everything possible was done to demonstrate Costa Rican sympathy with the forces which were fighting for civilization against barbarism. And especially were these manifestations of hearty accord with the anti-Teutonic cause directed towards our own country. Three days after the United States declared war upon Germany the freedom of Costa Rican waters and ports was generously offered to the American Navy. This was accompanied by an expression of regret that the little country could not do more to help the United States in a conflict so just. Naturally this irritated the Huns, and just as naturally the Huns tried bullying. Costa Rica's response to this was a prompt severance of all diplomatic relations with Germany, followed speedily by a declaration of war and an offer to send here a contingent of Costa Ricans to be trained to fight with us and the Allies against Germany.

Now, for some occult reason which it is to be hoped the coming investigation will uncover, it pleased President Wilson, in return for all this, deliberately to insult Costa Rica and Costa Rica's President. Our Government contemptuously ignored the generous offer to our naval forces. It flatly refused to recognize as President of Costa Rica a man whom the Costa Ricans had legally elected to that office. Instead of recognizing the Minister duly accredited to this country by the Tinoco Administration, we have permitted the Minister sent here by the ousted, pro-German President Gonzales to retain his diplomatic standing. On the other hand, the American Minister to Costa Rica, Mr. Edward J. Hale, has been permitted to remain at his home in North Carolina for two years, drawing full salary for his valuable services to the country in the interim.

In view of this astounding procedure by President Wilson, it is not altogether a matter of surprise to learn that the cordially warm Costa Rican friendship towards us has turned

to an equally warm dislike. We apparently set out to heap as many insults upon this little nation and upon a sensitive people as could be devised, and beyond all question we made a very thorough job of it. As a matter of course the defeated pro-German element down there is making the most of what we have so affably put into their hands.

In a less autocratic, self-sufficient Administration some explanation of a course so extraordinary, so utterly at variance with American methods and American traditions, would long ago have been vouchsafed to the country. We have become habituated to being treated like children taught to look up to the Head Master as the fount of all wisdom, and not to ask him questions which it may not be within the scope of his All Highest plans to answer. But, if we might venture the suggestion, there is possibly a limit to such secrecy. In matters which intimately concern the public it might be deprecatingly hinted that the public is entitled to some little information. We are not yet quite broken in to the fashion of having the affairs of the United States regarded as the purely personal affairs of a cloistered recluse with a mania for secretiveness. And, by the same token, this secretiveness concerning what on its face has every appearance of being a series of infamous insults to a warmly friendly nation and neighbor, has gone about as far as the people of the country will rest content to have it go without some explanation.

Whether the sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee recently appointed by Mr. Hitchcock will succeed in wrenching the key to this mystery from the hands which so long have been jealously clutching it, remains to be seen. In ordinary times, when we were not favored with superman gifts in an Administration, the cover would have been torn off long ago. Very speedily after the fact we should have known whether this extraordinary performance was based upon good and sufficient reason, or whether it was the outcome of a mere petty, semi-feminine whim or pique of some kind. It is high time the Costa Rica mystery were cleared up. If we are taking a course worthy of the common sense and dignity of the country, that is one thing. If we are taking a course of silly, arrogant pettishness, that is another. It is the Senate Committee's business to find out which of these is the fact. Probably it will do so. A Committee composed of such men as Senators Williams, Lodge, Saulsbury, Brandegee, and Pomerene is not likely to let itself get lost in a sea of befogged generalities.

What could have been the reason for the State Department withholding until December 15 the report of a fatal clash between an American naval guard and Mexican soldiers which took place on November 28? Was it, by chance, to avert criticism of Anybody for forsaking his post?

Mr. McAdoo wants to keep right on lending to the Allies money to be raised by taxation of the American people, peace or no peace! Force of habit! Easy come, easy go! Wake up, Mr. Smoot!

"I speak American," said Clemenceau when he greeted the President,—which is precisely what and all we want the President himself to do.

The Week

WASHINGTON, *December 19, 1918.*

THE President arrived in France, and was received with characteristic French courtesy and enthusiasm. This is according to expectation, and is highly gratifying. Since he would persist in his self-conceived and ill-advised escapade, against the will and wish of the people, it was well that the business should be carried out with no disaster and with as much dignity and distinction as possible. There is an overruling Providence which sometimes brings good out of evil. If his auditors over there are to obtain that fuller knowledge of the intent of the Fourteen Commandments which was austere denied to us over here, we shall season our jealousy of their greater privilege, and be grateful for whatever reflection of that illumination is vouchsafed to us in our humility through the grace of the creel and the Political-master-General.

The reception of the President and his numerous company appears to have been effected with the flawless taste of France, and in a manner calculated to exalt the pride of even the most chauvinistic American. It would be ungracious to question the splendor and the sincerity of the official and popular demonstrations. For Mr. Wilson, individually, there is of course high esteem. But immeasurably greater must be the esteem given to the President in his official capacity of the representative of the American Republic. The President himself showed his fine appreciation of this fact when, in his first speech, at the Elysée, he deprecated the idea of personal tributes to himself and declared that what he had said and what he had tried to do had been "said and done only in an attempt to speak the thought of the people of the United States truly, and to carry that thought out in action." That is the true purpose of any President of the United States, and the degree of Mr. Wilson's fidelity and efficiency therein will be the measure of his success in his present formidable adventure.

Meantime, Germany presents a puzzling problem. It is involved in what looks like—and is meant to look like—a revolutionary and counter-revolutionary saturnalia, almost approximating that into which, with malice aforethought, it plunged unhappy Russia. But how much of this is real and how much is mere camouflage, is a question which is not readily to be answered. We suppose that Liebknecht and some of his followers are in earnest; we are quite certain that many of the others are not. Liebknecht is one of those devoted, ultra-idealistic visionaries who are sometimes produced by a blending of Jewish and Gentile blood, and is honestly striving to produce in Germany much the same state of affairs that Lenine and Trotzky have dishonestly and venally produced in unhappy Russia. On the other hand there can be no reasonable doubt that others, of the Erzberger-Solf-Ebert type, are quite capable of making a factitious showing of revolutionary movements purely for the sake of impressing the Allies. If they could persuade us that Germany was sincerely striving to become a true republic, or that it was in danger of falling into chaos, they hope that the Allies, and especially the United States, would be inclined to grant them easy terms. It is to be noticed that these rev-

olutionary convulsions have increased in violence with President Wilson's progress toward European shores.

It has already been convincingly demonstrated, by the observations of our invading armies, that the German tales of famine were chiefly false, and that in fact the country is well stocked with food. If the Hunnish leaders would make misrepresentations on that subject for the sake of winning sympathy and leniency, they would doubtless also camouflage the political situation.

The armistice has been prolonged, as it was expected that it would have to be, and the Germans have been required to pay a penalty for it in the occupation by the Allies of the east bank of the Rhine from Cologne to the Dutch frontier. That is as it should be, and we trust that if any further extension of time is required there will be exacted a further penalty. We shall, indeed, be sorry if an Allied army is not marched into Berlin. That is not because of any vindictiveness or any desire needlessly to humiliate the Huns, but because we believe that one of the most essential lessons of the war cannot be taught to the Germans in any other way. Reports from Berlin tell that the returning German troops are being acclaimed as victors, with far more enthusiastic demonstrations than are accorded to our home-coming troops. Berlin and a good part of Germany is to-day ringing with the cry, "They kept the war out of the Fatherland!" The Germans know that their troops ravaged and plundered other countries and sent home trainloads of loot, and they know that no part of Germany has been thus despoiled. Therefore they consider that they have really won the war, and they hail the returning Boches as victors. It will be a bad thing for Germany itself and an ominous thing for the rest of the world to have that impression permanently prevail in the greater part of Germany; and we do not know of any better method of dispelling it and of causing the Germans to realize that they are a beaten nation, than that of having an Allied army quartered in Berlin for a time. A mixed assortment of American Marines, Poilus, and Anzacs billeted in Unter den Linden, and compelling Fritz, Gretchen, and the Boches to salute the Stars and Stripes and to uncover when the Marseillaise is played, would have an invaluable educational effect.

The introduction in Congress of a bill providing for the deportation of aliens who have been interned during the war is to be regarded with approval. We can conceive no good ground upon which such venomous reptiles could claim asylum or hospitality here. They have shown themselves enemies of the Republic, and there is no reason to suppose that they are any less inimical to it now than they were when they were interned. If they are released and permitted to remain here, every one of them will be likely to become a centre of disaffection and sedition, an agitator or a conspirator against law and order, and the insidious corruptor of immigrants who otherwise would become loyal citizens. The country would be better off without them.

"You can return with heads erect!" cried Herr Ebert, the head of the Hunnish provisional Government, to the returning Boches. Yes: and with hands imbrued with the blood of murdered babes and ravished women, and pockets

bulging with loot. Such are the heroes of Hunland; and such is the head of the Government with which we have to deal. Really, it seems to have been chiefly a change of name in swapping a Hohenzollern for an Ebert.

Another piece of camouflage, intended as a plea for leniency, is put forth by the German Minister of Finance, in telling how enormous will be Germany's tax bill for next year adding: "If we continue as we have been going, ruin is inevitable." We do not recall that he or any of his kidney expressed any solicitude for the ruin that threatened Belgium because of the blackmail of hundreds of millions that the Hunnish brigands levied. The proper way to treat these squealings and whimperings of the trapped Beast is to ignore them; or else to spring the trap upon him all the tighter.

The desperation which Administration politicians feel at the prospect of losing control of both Houses of Congress after March 4 is shown in the efforts which are being made to get rid of a couple of Republican Senators. The wholly insincere campaign against Mr. Newberry, Senator-Elect from Michigan, has been revived in the Senate itself, after its having been signally defeated in the courts. That it can succeed we cannot for a moment imagine. If it should, the integrity of the Senate itself would be placed under serious suspicion. But even in that case, we assume that Edsel's Father would not be seated, since he certainly was not elected and there would be a vacancy to be filled by appointment or special election.

In the case of the lafollette, we can feel no pride in the retention of that individual in the Senate. But we should like to know why there is this belated manifestation of zeal to get rid of him? His offensive speech was made a year and a quarter ago. Why did not Senator Pomerene and the others agitate for his expulsion long ago, before it was seen that his vote would give the Republicans a majority in the next Senate? If a Democratic majority had been returned last month, would there have been this violent eruption of virtue? Do they now seek to get rid of him because of his alleged sedition in September, 1917, or because of the result of the elections of November, 1918? It will be a pity, of course, to have the Republican majority dependent upon his vote. But it would be a scandal to expel him simply to destroy that majority.

It seems necessary to say frankly that the business of receiving returned soldiers at New York is being abominably and disgracefully botched. Some time ago a company of men who had never got further than England was received with tremendous demonstrations, while on the same day a ship-load of wounded men from the trenches was landed and sent away without the slightest attention. The other day the harbor went into hysterics over the arrival of a ship on which there was only one solitary soldier, while on the same day another ship, with hundreds of soldiers, was permitted to reach her dock with no more notice than a scow-load of coal would get. There is something radically wrong in a system in which such things are possible. There is, moreover, something more than a suspicion that the whole business is being manipulated for the sake of personal exploitation, if not for the rehabilitation of personal reputations

which have been smirched with suspicion of sedition. What we said last week about monuments to our dead soldiers is adaptable to the reception of the living. There should be no suspicion of personal exploitation in it, and indeed it ought to be something very much more than a local function. Montana, Mississippi and California are as much interested in these returning heroes as is New York. We should think that the matter might be taken in hand by representatives of the Army and Navy Departments, as a national function; with citizens' committees appointed, not by a local Dogberry, but by the Federal Government.

The Marine Corps reports casualties in the war amounting to twenty-three per cent of its entire number. That is a record of valor and sacrifice not often approximated, save by Great Britain's "contemptible little army" at Mons and Ypres. We wish we might know how many casualties among the Boches that record represents. Probably it was two or three times as many as on our side, and perhaps much more than that.

Senator Poindexter has a lot of sound sense and justice on his side in demanding that Germany be compelled to pay our war costs. Of course, we should say that Belgium must be paid in full, first of all; and we should be quite willing to give the claims of France and Great Britain, and Serbia and Italy, precedence over ours. But then if there is another drop of juice left in the Hunnish orange, we should inexorably squeeze it out for our own benefit. And the Powers will be able to squeeze a lot of money out of Germany in the next forty or fifty years, if they go about it properly.

The President is said to be opposed to giving small nations equal voting power with big nations in the proposed League of Nations, because then a lot of small nations might form a combination and outvote the great Powers. But if the great nations have a preponderance of voting power, the little ones will have nothing to do but to say "Me, too!" So there you are!

It is well to remember that France, Great Britain, and Italy are firmly bound in an agreement that no one of them will demand conditions of peace without the previous agreement of both the others. The United States is not a party to that agreement, more's the pity; but that fact does not in the slightest degree impair the validity of the bond among those three. None of the President's Fourteen Commandments, therefore, can be adopted and urged by any one of those Powers unless the other two first give their approval. And amid all the talk and counter-talk about peace terms and conferences, we have not heard so much as a hint of any inclination of any of the three to break or to withdraw from that Pact of London. It may be that that agreement, made more than four years ago, will prove to be the dominant factor in the problem of peacemaking.

Put all the railroad employees and all the telegraph and telephone employees under the direction of a Political-master-General, and then boast that those services have been "taken out of politics." In the Name of the Prophet, fudge!

A Measure That Must Pass

IF there survive any of the tribe of Pacifists which Secretary Baker and a good many more of Bakerian habit of thought adorned until we were plunged neck and crop into a fight for our national life, and if these survivors imagine that the question of universal military training is shelved, they are hugging a vain delusion. That is one outcome of the war which will not be permitted to vanish into the limbo of lessons unheeded. It is a safe prediction that the question of universal military training is booked for discussion so exhaustive and so spirited on the floor of Congress and in the press of the country during the year now at hand, that decision one way or the other is inevitable before the advent of another winter.

If the Democratic Congress now approaching dissolution wishes to go out of existence leaving a more fragrant memory behind it than might otherwise be the case, it could not do better than commit itself and its party to a cause that is bound to win in the end and that is destined to mark a memorable epoch in our national life. In the comparatively few working days between now and the 4th of March the chances of pressing a universal military training bill through to actual enactment are small. Yet there is abundance of time in the interval to blanket the incoming Congress on a measure as certain of ultimate adoption as it is certain of ultimate enthusiastic approval by the country once its beneficent consequences begin to be recognized. It is open to the present Democratic Congress to take the credit for launching the legislation necessary to the end sought, or to leave that credit to be garnered by the Republican Congress so soon to be in control.

The pressure towards the enactment of some sort of a universal, compulsory military training law is growing with every day's reflection on the lessons and experiences of the war. Party lines are now quite obliterated on the question. That staunch Democrat, Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, and that staunch Republican, Representative Kahn, of California, are equally ardent supporters of the idea. General Pershing is not without honor in his country nor are his views without weight. And General Pershing has expressed himself with great vigor and clarity on the subject. "It would be difficult," he said not long ago, "to imagine any discipline that would be of greater value, not only to the individual but also to the industrial, political, and military future of this country than to provide for the one million men reaching 18 years of age every year five or six months' consecutive military training under such intensive system as that followed in the summer encampments for citizens."

But over and above the assurances from such high authority as General Pershing, we have tens of thousands of animate object lessons before our eyes all the time. The transformation of slouchy, shambling young fellows into vigorous, up-standing, clear-eyed men which a few months of army life have wrought, has been the subject of wondering and admiring comment in every community between the two oceans. Will anybody undertake to argue that these are not better men physically, better men morally, for the discipline and the habits of obedience and observance of sanitary laws that their military life has imposed upon them? Is there not every assurance that they will be better citizens, more efficient in whatever direction they turn their energies, more

conscious of the responsibilities they owe to their country, to themselves, to their dependants and to their fellow men, than would have been the case without that sharp awakening to stern realities which comes with subjection to military duty? This is no longer matter of theory. It is matter of ocular demonstration wherever there is a young fellow in sight who wears, or has worn, Uncle Sam's khaki, and who has had the experience of training-camp life.

The question as to the benefit of military training to the manhood, the health, the productive energy of the country is beyond discussion. On that ground and on that ground alone the argument in favor of obligatory universal military training is overwhelming. And this, of course, is quite aside from the immense weight in favor of the maintenance of peace which would attach to the presence here of eight or ten millions of the flower of American manhood all trained and ready at a moment's notice to be transformed into American soldiers, with all that implies of millions for defense and not one cent for tribute! So far as war is concerned, there will not be any war, at least any war against us, if we have a navy big enough to defend our shores from any navy afloat, and a silent, invisible force of millions of trained men ready to join the colors the moment the country calls. Our standing army then may be skeletonized down to garrisoning strength if we see fit. It will not then take a year to recruit it to fighting strength. Mr. Bryan's million Americans springing to arms over night would not then be a Bryanesque reverie, but a reality—only the Bryan army would be multiplied by ten, and they would be trained soldiers and not a mob.

If there is one thing which every surface indication shows the American people want, that thing is some sort of compulsory and universal military training and some such fundamental war preparedness as will preclude our being caught again in the pitiful plight in which the last war found us. And what the American people really want they generally get.

What right has Burleson either to raise or to reduce telephone rates after the President has officially declared to Congress that the war has ended? He ought to be impeached.

"Let the revenue bill be passed at once and started for the President's signature in France or elsewhere," sternly admonishes the *World*, and we concur. Let us see; Italy ought to about catch him.

When Mr. McAdoo told a New York audience on Sunday that he "did not care whether the railroads went into Government ownership or remained in private hands," did he have Harvey Fisk & Sons in his mind's eye?

We thought it would come. Colonel Harvey in his *North American Review War Weekly* has put the influenza epidemic up to President Wilson.—*Nashville Tennessean*.

Well, why not? God put it up to Colonel House.

"I did not expect to get here quite so soon."—*Ambassador Davis in London*.

Great heavens! He was appointed in August.

When It Struck Eleven at the Front

(From "The Stars and Stripes")

On the stroke of 11 the cannon stopped, the rifles dropped from the shoulders, the machine guns grew still. There followed then a strange, unbelievable silence as though the world had died. It lasted but a moment, lasted for the space that a breath is held. Then came such an uproar of relief and jubilation, such a tooting of horns, shrieking of whistles, such an overture from the bands and trains and church bells, such a shouting of voices as the earth is not likely to hear again in our day and generation.

When night fell on the battlefield the clamor of the celebration waxed rather than waned. Darkness? There was none. Rockets and a ceaseless fountain of star shells made the lines a streak of glorious brilliance across the face of startled France, while, by the light of flares, the front and all its dancing, boasting, singing peoples was as clearly visible as though the sun sat high in the heavens.

The man from Mars, coming to earth on the morning of November 11, 1918, would have been hard put to it to say which army had won, for, if anything, the greater celebration, the more startling outburst, came not from the American but from the German side. At least he could have said—that man from Mars—to which side the suspension of hostilities had come as the greater relief.

The news began to spread across the front shortly after the sun rose. There was more or less of an effort to send it forward only through military channels, to have the corps report it calmly by wire to the divisions, the divisions to the brigades, the brigades to the regiments, the regiments to the battalions, and so on down to the uttermost squad, quite as though this were an ordinary order and nothing to get excited about.

There was the effort. But it did not work very well. The word was sped on the kind of wireless that man knew many centuries before Marconi came on earth. It spread like a current of electricity along the shivery mess lines, hopping up and down and sniffing and scuffling as they waited for the morning coffee. It spread along the chains of singing road menders, along the creeping columns of camions. Driver called it to driver and runners tossed the word over their shoulders as they hurried by. Now and again a fleet of motorcycles would whizz along through the heavy mist.

"The guerre will be finée at 11 o'clock. Finée la guerre."

You could hear it called out again and again.

"What time?"

"Eleven o'clock."

A pause.

"Say, you, what time is it now?"

They took it a little incredulously at first. That was old stuff, that rumor.

They had heard it again and again during the past fortnight.

"Well, the captain says it's so."

"Hell, who's he? I'll wait till Foch comes and tells me himself."

Why, the preceding Thursday night—that was the night the envoys came over from Spa—news that what the doughboy seems to prefer calling the "arstimice," had been signed spread like the Spanish flu from Grandpré to the Meuse.

That night the flares inflamed the skies, the rockets streaked the night. Bands burst into long-suppressed music, and the headlights twinkled all along the road. It did not last long, this little unbidden flurry, and there was much scolding; but, as a matter of fact, nothing much more demoralizing to the enemy could well have been staged than this spectacle of the First American Army celebrating something he had not heard.

All along the 77 miles held by the Americans the firing continued, literally, unto the eleventh hour. At one minute before 11, when a million eyes were glued to the slow-creeping minute hands of a million watches, the roar of the guns was a thing to make the old earth tremble. At one point—it was where the Yankee division visiting, at the time, with a French corps was having a brisk morning battle to the east of the Meuse, a man stationed at one battery stood with a handkerchief in his uplifted hand, his eyes fixed on his watch. It was one minute before 11. To the lanyards of the four big gun ropes were tied, each rope manned by 200 soldiers, cooks, stragglers, messengers, gunners, everybody. At 11 the handkerchief fell, the men pulled, the guns cursed out the last shot of the battery. And so it went at a hundred, at a thousand, places along the line.

Probably the hardest fighting being done by any Americans in the final hour was that which engaged the troops of the 28th, 92nd, 81st and 7th Divisions with the Second American Army, who launched a fire-eating attack above Vigneulles just at dawn on the 11th. It was no mild thing, that last flare of the battle, and the order to cease firing did not reach the men in the front

line until the last moment, when runners sped with it from fox hole to fox hole.

Then a quite startling thing occurred. The skyline of the crest ahead of them grew suddenly populous with dancing soldiers and, down the slope, all the way to the barbed wire, straight for the Americans, came the German troops. They came with outstretched hands, ear-to-ear grins and souvenirs to swap for cigarettes, so well did they know the little weakness of their foe. They came to tell how pleased they were the fight had stopped, how glad they were the Kaiser had departed for parts unknown, how fine it was to know they would have a republic at last in Germany.

"No," said one stubborn little Prussian, "it's a kingdom we want."

Whereas his own companions howled him down.

The farthest north at 11 o'clock on the front of the two armies was held at the extreme American left up Sedan way by the troops of the 77th Division. The farthest east—the nearest to the Rhine—was held by those negro soldiers who used to make up the old New York 15th and have long been brigaded with the French. They were in Alsace and their line ran through Thann and across the railway that leads to Colmar.

When the great hour came, across the trenches from our side swarmed a small army of civilians bearing food and clothing to their kith and kin on the other side. From the highest steeple in Thann the tricolor fluttered gayly, and within the church, there knelt in thanksgiving all the old folks from miles around.

With them, in among them, poilus knelt and Yankee soldiers, and the crowd so choked the aisles and steps that the priest could not move forward for his services. But the words that he preached from the pulpit were such words as leave the eyes dim and the heart glowing.

Up to the front, past Montfaucon and Romagne, past Remonville and on up, a truck trundled that morning. Over the tailboard, at the endless mud of Argonne and Ardennes, there gazed a boy who had been drafted in the heart of America some six months before and who, with stop-offs for tedious training on the way, had slowly journeyed from his home to the Ardennes. It had taken him six months, it had put him through the cheerless channel of the replacement system, but it had brought him at last to his destination—the destination of his daydreams and his nightmares. He had reached the front.

As he rode along he noticed a certain excitement tingling everywhere, but perhaps that was just the mood of the front. When finally the truck stopped and he jumped out, the news was waiting for him.

"It is 11 o'clock. The war is over."

"Hell," he said. "I just got here."

Then he laughed a short, little laugh that was made half of relief and half of disappointment. And his name was Private George W. Legion.

Up in a high observation post an American observer was trying to penetrate the mist with his German field-glasses. The young officer at his elbow asked him to look due west. What did he see? Well, not much—the road to the forest full of traffic, no shell fire, a crippled airplane in the field below.

"Lord, Lord, what good are those glasses? Why, without them, I can see a little house in Kansas City. There's a nursery on the second floor and the sun, shining in the window, just touches a cradle there. Inside that cradle, man, is my daughter. I have never seen her before. She was born since I sailed for France."

Meanwhile, on the roads below, the Engineers were working with a will. No time to celebrate, for the roads must be kept in shape. But they sang as they worked.

"Send the word, send the word over there"

That the Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming"—

The word, in that hour, had acquired a new significance. While here and there across the devastated land where Yanks were at work you could hear a knot burst into song. And the burden of all the songs was this:

"It's home boys, home, it's home we ought to be,

Home, boys, home in the land of liberty."

So came to an end the 11th of November, 1918—the 585th day since America entered the war.

What at sea or on earth became of the Jazz Band? It might get an engagement at the Rat Mort if Mr. Creel would lead it up the hill.

The *Diario Universal* declares that President Wilson is a citizen of the world and that to Spaniards he is a citizen of Spain.—*Madrid dispatch.*

But he votes in New Jersey.

If Bryan will go, we will.

Letters From Our Readers

BISMARCK AND ALSACE-LORRAINE

SIR,—In the last issue of your WAR WEEKLY I noticed a statement which has been very often repeated, to the effect that Bismarck was opposed to the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, and that he was over-persuaded by the military party. On page 99 of his *Bismarck*, Basch gives a resumé of the reasons which had led the Chancellor to the conclusion that annexation was inevitable; the date is 22 August 1870. Again, on page 122, he quotes an article "sanctioned by the Chief," in which the arguments in favor of annexation are given at greater length; this article is dated 28 August; it is too long for quotation, but the following extract seems fairly to represent Bismarck's views:

The enormous sacrifices in blood and treasure which the German people have made in this war, together with all our present victories would be in vain if the power of the French were not weakened for attack and the defensive strength of Germany were not increased. Our people have a right to demand that this shall be done.

There seems little reason to doubt that this was a genuine expression of Bismarck's opinion before negotiations began, and that any subsequent repudiation was due to a desire to relieve himself of the odium attached to the annexation. I don't know whether you will consider this worthy of record, but in case you do, please accept the thanks of an Englishman visiting your country for the hospitality of your columns.

CYRIL GOODMAN.

Richmond, Kentucky.

[There can be little doubt that Bismarck's policy was affected by the influence of Moltke. Coleman Phillipson, in his exhaustive work on Alsace-Lorraine, just published, says: "Having ensured a clear field for negotiation, Bismarck, it appears, began to feel some doubt as to the expediency of insisting on such large territorial demands as had been announced to France. Even after the conclusion of the armistice, he is reported to have been in conflict with Moltke and the military party who, in their inordinate exactions, were disposed to show little consideration and to brook no compromise. . . . For a considerable length of time the Chancellor adhered to the view that Germany ought not to insist on the cession of Metz and the adjacent territory." H. von Poschinger, in his *Conversations with Prince Bismarck*, says that on the day following the capitulation of Paris, Bismarck said: "As you see, we are keeping Metz; but I confess I don't like that part of the arrangement. Metz is French, and will be a hotbed of dissatisfaction for some time to come." Years afterward, Bismarck reaffirmed his disapproval of the seizure of Metz. Speaking in November, 1879, to M. de Saint-Vallier, the French Ambassador at Berlin, he said: "In taking from you Metz and part of Lorraine, the Emperor, my master, and the militarists who inspired this resolve, committed the greatest of political mistakes."

—EDITOR.]

INEFFICIENCY IN THE WAR RISK BUREAU

SIR,—I protest against your article on the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. Don't blame the clerks and messengers. Begin at the top, and endeavor to put there efficient men who know how to bring order out of the chaos. Take out the petty politics—eliminate the useless instructions and regulations.

I have recently returned from overseas. From six and more months' experience, I know the importance of getting cheques to families; but the "heads" make the work of clerks most ineffectual. One's heart strings are taut many many times a day, but there is no way to hurry. There is too much red tape. If one does suggest more efficient methods, nothing is done. The heads *don't want to know*. They are absorbed in playing politics for their own positions. One receives no satisfaction in any effort to help the workers. It is all so discouraging, and so ineffectual. Why doesn't Mr. Madden do something besides "talk"? Good wishes for your WEEKLY.

H. M. H.

Treasury Dept., Washington, D. C.

"BADLY SHAKEN MORALE"

SIR,—To the best of my knowledge, my loyalty to the cause of the Allies has never been questioned. I have been one of those, however, who have consistently maintained that when Germany had once surrendered we should then treat her generously. I held that there is no congenital difference between Germans and others; that they have been misinformed and misled; and that their philosophy and conduct of war were due to a tradition and system of education sedulously cultivated by a cynical ruling caste.

I remembered Carl Schurz, and the glorious days of '48. I was confident that the spirit of those times would reassert itself, that Germany would be regenerated, and again come into her own.

Then came the Revolution and the Armistice, and, Sir, I have been greatly chastened thereby! The events of the past few weeks make it difficult for one who would be a friend of Germany to retain his faith in her future. Her whining and whimpering about a starving population gets on one's nerves. She has brought that situation upon herself, and a large part of the rest of the world, and one would wish that, like Milton's fallen angel, she would take the consequences a little more silently and a little more heroically. She addresses her appeals to the heart of the outside world, yet she still continues to harden that heart by cruelly and barbarously mistreating prisoners of war. And this with an enlightened and disillusioned Germany in the saddle!

Finally, there is the matter of the German fleet. Without the loss of a single spar, or a scratch on their paint, some seventy-odd splendidly equipped ships of war deliberately sailed out to a humiliating surrender before having fired a single shot! Such an act on the part of the British or American navy is absolutely inconceivable. This is not a boast, but a simple statement of fact. As a friend remarked, the thing is positively uncanny. Yet these are the men who dreamed of Empire!

What kind of people are they? What is their psychology? Are they after all congenitally different from the rest of us? Sir, I begin to wonder. I find myself with my back to the wall, fighting desperately to retain my faith in Germany. And sir, I am going to take a vacation! For one week, I am going on a moral spree and "chuck" Germany and all faith in Germany. After that I shall have recovered my morale, and shall continue to advocate generous treatment and hope for Germany's reform. It must be done. It is the only thing that may work; but, Sir, I shall have something less of stomach and enthusiasm for the task. If, Sir, you can say anything that will facilitate my recovery, kindly do so.

CHAS. E. PAYNE.

(Dept. of History, Grinnell College.)

Grinnell, Iowa.

[We suggest to our candid friend that he continue his moral spree indefinitely—or at least until Germany shall have given the world more convincing evidence of spiritual regeneration than is yet available.—EDITOR.]

"WHAT ARE THE FACTS?"

SIR,—Some time ago I had painted over my business desk the words, "What are the Facts?" Since then I have been relieved of much work. Before, I was constantly asked for decisions on loosely stated data, which I was obliged to puzzle through to "get the facts." After the facts are obtained, a decision is usually easy. People can not well dispute about facts, but they are apt to dispute about what they *think* are the facts, but are not.

All of which has to do with the request that you continue your What-are-the-Facts Weekly, and further, that if you do, I may also be permitted to join the lists of "Life Subscribers" already begun.

Please do not yield to one request that I have read, that you take on advertising, illustrations, and all the other unwieldy paraphernalia of mediocrity and pot-boilers, but *keep your crystal-clear columns boiled down neat*, "as are," so that we who (have to, these days) run, may read. Please do not make your What-are-the-Facts Weekly universal, and do not attempt to cover everything. (Like the socialists who would take over and perfect at once all the expressions of human endeavor.)

There is coming a maelstrom of problems, a parting of the ways; new social and world relations are coming, new, untried, unknown, and uncharted. Please continue to help America to the Light. Please help keep in view the fundamentally correct principles of the tried and proven Americanism bequeathed to us by those who fought for and gave us these blessed free United States. Please devote that clear brain of yours to the

perpetuation of that good old American hard sense that has ensured us the square deal and the right to our individual lives.

There is urgent need of some channel like yours through which we can "get the facts," through which can come information from those who know.

An immediate problem for the guidance of public opinion by the submission of facts is, whether to have Public Ownership or not. That is only one. Here is a detail of that problem for you: It is all very well for a little circle of experts to discuss and agree on matters they already agree upon. The real problem is, how shall that worthy thought be disseminated to reach the man in the street, the man with the hoe, the voting mass who may have to decide these momentous questions? How to put the facts so as to reach them fairly in words of one syllable, or one half syllable better, so they can not misunderstand, but must understand? With but 7.7% only of our people illiterate, it should not be an insuperable job.

And again, please continue your What-are-the-Facts Weekly.

NEIL GRAY, JR.

Oswego, N. Y.

FOR COUNTRY AND (WE HOPE) FOR GOD

SIR,—President Wilson has helped make the world safe for democracy, and you are doing a work not less important. You are helping to make democracy safe for the world.

I wish I could fully express my feeling as to the importance of your work. It stands alone, and has no rival. Your wit and humor; your original, piquant, and always interesting style; and your genial and kindly spirit—these make the WEEKLY so enjoyable that, once acquainted with it, no one is willing to be without it, and it will soon be read by the great majority of Americans.

Everything you write is as clear as sunlight. There are no obscure meanings. Through your teaching we can all see and understand the great national and international movements. Your criticisms are always constructive. You give praise where praise is due, but woe to those who come under the sarcasm of your pen. Now that the war is over, you perhaps may find another name for your weekly, but for the sake of your country and your God keep on the good work, for there never will be another pen like yours.

MARIA UPHAM DRAKE.

Boston, Mass.

CRUEL AND WANTON NEGLECT

SIR,—Now that the War is over I am fearful that you may discontinue the WAR WEEKLY. To me that would be a calamity, for the WAR WEEKLY has been the means of exposing more instances of inefficiency in the Government than any publication I know of. For this reason I feel that I must bring to your attention an instance of complete and utter failure of the War Department in reporting casualties.

I have today received word through the medium of a letter written by an Army Chaplain in France to a friend at home that my nephew, Lieutenant Wm. H. Chandler, 7th Field Artillery, A. E. F., a Yale 1915 man, Phi Beta Kappa, was killed in action on or about October 12th.

Up to this date my niece has received no notification of the death of her husband more than two months ago. I am fully aware that this case is but one of hundreds, but could you want a more complete illustration of utter, cruel, and wanton neglect on the part of the War Department toward those who have given their all and have made the supreme sacrifice for their country?

A. P. BOWEN.

New York City.

AN IMPATIENT MISSISSIPPIAN

SIR,—When the time comes to write "Finis" on the war, may such time never come to cease the WAR WEEKLY. Why not, if you find no better way, print the *North American Review* in weekly installments? We simply cannot wait thirty days to hear from you.

J. R. BINGHAM.

Carrollton, Mississippi.

SOUTHERN PARTISANSHIP

SIR,—Now that the armistice has been signed, what would bring America and England closer together than the marriage of the Prince of Wales to an American girl?

I am sure a trip to Baltimore would result in his Royal Highness meeting the future Queen of England. Mr. Editor, stranger things have come to pass, what do you think of the idea?

From an impatient read of your WAR WEEKLY.

G. HOWARD TINLEY.

Baltimore, Md.

[Why drag in Baltimore?—EDITOR.]

MR. WILSON'S VICIOUS FLATTERY

SIR,—Before I knew your WAR WEEKLY, I did not know that it was indispensable either to me or to our country; but after reading it through four crucial months, I am convinced that it is indispensable both to me and to our country, in war or in peace. Therefore find enclosed my subscription for a year to the WAR WEEKLY and *North American Review*.

Incidentally, "may I not" suggest that President Wilson's position, as set forth in his message, that the initiative and resourcefulness of the American business man are so superior that governmental preparedness for peace and reconstruction is unnecessary, is very flattering to the American business man and the American people. It is equal to the flattery and to the wisdom of Mr. Bryan's position that we need not prepare for war, because the great American people, skilled in the use of arms, could put an army of a million men in the field over night, prepared to clean up on the greatest army of Europe.

The test of war has appraised the value of Mr. Bryan's flattery and wisdom as worse than worthless. It was absolutely vicious.

May our good American God and President Wilson, or the WAR WEEKLY, deliver us from this German Superman idea; for, entertaining it, we start the pursuit of peace with an awful handicap.

J. HOWARD KELLY.

Monessen, Pa.

GOOD CHEER FROM OREGON

SIR,—I hope you will continue the WAR WEEKLY. As an encouragement to do so, I am enclosing *The Spectator's* check for one year's subscription. The WAR WEEKLY is needed as much now as during the conflict—indeed, in the days of reconstruction its services to the country will be, if possible, more valuable than ever.

When you had *Harper's Weekly* (whose sale to, and murder by, our Bolsheviks were crimes for which the country has paid), I had some correspondence with you. In memory of that, I am taking the liberty of sending *The Spectator* to you—a poor reward, truly. You have done a great work for the country; more must be done; you seem to be the only writer who can do it. So, keep it up!

With kind regards,

HUGH HUME,
(Editor *The Spectator*.)

Portland, Oregon.

A "WELL OF ENGLISH" AND A "STYLE BOOK"

SIR,—I wonder if you could supply me with a complete file of the WAR WEEKLY from the first number? When I commenced receiving this remarkable journal I did not realize its epoch-making character, and failed to preserve it,—usually passing it on to some one else as too valuable to throw away. But now I realize it would be a splendid thing to refer to when I want to improve my expression and sharpen my wits. It is indeed a "well of English pure and undefiled," and it has, besides, much of permanent value bearing on American politics and the great War.

I have a son just out of the army who is taking up the profession of journalism, and I know of no better "style-book" to give him than the WAR WEEKLY. I sincerely hope that you plan to continue it permanently, even though it may be advisable to change its name later on.

THOS. D. MURPHY.

Red Oak, Iowa.

HAS ANYONE THESE NUMBERS TO SELL?

SIR,—Referring to your letter of October 24, in which you state that you are supplying the back numbers of the WAR WEEKLY except seven issues, I beg to state that I received the back numbers of the WEEKLY except nine issues, namely, 1, 2, 3, 4, 15, 16, 17, 26, and 32.

While I know the WAR WEEKLY does not accept any advertisements, would it be possible for them to accept one from me, asking if anyone has these numbers and, if they do not care to preserve them, if they would forward them to you? If you would pay whatever price you think is fair, I should be glad to compensate you for your trouble.

J. D. LYON.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

FROM TEXAS

SIR,—The letters of appreciation and commendation which you are receiving are so full and genuine that I beg to be associated with all those sentiments, but chiefly write to protest against the difficulty I experience in finding the WEEKLY at the news-stands, especially in the Middle West—and especially to add voice to protest against any possible thought of discontinuing its publication, at least during the life of its present Editor.

J. P. WITHERS.

Dallas, Texas.

Letters From Our Readers

INTELLECTUAL C₂H₅OH

SIR,—The WAR WEEKLY is as seductive and insidious to one's intellectual appetite as Kentucky C₂H₅OH is to the common or garden variety; and its perusal once accomplished, it creates as insatiable an appetite; but the WAR WEEKLY exhilarates your intellect and clarifies it. When it is due to arrive, I can't be happy until I have it. I can then become oblivious to the David-Karl-Rosner-Lawrence-creeling elucidations of another's compositions,—and recitations. I am fortified in my belief that God reigns and the Republic will be saved.

D. A. HARPER.

Washington, D. C.

GRATITUDE EXPRESSED

SIR,—Just two points:

1. The title of your great WEEKLY indicates its possible suspension when the cause for its origin is removed. Its power for good will continue undiminished; it has come to fill a position of public necessity. Keep it with us!

2. May I suggest that you give further space to labor problems? They are big and menacing, and must be handled, as only you can handle them, without gloves.

Our gratitude to you, Sir, for your able and untiring and patriotic efforts.

GUY D. HENRY.

Saginaw, Michigan.

WE HAVE WONDERED OURSELVES

SIR,—Pardon me for writing you this letter, which I am doing because I want you to know some of the things I am thinking about, and because I do not want you to discontinue your great little paper.

May I offer the suggestion that you continue the WAR WEEKLY, changing its name if desirable. Also, that you might call it the "Reconstruction Weekly," for we now face conditions that seem to be a great deal like those of 1865. The Southern Democracy has been in full control of this nation for nearly six years, and that control cannot be longer tolerated; it must and will end. As we do not want any carpet baggers, there opens a field for your WAR WEEKLY in a new dress.

Since reading your WAR WEEKLY I have often wondered just how you managed to keep out of a Federal prison, and I venture to say that many other of your readers have done likewise; will you not tell us how you did it?

G. H. VAN STONE.

Santa Fe, N. M.

FACTS ONLY

SIR,—As a reader of your WAR WEEKLY from almost the beginning of your publication, I wish to request that, if possible, you continue your publication for some time to come. Even though the war is practically over, your many thousands of readers will enjoy and appreciate the WAR WEEKLY. As far as my personal experience is concerned, it is about the only paper, with the possible exception of the *Providence Journal*, that has given the citizens of this Republic the facts that they should have.

Congratulating you on your good work, and trusting that it may continue, I beg to remain

ALEXANDER CATHCART.

St. Paul, Minn.

UNVARNISHED TRUTH

SIR,—I happen to know that I am going to get a renewal from Old Santa, otherwise I would make prompt remittance. I would not be without the REVIEW for several times the amount of the subscription, so long as Col. Harvey writes the editorials.

I also take the WAR WEEKLY, and the only thing that disturbs me is the possibility that its publication will be discontinued. I do not see why it should, at least for the next two years. We feel that what we read in it is the unvarnished truth; that the editor is not a paid writer for any interest. There certainly is a field for it in peace times. If it does not pay, raise the subscription. Put it at \$4 also.

V. R. CRANE.

Mott, North Dakota.

HIS FAVORITE GERM

SIR,—Keep the WAR WEEKLY going by all means! It is one of the best. I consider Col. Harvey's writings as the germ needed at present, as he expresses what is in the mind of thousands of citizens. Your WEEKLY has the preference among all my magazines.

E. E. GRAY.

Boston, Mass.

THE ENTENTE OF FREE NATIONS

BY

DAVID JAYNE HILL

(Former Ambassador to Germany)

Are We to Have a Reptile
Press?

Editorial

AND

The Freedom of the Seas

By Edward S. Corwin

The Significance of Victory

By Roland G. Usher

The Future of American
Aeronautics

By Earle Remington

The Psychology of the Red
Cross Movement

By H. Addington Bruce

Mexico Today

By William Gates

Shall We Accept the Uni-
verse?

By John Burroughs

IN

The North American Review
for January

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VOL. 1

WEEK ENDING DEC. 28, 1918

NO. 52



ALONE IN WASHINGTON

The Spirit of America

No League of Nations to Enforce War

(A SPEECH TO THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK CITY ON FOREFATHERS' DAY, DECEMBER 23, 1918)

Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen:

Of all the many notable banquets of this Society given since the evening of Forefathers' Day in 1805, when General Ebenezer Stevens raised his glass, as the saying now is in Paris, to your first President, James Watson, the most memorable by common assent is that which took place seventy-five years ago tonight. The scene was the great hall of the Astor House, then at the height of its long pre-eminence. The first speaker was no less famous a personage than Rufus Choate, and the last was the distinguished Mr. Aldham of the British Parliament. Between the two came the orator of the evening, the greatest orator of the land and of all lands, who was introduced with these meaningful words:

"Daniel Webster—the gift of New England to his country, his whole country and nothing but his country."

The phrase was his own, uttered by himself twenty years before at the dedication of the monument at Bunker Hill and frankly designed to circumscribe the full limits of his most lofty aspiration. Would that he were here tonight to reiterate, as he alone could do, that noble declaration; to clear away the mists which seem now to becloud our minds, to help us to regain the fading perspective of the Pilgrims and the Fathers; and to hold true to the pole of highest service to God and man the magnetic needle of American patriotism! But though none who has lived since the passing of that master mind would be so presumptuous as to attempt to portray what he would say now, we may perhaps derive some meed of guidance and inspiration, if not so surely of hope and confidence, from what he did say then.

Webster was noted in his day for prophetic insight and breadth of vision. How he would be regarded now when ambitions relating to the governance and regulation of foreign peoples are stretching from Washington to the uttermost parts of the earth we need not stop to inquire. His comprehension was frankly confined within the boundaries of his common sense. His contemplation was fully taxed by the possibilities of his own country. On that very evening, seventy-five years ago, he remarked at the outset that very recently he had "recurred to an exulting speech or oration of my own, in which I spoke of my country consisting of nine millions of people," and already, within so short a span, he beheld a teeming population of more than seventeen millions. In the light of this amazing growth, he knew no imagination "fertile enough," no conjecture "wild enough," to foretell the progress of the coming years.

What he did know, or felt that he knew, was the necessity of preserving intact and solid the foundations laid by the Pilgrims and the Fathers, upon which the structure of the great Republic was so rapidly climbing high among the nations of the earth. And whenever, in his pondering, he was abashed by the potentialities of the future, he turned instinctively and invariably to his great exemplar.

To the discerning mind of Webster, the chief exponent of Americanism, Washington was far more than the pattern or

model acclaimed by the world; he was more than the incarnation of an idea; he was a veritable archetype of the spirit of America. And nothing less than that ever held for a moment the massive brain of that godlike being. To have essayed to evolve from his inner consciousness vagarious interpretations of what is now termed upon occasion the "thought of America," would have seemed to him idle and unfruitful. It was not mere thought, supposed or superficial, that chained his attention. It was, in his own words, "*freedom of thought*" coupled, again in his own expressive idiom, with "respectability of individual character," that possessed his intellectual soul, and in Washington he found personification of this essence of Americanism.

This is not the time, although it could never be amiss, to dwell upon the remarkable reverence of Daniel Webster for George Washington, but I cannot forbear to mention, in passing, that the tribute which he treasured most was contained in the words, "He changed mankind's ideas of political greatness,"—an historical achievement undoubtedly, but one whose actuating impulse, we have to confess, hardly reached Mr. Webster himself and seems now to have disappeared completely from the purview of our most conspicuous statesmen.

That which I feel may interest you and which I know should concern you is the final adjuration of Washington which Webster held to be his best and the most vital to the fulfilment of the mission of their common country. It related, I need hardly say, to the continuing need of maintaining such relations with foreign Powers as would forever safeguard our liberties as a people by upholding our sovereignty unimpaired as a Nation. Trite as those words may be, familiar, indeed, as I hope they are to all of you, I ask you to listen for one moment to George Washington:

"Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by *artificial* ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or her enmities.

"Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

"It is our true policy to steer clear of *permanent* alliances with any portion of the foreign world.

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government."

I emphasize "*permanent*" as applied to alliances because we hear it so often said that already, in the great war just concluded, we have disregarded this injunction and must perforce continue an established relationship. I deny the implication. Washington never objected to an alliance formed

for a specific and worthy purpose. He frankly conceded and inferentially welcomed such a coalition. We may rest assured, moreover, that it would never have occurred to him to give an honorable alliance an aspect of aloofness, ambiguity and distrust by designating it with ostentatious caution as a mere and unique "association."

"Taking care always," he wrote, "to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies."

That is what we have just done and all that we have done, in self-protection and as in honor bound, and we are in no way committed, as yet, to a single step further along the path of meddlesome intrusion. High officials may voice expansive personal views and strive to realize equally lofty ambitions, but only definite action of the whole Government as prescribed by the Constitution can pledge the United States to a policy which contravenes all of its traditions and invites immeasurable perils.

I emphasize "artificial" as applied to ties with other Powers to be avoided because it is the term used by Washington to mark the distinction of *natural* obligations to our neighbors, which constitutes the germ of the Monroe Doctrine and I stress "constantly" in his warning to posterity to keep alive to the dangers recited, because it was addressed to us of today and to all succeeding generations.

I need hardly add, what everybody knows, that the Monroe Doctrine itself rests solely upon the correlative declaration of John Quincy Adams that America also has "a set of primary interests" and that "therefore, the interference of Europe in those concerns should be spontaneously withheld by her upon the same principles that we have never interfered with hers"; that Andrew Jackson insisted that the slightest departure from this rule "must be avoided always"; that Abraham Lincoln, even while taxing the resources of the North to their utmost in saving the Union, threatened to uphold it by force of arms; that Ulysses S. Grant stood ready to sustain it any moment; and that finally Grover Cleveland placed the capstone upon the edifice of National policy by directing Richard Olney to notify the world that "today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects upon which it confines its interposition."

Here, then, succinctly stated, is the great basic principle of the Republic, self-government for America and self-government for Europe, promulgated by Washington and sustained, strengthened and expanded without deviation by the long line of patriotic Presidents, legislators and jurists to this very year. With what results? In the first quarter century an increase in population from three millions to nine millions. In the second quarter century, as exultingly proclaimed by Webster to this Society seventy-five years ago tonight, from nine millions to seventeen millions, and since that memorable evening, a very short period in the life of a nation, from seventeen to more than one hundred millions of the most intelligent, most progressive and most prosperous people on the face of the earth. Contented? No. Pray God they may never be! Contentment is not happiness. Sloth cannot produce advancement. Inertia is the bed of socialism. Underneath and constantly urging onward and upward this mighty aggregation of mingled races, now more firmly united than ever before by its baptism of fire, is the virile spirit of

America, germinated from the seed of religious liberty and propagated by the sagacity of the Fathers of the Republic which gained for us, not individual freedom only, but freedom to be masters of our own destiny.

Consider! Never once in more than a hundred years, if we except the few battles waged in strict conformity with our declared policy in behalf of a helpless neighbor, was this country engaged in conflict with an old-world Power and never once, since the battle of New Orleans, has foreign foe put foot upon American soil. During all that time this, the prize most tempting of all to covetous rulers continued by common assent immune. Why? Because, adhering faithfully as we did to our great tradition, we interfered with nobody, and nobody could devise so much as a pretext to interfere with us. Could more convincing evidence of the wisdom of a course marked for the guidance of a young and growing commonwealth be desired? And is a policy which thus has proved itself to be abandoned lightly? Have we, by instinct and training a prudent people, suddenly been bereft of our senses? Must we, abruptly disregarding the beneficence of the past, fare forth into foreign lands looking for trouble?

If so, why? Surely our position was never before so nearly impregnable as it is today. When you consider that, despite our pitiable state of unreadiness at the beginning and our virtual waste of a year in our prosecution of the late war, we nevertheless in a few months put a million fighting men on the far battle line and convinced foe and friend alike that before any great lapse of time we should have in Flanders an army equal in size and efficiency to the armies of all combined, is it conceivable that our country, now the creditor of all Europe, could be suspected by anyone not wholly mad of being incapable of either successful defense or competent aggression? Not for ourselves, assuredly, are we venturing upon untrodden and hitherto forbidden paths. For whom, then? For the Allies with whom we persist, not wholly apparently to their liking, in being academically and judically associated? True, they are human realists. They could hardly be other after having been subjected for four long years to the bestial ravaging of the Huns. But is their case so desperate and their mentality so impaired that they must lean dejectedly and helplessly upon our supernal wisdom? Indeed, it cannot be. For fifty years, all Europe sat in the shadow of death. For fifty long years the cancer of national lust gnawed at the very vitals of her civilizing existence. Palliative remedies were vain. The knife alone could save. But the knife *has* saved. The operation, praise God, with our assistance at the critical moment, has ended successfully. The cancer is removed. The menace no longer exists. Germany lies prostrate, helpless,—a skulking, whining suppliant at the bar of righteous judgment. What her penalty shall be is no concern of ours. It must and should be fixed by those whom she has most grievously wronged. Fifty years at hard labor she gave to prepare for her campaign of loot and lust. Fifty years at harder labor let her give to make amends. At that, it would be too little. Ever thereafter she should be held in bonds, as a mad dog in a cage, stripped to the bone of power again to menace a Christian world.

But does anyone imagine that France and England and Belgium and Serbia are incapable of affixing the guilt and exacting the penalty? Is it incumbent upon us to point to them, the ravished remnants of their races, the way of a peace that shall endure? Even though, as all must realize, no con-

ceivable severity of punishment could match the atrocity of the crimes committed, it is not for us who have been injured least to bewail the verdict of those who have suffered most. No more, then, for the safety, aid and guidance of our friends than for the wellbeing of ourselves do we wander far afield in heedless disregard of precepts crystallized by time and crowned with unexampled success.

Why then do we go? What was our impelling motive in setting sail upon a ship made in Germany and misnamed with unconscious irony the *George Washington*, not in scrupulous avoidance, but in eager pursuit, of entangling alliances? America, we are assured by our former Pacifists, now become anaemic altruists, wants nothing, not a dollar of the money which we were forced to expend and whose collection to the last penny is warranted by law and custom, not even such inadequate compensation as money can afford to the families of the innocent and unoffending men, women and children who were murdered in cold blood upon the high seas. No indemnities! we are told with a sternness almost implying that we, and not the fiendish Huns, are the real criminals.

Do you appreciate what that means? This war will have cost us thirty billions of dollars. Somebody must pay it. If we waive our just claim, that huge sum will constitute our voluntary contribution to the war fund of Germany. And it is no trifle. Reckoning each as an earner for only two besides himself, the annual payment exacted from you who now occupy this hall tonight would exceed fifty thousand dollars and it would continue to be drawn year after year to the end of time from your children and your children's children. Worse even than that, notice would be given to the world that hereafter any predatory Power might wage warfare upon this magnanimous country and be required, even if beaten, only to divide the cost.

But we are told that Germany cannot pay! Cannot pay? With nine-tenths of her productive labor under arms, she furnished seven billions a year for four years in her dastardly attempt to conquer the world. Surely in time of peace she can provide three billions a year for fifty years. At any rate, she can and should be made to try. And the infamous scoundrel now living and plotting at ease in Holland who, whether he gave the order or not, pinned the iron cross upon the breast of the captain who sank the *Lusitania*, must be brought to the bar of justice and tried, convicted and hanged for the murder of the Frohmans, the Hubbards, the Pearsons and the kiddies whom Alfred Vanderbilt vainly gave his life to save.

But it is not for any of these righteous purposes that we have gone to Paris. America "wants nothing,"—wants nothing so badly that even her Chief Magistrate hies himself across the sea to get it. Truly, a marvelous spectacle! Five American commissioners at the great conference to speak avowedly for the world, but if one voice is to be raised for this orphaned country, the fact is yet to be revealed. And yet, we are informed, their mission is not wholly pacific. They are "to fight." To fight whom? Germany? Austria? Turkey? No, praise be to God, that task is finished. Whom, then, if not our Allies, who saved our country and our lives? And for what? For an ideal—a glorious ideal; for a League, a mighty League of Nations, to enforce—what? Peace? No. To enforce war,—war upon every people who refuse to bow to the edicts of the self-appointed tribunal.

That is the declared purpose, the *sine qua non*, of this great free Republic, who herself established the divine right of revolution, who herself achieved her independence by force of arms and who herself would be a subject colony today if such a League as she now proposes had existed when the great bell in Philadelphia rang out the knell of despotism upon this continent from the Bering Sea to the Strait of Magellan.

What, if he were here again tonight as in 1843, would Webster say of this bewildering adventure and no less amazing undertaking? We do not need to conjecture. We know. This scheme of domination by associated Powers possesses no element of novelty. A precisely similar Alliance came into being during Webster's lifetime. It, too, was called Holy. It, too, "was formed," we read, "in the spirit of fraternity, to protect Religion, Peace and Justice" and was pledged to "take as its sole guide the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity and Peace." "It was," we read further, "the scheme of a pietistic idealist." It, too, was a League to Enforce War, and it did enforce war. And this is what Daniel Webster, standing in his place in the House of Representatives and pleading the cause of stricken Greece said of that League in words that ring as true today as then.

"These doctrines," he thundered, "are totally hostile to the fundamental principles of our Government. They are in direct contradiction. The principles of good and evil are hardly more opposite. If these principles be true, then we are but in a state of rebellion or of anarchy, and are tolerated among civilized states because it has not yet been convenient to reduce us to the true standard. . . . There cannot be conceived a more flagrant violation of public law or National independence. . . . The avowed object of such declarations is to preserve the peace of the world. But by what means is it proposed to preserve this peace? Simply by bringing the power of all governments to bear upon all subjects. . . . There are, in short, no longer to be nations. There is to be an end of all patriotism, as a distinct national feeling. . . . But if it be true that there hereafter will be no Russian, Prussian, Austrian, French nor even, which yet I will not believe, an English policy, there will be, I trust in God, an American policy. . . . It will yet remain for us to secure our own happiness by the preservation of our own principles. . . . What do we not owe to the cause of civil and religious liberty? to the principle of lawful resistance? to the principle that society has a right to partake in its own government? Does it not become us, then, is it not a duty imposed upon us, to let mankind know that we are not tired of our own institutions and to protest against the asserted power of altering at pleasure the law of the civilized world? . . . There is not a Power in Europe which can suppose that we are governed by

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any desire of aggrandizing ourselves or of injuring others. We do no more than to maintain established principles and to resist the introduction of new principles and new rules, calculated to destroy the relative independence of states and particularly hostile to the whole fabric of our Government. . . . Sir, I want words to express my abhorrence of this abominable programme."

So spoke this greatest of patriots. He uttered no nebulous, imagined "thought" of America; he proclaimed in tones of thunder the spirit of America, the spirit of the Pilgrims, the spirit of the Fathers, the spirit, God grant, of the sons, the sons of the living present rejoicing in their noble heritage, proud of the matchless sovereignty of their mighty nation and eager to pass it on unimpaired to countless generations of free men and free women,—“a star for every State, and a State for every star."

Is that a narrow view? Have times really so changed that we owe it to humanity to toss our cherished Republic into a melting pot to be mashed into a pulp of international socialism? Surely nothing could run more counter to Puritanism, which not only sprang from a spirit of revolt against untruth but, as Lowell aptly says, "believing itself quick with the seed of religious liberty, laid, without knowing it, the egg of democracy." Behold the fruition! America has not failed in her duty to the world. Not only has she afforded a safe refuge and unrestricted opportunity for oppressed and suffering beings throughout the earth, but by showing that "liberty with law is fire on the hearth while liberty without law is fire on the floor," she has proved democracy itself. By her example far more than by her precepts and far more than any other agency she has shattered the idols of monarchy and brought thrones crashing to the ground. Shall the continuing and ever-increasing effects of that example be now dispensed with? Can better than the glorious results already attained be reasonably anticipated from a mingling of her undefiled spirit with the diverse and incongruous elements of the Old World? All teaching, all tradition, all experience, points the contrary. We not only assume but demand virtual guardianship of the Western Hemisphere. Is not that enough? Is it not all that we can safely or ought to be asked to undertake? Would we not better still the ferment in Mexico and Peru and Chili and San Domingo and Costa Rica before attempting to foist everlasting peace upon the Balkans? And have we no vital problems within our own boundaries crying for solution? "To thine own self be true," applies with force no less as to a nation than to an individual.

I accord unstinted admiration to those whose largeness of view enables them to say, with Garrison, "My country is the world, my countrymen are mankind"; but, being as I am, I am more than content to walk humbly, reverently, in the footsteps of Daniel Webster in the service of "my country and nothing but my country," and I have only to regret that we cannot hear that great voice ring out tonight as it did ring out, in closing, to this Society seventy-five years ago tonight:

"Thank God, I—I also—am an American!"

The A. P. reports that the censorship has not been removed from matters of concern to Great Britain or France. Now if some vivid imagination can conjecture something in connection with the Peace Conference which does not concern Great Britain or France, we may know where we are at.

Squaring the Fourteen Circles

"THERE is every indication," says the President's Rosner, the faithful David Lawrence, "that there has been thorough discussion and possibly an understanding between France, Great Britain, Italy and the smaller nations already over the Balkan problem, but with the arrival of President Wilson the necessity arises of canvassing the same ground over again to see if the tentative solutions reached square with his interpretation of the fourteen points."

And just as likely as not all those statesmen have got to undo all they have done and do it all over again! And serve them precious well right, say we! It was little short of sheer impudence on the part of the Lloyd Georges, the Clemenceaus, the Orlandos, the Fochs and all the rest of the small fry to go meddling with settlements of questions, tentative or otherwise, before the peripatetic Government which does not still live at Washington got there. They had the Colonel with them, to be sure, and they may have mixed those Houses up. But they ought to have known that the Colonel isn't the White House. The White House was sailing the ocean blue sea while those futile London "settlements" and "agreements" were under way. How could they know what the Fourteen Commandments meant? How could anybody know? The whole world has been trying to find out what they mean ever since they were handed down from on high, and nobody has got any "forrarder." We doubt very much if Colonel House himself knows, notwithstanding his sly "I-could-an'-I-would" air. If they have been "interpreted" to him we are very sure he is more fuddled than ever over them. You see they are capable of being interpreted in forty different ways, and every way is diametrically opposite to every other way. That is the mystic beauty of them. The managers of that old tripod oracle plant at Delphos may have thought they knew something about handing out Jack Bunsbyisms. The Fourteen Commandments have got them beaten a mile. And yet those amateur statesmen in London dared to fool with those same Commandments and make agreements and what not based on them!

But now the Head Master is there, ready to look over their foolish little theses with amused tolerance and then show them all how far away they all are from "squaring" with the Official Interpretation—in other words, from squaring a circle. The Head Master has not done it yet himself. The key to the Fourteen Chinese Puzzle Riddles is still locked up in his own keeping. It is still a sacred secret of the cloister. When the key is brought out and the riddle unriddled, we shall not blame Colonel House if he smiles that diplomatic smile of his, which he admits is a camouflage smirk, and looks as though he knew it all the time. We shall not blame him, but we shall reserve the opinion that he didn't know any more than anybody else about what the Commandments meant, and that is precisely nothing at all. He is a sly dog, the Colonel, de-e-evlish sly!

But it is a tough job David Lawrence has laid out for those puzzle-headed statesmen, a tough job to make their premature agreements square the Fourteen Circles. Maybe they will not be reprimanded before the whole school, but it is about ten to one that they will be sent to the foot of the class. And they have got a tougher job ahead of them yet. Wait until they get the task of interpreting the Interpretation

in both written and oral examination! And just as likely as not they will have piled on top of that the job of interpreting the Master's interpretation of the Interpretation! They will not be too proud to fight before they are out of that mess. They will want to fight. They may want to vote to resume the war.

Now that Mr. B. M. Baruch and Mr. Dunce McCormick have "been summoned" to Paris, Mr. Tumulty must indeed begin to feel "alone in Washington." The last heard from Mr. Marshall, oddly enough, he was somewhere in Pennsylvania telling his fellow citizens that the League to Enforce War did not look very promising to his parochial mind.

The Sensible Programme

THE way to make peace is to make peace. That would seem to be a truism. Yet, strange to say, it seems to be ignored in most of the discussions and forecasts of the approaching Peace Conference. Judging from a large part of current discussion, even in high places, one might suppose that the principal function of that body would be to do almost anything else rather than make peace, and that the latter duty was to be relegated to the last place on the programme.

Logically, rationally, profitably, the processes of peace-making are threefold, in succession.

First come cessation of fighting and tentative surrender; which have in this case already been achieved in the armistice.

Second comes settlement with the conquered enemy, including the fixing of terms under which the temporary cessation of fighting will become permanent, the exaction of suitable indemnity, and the securing of guarantees against a renewal of hostilities. That, we take it, is the proper work of the Peace Conference, and is the work to which it should first of all address itself, to the exclusion of everything which would delay or compromise that achievement.

There should be the formal declaration and pledge of peace. There should be complete restoration of Belgium—territorially, economically and politically, without reservation or demur; without even the right of discussion by Germany. That we hold to be the primary *sine qua non*. There should be similar restoration of the ravaged provinces of France, followed by the return of Alsace and Lorraine and the repayment with interest of the billion dollars tribute exacted in 1871. There should be surrender of Italia Irredenta, and restoration of Serbia. There should be indemnity to Great Britain for losses inflicted, and to the United States, and all other nations which have suffered from Hunnish ravages. There should be, at least to the fullest possible extent, indemnification of the Allies and America for the expenses of the war.

There should be assurance of the right of self-determination for the peoples of the former German and Austro-Hungarian empires and of the Turkish empire; including the Danes, Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs, Serbs, Roumanians, Greeks, and Armenians. There should be suitable disposition of the former colonies of Germany. The individuals responsible for the crimes which have been com-

mitted against the laws of nations should be surrendered, to be dealt with by the criminal courts. And the strongest possible guarantees of Germany's future good behavior should be exacted.

All these things belong to that second part of the peace-making programme which should first of all come before the Peace Conference, and which should be disposed of before the third part is taken up. These things, too, should be decided upon by the Allies without giving Germany any voice in the discussion. They are the proper terms of a dictated peace. All that Germany would have to do should be to listen and to acquiesce. That is logical. That is just. For Germany stands before the Conference as a convicted criminal stands at the bar of the court. She is convicted by the testimony and judgment of the world, and by her own confession. Nothing remains but for sentence to be pronounced, and that is the function of the court and not of the criminal. To permit Germany to discuss these matters with the Powers would be equivalent to letting the convicted murderer discuss with the judge whether he was to be hanged or imprisoned for life.

It is only after this second part of the programme has been disposed of that the third and final part is in order. That third part will naturally comprise those readjustments of relationships among the Allies and the neutral Powers which seem necessary or desirable because of the changes effected by the war, or because of the lessons taught by it. It will include, for example, those proposals for a League of Nations, for Freedom of the Seas, for the abolition of economic barriers, and what not, which some have been and are prematurely exploiting as though they were the be-all and the end-all of the conference. We have no doubt that these topics will be taken up for consideration by the Conference, and that they will in some way be disposed of, though we should doubt if in all cases that end would be fully attained by the Conference itself. It would be quite fitting, and far more convenient and business-like, to remit some of them, at least, to international commissions, for investigation and study, and for subsequent report to the signatory Powers for such treaty action as they might then desire. Some of these matters are so complex and require so much consideration that they could not be satisfactorily disposed of in a brief conference; and it would be an intolerable hardship to require such a body as this is to be, including the chief administrators of the nations, to remain in indefinitely prolonged session.

It might seem to be difficult for a Presbyterian to arrange all difficulties between the Quirinal and the Vatican, but such may not prove to be the case; after all, so far as we can recall, no Presbyterian ever before made the attempt.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Saturday.—Five of President Wilson's fourteen principles of peace were held up in the Senate today by Senator Lodge, the Republican leader, as questions which might lead to division among the nations which have conquered Germany, and which certainly should be postponed until after the peace conference. They are the first four and the last of the points enunciated by the President in his speech of January 8, 1918, and relate to secret diplomacy, freedom of the seas, economic barriers, reduction of armaments and the league of nations.—*The Herald*.

And then there were nine.

The New Socialism

IF the Democratic Party, under the leadership of Mr. McAdoo, chooses to make the next Presidential campaign on purely socialistic issues, the country will be the better for the contest. It will clear the air mightily. Government ownership and operation of all industries will then be out in the open. That in itself will be a distinct improvement over present dishonest efforts to thrust Socialism down the country's throat under false pretenses of "war measures" when there is no war.

The country has never passed upon Federal ownership and control of railroads, telephones, telegraph and cable lines. It has never had an opportunity to do so. So far as indications thus far ahead count, there is reasonable ground for belief that the next national election will afford that opportunity.

It will be a relief to have the issue squarely presented to the people for their decision. We can then thresh it out on its merits. If we decide to go in for Socialism, well and good. At least we shall be Socialistic of our own choice, and not by edict of bureaucratic hypocrisy.

Mr. McAdoo says that he is not clear in his own mind whether he wants Government Ownership or not. All he asked, so far as the railroads are concerned, was such an extension of time as would make their restoration to private ownership an impossibility. If, after five years of Government operation, the railroads would not be reduced to such a snarl as would make their untangling and distribution among their rightful owners simply hopeless, then the hash to which Federal administration has reduced them during a comparatively brief period is meaningless. So far as mercantile shipping is concerned, Mr. McAdoo long before the war advocated the taking over by the Government of that branch of commerce. If he is unconvinced on that subject now, he has changed his mind. But perhaps it is only about the railroads that he is uncertain. Perhaps he has no more definite views on the railroad question than had the President when the latter told Congress that he hadn't any. And yet Mr. McAdoo informs us that his own plan to hold the railroads long enough to make their return to private ownership an impossibility had the President's full approval.

But at least Mr. McAdoo will admit that he is open to conviction on the question, and if he were called upon to run for President on a Government Ownership platform with the organized forces of millions of railroad men and the Federation of Labor back of him, it is not rash to assume that he would make the sacrifice. It would not be a dull campaign. The issues at stake would be rather sizable. It would be necessary to determine whether we were an American Republic on the lines laid down by the Fathers and conducted not unsuccessfully for 130 years or so, or whether we are a Socialistic Republic conducted on lines made in Germany, with Trotsky-Lenine Russian ideals in the anteroom awaiting introduction. That would be the whole question. Even the present Administration has had dreams of socialistic ventures far beyond those already realized. The "taking over" of the packing house industries has been under serious contemplation. Extension of paternalism to control of the gold, silver, iron and copper mines and the steel industry, in all its branches, as well as about everything else of large size, has been openly advocated on the floor of the Senate.

Of course there is another side to the socialistic pro-

gramme which is not dwelt upon, but which is nevertheless an important number on the bill. This is the fact that it would not be a question of the Government owning and operating the industries, but the certainty of the employees in the industries owning and operating the Government. It would be the organized and Government-endowed forces of amalgamated Government employees who would put a political party in power and keep it there as long as it raised wages, shortened hours, and loaded the deficits on the taxpayers. The Politicalmaster General is not unaware of this feature of the question. A limitless vision of inflated payrolls in the hands of organized and opulent Deserving Democrats is not beyond the scope of his cheering reveries.

It has been the Democratic Party's lucky lead of late years. First the war came along just in time to save it from being kicked out neck and crop. And now there is this New Socialism epoch, with millions of Government employees already organized, financed and equipped at Government expense for the fight, and back of them the Federation of Labor, whose leader, Frank G. Morrison, has already come out strong for the cause, with the assurance that the Federation's support can be counted on to the limit. And still back of this formidable array are the forces of socialistic fanaticism in all its many forms from the parlor variety to the Bolshevik ghost dancers.

All of which is well. No matter what the result, it will be better than the Burleson brand of the same article. If the New Socialism wins, it will win after a fair open fight, and not by lying pretenses of being a war measure for a non-existent war.

Hog Island really produced one ship for \$61,000,000. Not so bad, as things go!

The Navy We Need

IF we are going in for a big navy it will not necessarily be to have a navy as big or bigger than anybody else's. It will be because we want a big navy, and the reason we want it will be because we need it in our business. Our commerce, carried in our own ships, is going to spread all over the seven seas, unless we elect to continue the same fatuous inertia in that respect which has characterized us for the past fifty years. And that, let us hope, is what we are not going to do. We are going to have a mercantile marine worthy of the country. That seems to be settled and that alone demands a correspondingly strong navy. We have thousands of miles of coastline to guard. We have our island possessions and the Panama Canal to look after. We are not going to expect war and by the same token we are not going to expect the millennium. The world counted on the millennium for fifty years, and the world is just emerging from the welter of wreckage and slaughter incident to that abiding faith.

It is not to get us into war that we want a big navy. It is to keep us out of it. Had we been equipped with a navy commensurately as powerful as that of England, it is doubtful if the Hun piracy issue would have been pushed to the extreme which made our entrance into the conflict inevitable. Possibly in our excessive pride over not fighting in those days it would have kept us out of war. It would have been a sad thing if it had kept us out of such a war as one which

summoned every decent nation of the world, but just as likely as not it would have done so. We do not expect war and of a surety we do not want war. And that is precisely the reason why we do want a navy—our first line of defense—so powerful that nobody will want war with us. It is not a question of how large England's navy is or may be. That is her business. A navy big enough and strong enough to protect our rightful interests the world over, without calling upon any of our neighbors for help; a navy strong enough to make a hostile demonstration against us by no matter how powerful an aggressor a matter to give that aggressor serious matter for consideration—that is the kind of navy we want, the kind that the dignity, the wealth, and the widely expanding world responsibilities of the country demand. The building and the maintenance of such a navy as that is our business, just as the building and maintenance of England's navy is England's business. It is not at all a question of competition in navy building between us and England, or between us and anybody else. It is purely a question of going ahead with our navy until it is big enough and strong enough to protect our shores, our canal, our islands and our commerce. If we come out of what we have just gone through without amassing enough plain horse sense to do that and to lay the foundations, by enforced military training, of an army commensurate with our navy, then we are the same stupid dreamers we have been for the last half century, and deserve anything that may be coming to us unless it be good luck.

With one eye on the Versailles Peace Conference, the Republicans in Congress are reported to be hanging in the wind about endorsing a strong navy programme. What the Versailles Peace Conference may bring forth is on the knees of the gods. If it brings forth nothing in particular bearing on the League of Nations dream, we may go on and build just an ordinarily big-enough navy to take care of our interests without calling on any of our neighbors for help. If it brings out anything in the international millennium line, then we had better double the battleship, dreadnought, and armored cruiser programme, and look out for breakers.

Demobilize the Autocratic Forces

MR. CLARENCE MACKAY, in discussing Burleson's raid on the cables and his turning over of the entire Postal and Commercial lines to the administration of that company's bitter competitor of so many years' standing, cited Mr. Ferrand's history covering the times of Andy Johnson. Andy's troubles, according to the historian, were largely due to a stubborn persistence in the exercise of executive power not rightfully his to exercise.

Making due allowances for temperamental failings, the historian's view seems to be in accord with that of other students of the Johnson impeachment episode. Andy during the Civil War acquired the war autocratic habit, just as have some others in the present Administration during the war just ended. The fact that war is over does not seem to make any difference. The autocracy goes right on. No matter how palpable may be the spirit of laws made during the war, and plainly as they were intended to cover only the era of actual hostilities, under cover of those laws, arbitrary acts of seizure and confiscation of property are brazenly car-

ried out in the face of all dictates of reason and fairness to the legislators who voted powers explicitly defined as dependent solely upon conditions of national peril arising from actual hostilities. It is a habit which seems to be infectious in the entire Washington bureaucratic atmosphere. Of course the Politicalmaster General has the worst case of it, but there are others either still suffering from it or barely convalescent.

"It would seem," says Mr. Ferrand in the book on the *Development of the United States* which Mr. Mackay quotes, "as if the members of Congress were instinctively right in opposing the overweening power of the President which had grown up in war time."

The trouble with the present Congress is that it is suffering from collapse of spirit due to war habits of dumb obedience to the crack of the autocratic Executive whip, just as the autocrats are still suffering from the autocratic habit. It has not yet mustered the spirit to oppose overweening power grown up in war time. It still cringes when it hears its master's voice. With the next Congress, let us hope, there will be a change in all that. It is high time there were such a change. It is high time, in this season of demobilization, that the Washington autocratic forces were demobilized. They have got the dictatorial, "verboden" habit. It is a bad habit. It got stubborn old Andy Johnson into trouble, and there are those who well may profit by Andy's example. The country is getting exceedingly tired of Burlesonism. It is tired of autocracy; tired of the autocratic forces. They are all right enough in time of war. But the war is over and they do not fit in well with American ideas of things in times of peace. Autocracy dies hard. The autocratic forces do not like to surrender. They cling stubbornly to their formation. But their day, so far as the late war is concerned, is passed. They do not seem to realize it themselves as yet, but the hour of their demobilization has struck.

"By what authority are delegates to the Peace Conference demanding the destruction of enemy property in part surrendered to the United States?" asks Senator Lodge. The question is pertinent, in view of the reports; but are they really making so preposterous a demand? It seems hardly credible. If one believed all he hears from Paris nowadays, he would soon become fit only for a lunatic asylum.

"Father and I are out," says young Mr. Hohenzollern. It suggests a certain famous old ballad by Will Carleton, and still more strongly a companion piece by the same author entitled, "Over The Hills to the Poor House."

The French are pleased, as one man put it, with Mr. Wilson's "willingness to learn," and remark that Henry White is the best informed of the mission on European affairs.—*The Tribune*.

Meaning, we suppose, that he can speak French.

The American delegation, it is said, recognizes the need of clarification and is asking for it.—*A. P. dispatch*.

Who said that the delegation was not truly representative of the American people?

Burleson in Action

WHAT permanent Government control of the telephone, telegraph and cable system of this country would mean, under the present Administration, at any rate, may reasonably and justly be judged by the manner in which the postal service has been managed by Mr. Burleson. We do not now refer to the inefficiency of that service. We refer to the political manipulation and prostitution of the service for partisan if not for personal ends, in direct violation of the spirit if not of the letter of the law.

It will be recalled that under the Roosevelt and Taft administrations all fourth-class postmasters were placed in the classified and competitive civil service, so that they were made irremovable save for cause, and vacancies were to be filled through competitive examination. Soon after Mr. Wilson became President, however, Mr. Burleson announced that this arrangement should be practically annulled, save in the cases of postmasters already appointed through examination, and that all other postmasters, the great majority, should be required to pass competitive examinations for reappointment. The friends of the merit system recognized the potential benefits of this course, provided it was properly carried out, but they had grave doubts as to its execution.

How well founded those doubts were the event showed. The Postmaster-General, instead of making appointments strictly according to merit as shown in the results of the examinations, adopted the plan of asking members of Congress for their advice concerning eligible candidates; a practice apparently in direct violation of the law, which forbade the reception or consideration—not to mention the solicitation—of any such advice. Mr. Burleson tried to dodge the charge of lawbreaking on the preposterous pretence that he got advice from Congressmen "not in their capacity as members of a political party" but as representatives of the districts and communities which the postmasters were to serve.

How this interesting system worked, results disclose. The report of the Federal Civil Service Commission in November, 1916, showed that where there was any choice among candidates, considerably fewer than one-third of the incumbents had been reappointed; and that in similar cases, instead—as he pretended—of generally appointing the candidate who passed the examination with the highest rating, he did so in only a little more than one-half of the cases; to be precise, 57 per cent. It may be added, by the way, that under the Roosevelt administration the candidate passing highest was appointed in nearly 90 per cent. of the cases. Nor can there be any doubt of the reason for this small percentage of appointments of the highest eligibles under Mr. Burleson. Representative Moss, of Indiana, declared frankly that he invariably recommended the appointment of Democrats, regardless of their rank in the competitive examinations; and Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia, declared that under a Democratic administration appointees should be Democrats, and all he wanted to know from candidates seeking his recommendation for appointment was, how they voted in National elections. In other words, the merit system and the law were ignored to the fullest possible extent, and appointments were made not for merit but for partisan reasons.

Following this, Mr. Burleson proceeded to raid for partisan purposes the rural free delivery service. Using as a pretext a Congressional resolution providing a certain rate

of pay for carriers using motor vehicles, he arbitrarily created a new class of "Motor Rural Carriers." He ordered examinations to be held for the filling of the places, and made appointments from the eligible lists, not from the heads of the lists, but of candidates selected by party Congressmen; and while the ostensible purpose was to secure competent motor-car drivers for the service, the candidates in competition were not examined at all as to their experience and ability in operating such vehicles! Of course, the result was the dropping of hundreds of competent and faithful carriers and the filling of their places with political appointees.

Senate Warnings

IN default of that representation at the peace conference which by rights it should have, the United States Senate is taking the only dignified method available to put itself on record regarding certain matters now listed for prominence in the Versailles deliberations. By full and free debate, followed by action of some sort, the Senate, in a series of resolutions, may make very clear to the peace conferees the real attitude of the American people, for whom the President is qualified to speak only by those powers of "intuition" with which he apparently credits himself.

The embarrassment incident to a refusal of the Senate's assent to a peace on terms agreed to by the President and the Allies is obvious. In every way a deadlock of that sort would be deplorable. It might put back the final proclamation of peace for months.

It is of the last importance, therefore, that there be no misconceptions as to the actual attitude of our great treaty-making body, the United States Senate, on any of the vital issues involved. It is only by the avoidance of such misconceptions that the danger of a refusal of our Senate to ratify may be averted. To what extent Mr. Burleson and the creel forces may permit the Senate discussions to reach Europe is uncertain. A plea of congested cables, under stress of urgent Government business, is always available. And this holds, no matter how definite may be the assertions of full and uncensored communication. But, however that may be, the Senate can only put itself on record. Having done so, the responsibility for a treaty proposal involving conditions against which it has in advance committed itself will rest upon other shoulders than those of the United States Senate.

By all odds the most sensible way of avoiding a rock on which, so far as we are concerned, the work of the peace conference might split is that embodied in the resolution of Senator Knox. Under the Knox plan peace might be proclaimed when the objects for which we went to war are reached and secured by sufficient precautions and guarantees. Germany thrust war upon us primarily by persistence in piracy and the murder of our citizens on the high seas. In addition to this we were forced into a war of self-defense by the revelation of Germany's obvious determination to put her crushing heel upon all the nations of the earth, including our own. When the piracy is suppressed, when indemnities for acts of piracy shall have been paid, or guaranteed, and when Germany has been made impotent for generations to come to resume her efforts at world domination, then, so far as we are concerned, the objects for which we went to war are attained.

The Week

WASHINGTON, December 26, 1918.

"**D**E sun do move!" insisted Brother Jasper; and if the sun, so, too, that comparable luminary of the political and diplomatic world whom an enthusiastic correspondent has described as an Apostolic figure, carrying light to the Gentiles and the people who sit in darkness. Interviews and conferences in Paris, with a Christmas dinner with the boys at the front, have kept the President busy, and have marked progress, presumably, toward some of the objects of his mission. Talk about the League of Nations continues to predominate, and there are confident assurances that the way is open to agreement of the Powers upon the President's plan. Unhappily, just what the President's plan is has not yet been disclosed. We are told that Mr. Lloyd George is for a League and is therefore in agreement with the President; and that Mr. Clemenceau is for a League and therefore is in accord with the President; and that therefore Great Britain, France, and America are united on that paramount proposal. Perhaps. "Things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other." But it would be of interest to know precisely what is the "same thing" to which they are equal.

Senator Knox, in urging his resolution throwing cold water upon the League scheme, rightly insists that the Monroe Doctrine should be maintained, and that therefore, instead of joining a hard and fast league which might drag us into all manner of alien messes in which we were not properly concerned, we should seek merely an understanding for concerted action by America and the Allies whenever their freedom and peace are menaced. That is quite logical and intelligible, and is in exact accord with the Monroe Doctrine and the consistent policy of our Government ever since its foundation. We believe that it would now and hereafter meet every requirement dictated by our interest or needs. Mr. Knox was quite right, too, as we have insisted elsewhere, in holding that the matter should not be taken up by the Peace Conference until the actual making of peace is effected and the Central Powers are disposed of. We do not believe in letting the passing of judgment upon the Blond Beast be delayed or compromised by interminable discussions of the mutual relationships of his judges. Happily, the Allies seem to be more and more inclined to pursue that course; for which let us thank God and take courage.

We must wholly disapprove, and we believe that the sound sense and morals of the American people will emphatically disapprove, the proposal, which is charged against certain elements among the American peace delegation, to sink to the bottom of the ocean all the warships which Germany and her allies have surrendered under the armistice. This, we are told, it is proposed to have done, instead of distributing the vessels among the Allies, in order that nobody may reproach us with having waged the war for material gain! Presumably that explanation was invented by the creel, which hourly thanks its God that this nation was so unprepared for war that nobody could suspect it of wanting war. It is queer, what things do escape from the asylums. Of course, we cannot cast any such intolerable aspersion upon our representatives as the assumption that such is their motive in advocating

this course. But whatever be the motive, it must not be permitted to prevail. Apart from the exceedingly grave question of the legal right of the United States, the Peace Conference, or anybody else thus to destroy this sequestered property without due process of law, there is an insuperable objection to such an act on the ground of that economy which is an essential part of morality. The wanton destruction or waste of valuable articles is simply immoral. Those vessels represent expenditures of hundreds of millions of dollars, and are well worth scores of millions as they now stand, or float. If the Allied nations purpose to build any more warships for themselves, as the United States certainly does, it would be crass folly and waste to destroy these vessels and then build others in their place. But if for any reason they are not wanted as naval vessels, and are not—as they probably are not—convertible into merchant craft, they still should not be sunk and thus wholly lost. They should be sent to the scrap yard and broken up. Millions of dollars' worth of their machinery could be utilized in merchant ships, and millions of dollars' worth of metal and other material could be worked over for industrial purposes. It would be a bitter commentary upon the sincerity of our recent preachments about saving and conservation, for us to send such value to utter waste and loss.

It is said to be on his own suggestion that the President is this week visiting England. We have no doubt of that, any more than we have that his whole European excursion was undertaken on his own initiative. But we do wonder how in the world the creel ever let the confession get out. There should instead have been a lot of talk about the earnest and insistent urging by the British Government, to which the President finally, though most reluctantly, yielded through a stern and self-sacrificing sense of duty.

There is some belated satisfaction in the conviction and sentencing of some German newspaper men in Philadelphia for seditious utterances, and we sincerely trust that the fact that the war is now practically ended will have no influence in mitigation of their punishment. Their crime is just as great as it would be if the war were still raging and at a critical point. There may be cases in which the granting of amnesty after the cessation of hostilities is permissible and commendable, but these are not among them. Treason and sedition are always odious. There is no moral statute of limitations in their favor.

Out of two million Armenians deported by the Turks, at the incitement of Germany, only 400,000 are now living, and three-fourths of them will die this winter if they are not succored. There is a statement of fact upon which we venture no comment.

The demand of Greek papers for the return of the gold and silver and works of art which the Bulgars stole at Melniko is an apt reminder of the demands which need to be made and inexorably enforced for the return of the millions of dollars' worth of loot which Germans, both officially and privately, took in Belgium and France. It may not be possible to recover the spoons and rings and watches which the Huns, from the Crown Prince down, stole wherever they could lay their thieving hands upon them. But there were

innumerable thefts, of public and private works of art, machinery, and what not, which can and must be recouped.

Among the notorious Von Papen's papers which were captured by General Allenby at Nazareth was a letter from a German officer calling Boy-Ed "incomprehensibly silly" for accepting the perjured statement of one Stahl that the *Lusitania* was armed. Lying is always silly; and we ourselves are not so incomprehensibly silly as to believe for one moment that Stahl was the head devil of that episode and that the guileless Boy-Ed supposed his falsehoods to be truth. It is ever so much more likely that Boy-Ed invented the lie and used Stahl as his tool in promulgating it.

Another of these papers was a letter from Dr. Albert, complaining that in wartime economics the much-boasted German efficiency was beaten by the once-despised English; showing that sometimes the Blond Beast has almost human intelligence.

Two admirable points were made by Mr. Lloyd George in his recent Newcastle speech. One was that just as the beaten party in litigation must pay the costs, so Germany, beaten, should be compelled to pay the costs of the war which she wantonly forced upon the world. To do so fully would probably be beyond her power. The entire wealth of the empire would not be sufficient. But that should not deter the Allies from making her pay just as much as she can. Of course, indemnity to Belgium must come first, and then to northern France, and so on. But then, after those billions have been exacted from her, make her pay to her last remaining kreutzer all that she can toward the war expenses of the Allied Powers. What was it that Bismarck said of France? That he would bleed her white, and leave to the people nothing but their eyes to weep with. Well, no Allied statesman is as savage and brutal as he was. But we can make drastic demands upon the Huns without going to inhuman extremes. Moreover, it must be remembered that Bismarck thus afflicted France because of a war which he himself had forced upon her. Indeed, he forced it upon her in order to have a chance thus to oppress and plunder her. But we purpose to make Germany pay for a war which she forced upon us—a very different thing.

The other point made by the British Prime Minister was the necessity of punishing personally those responsible for the war; meaning, no doubt, the late Kaiser, Bethmann-Hollweg, Tirpitz, and others. If they were not punished, he said, then there would be one justice for poor criminals and another for kings and emperors. That is exactly true. The reproach has at times been directed against some of our courts, though seldom, we trust, with warrant, that they had one justice for the poor and another for the rich, and that there was no danger of a millionaire ever being convicted of murder. We cannot afford to have that reproach truly directed against the nations of the world. We have fought this war to establish the equal rights of small and weak nations with the great and strong. It would be an appropriate and auspicious thing to have it also establish the equal responsibility of kings and peasants for broken law.

It will indeed be well to "limit indemnities to preserve the Allies' moral aims." We should limit them strictly to

payment in full for all damage done, on land and sea; to payment in full of all costs incurred by the Allied and neutral nations on account of the war; and to suitable indemnity, per capita, for all lives lost and for all persons maimed or crippled, by the acts of the Huns. We should doubt if the sum total of those indemnities amounted to more than two hundred and fifty or at most three hundred billions. Anything beyond that would, we confess, savor of oppression, vindictiveness, and plunder, and might compromise the moral aims of the Allies. To adapt Pinckney once more: Not one cent for plunder, but billions for just reparation.

The controversy over the exercise of Presidential powers during the probably illegal and certainly most improper absenteeism of the President recalls attention to one of the most curious though happily harmless if not really desirable perversions of Constitutional intent in our whole governmental system. Invariably upon the death of a President the Vice-President has been installed in his place as President and the Vice-Presidency has been left vacant during the rest of the term. But that is certainly contrary to the intent of the Constitution. That instrument does not provide that upon the removal, death, resignation or disability of the President the Vice-President shall become President in his place, but merely that the powers and duties of his office shall devolve upon the Vice-President, who of course shall perform them as Vice-President and pro tempore Acting President, but certainly not as President. The example of claiming the actual Presidency was, however, set by John Tyler and was persisted in by him in spite of the fact that such Constitutional lawyers as Daniel Webster and John Quincy Adams insisted that he remained nothing but Vice-President and that his assumption of the title of President was a violation of the Constitution; and the example was thereafter followed in all like cases without question. It may be better to have the Vice-President become President than to be merely Acting President, but it is surely contrary to the letter and plain intent of the Constitution. However, the legality of it is not likely to be challenged in court, any more than that of the annexation of Texas; another probably unconstitutional act, which was, however, unquestioningly imitated in the annexation of Hawaii.

Our old friend von Bernstorff is out to make the world safe for Democracy. He is a leader in the Democratic Popular League of Berlin. The venerable "Mittel Europa" Naumann is with him. The ferocious Reventlow has not been heard from, but he is singing small in these piping times of peace with never a belligerent note in his mouth organ. As for our especially cherished Dernberg, he apparently is submerged. The Herr Dr. Solf probably has taken the American propaganda job off his hands. But Dr. Solf lacks the soothing Dernbergian touch, and has nothing like the Dernberg gift for appealing to the American sense of humor.

As a matter of courtesy, after having slept in a royal bed at Buckingham Palace, the President will be expected to accord particular consideration to Cousin George's recommendations. Perhaps that was the idea.

Poland and the Jews

MARSHAL FOCH has done well in sending an authoritative commission to Poland to investigate the "pogroms" which are reported to have occurred there, and we may hope that the result will be completely to clear up the situation in the eyes of the world and to defeat what there is *prima facie* reason to regard as a peculiarly characteristic, insidious and despicable piece of German propaganda. The ruling classes of Germany have long cherished malignant hatred of both the Poles and the Jews, the hatred which inferiors commonly feel for superiors, and their final resort against them both is to foment trouble between them and to play the one against the other in a game in which both would lose.

We have hitherto referred to the fact that these stories of Polish oppression of the Jews come chiefly from German and therefore presumably lying sources. It now appears further that some outrages have actually been committed, but they have been committed by Germans and Austrians who were prisoners of war in Russia, and who, on being released by the Bolsheviks, are returning home by way of Poland. There they "kill two birds with one stone." By plundering, ravishing and murdering Jews they gratify their own criminal propensities, and they give rise to reports that the Jews are being persecuted in Poland and thus cast odious and undeserved aspersions upon that country. Evidence is also said to be forthcoming that Bolshevik agents from Russia, and German agents from Prussia, have been fomenting trouble with the obvious purpose of discrediting Poland and causing animosity between the Poles and the Jews.

It is unfortunately also probably true that a few renegades, both Poles and Jews, have been found who would be so base as to lend themselves to these Hunnish designs; the Poles to commit actual outrages against Jews, and the Jews to make unwarranted accusations against the Poles. Such unworthy members of those races are very few, and of course are not in the least degree representative of the whole. The historic fact, well known and indisputable, is that Poland, under Polish rule, has ever been honorably tolerant of all races and creeds, and has indeed been an asylum for those against whom German and other persecution has been directed. It is also a fact that this attitude of the Poles has been cordially recognized by many of the foremost representatives of the Jewish race and creed, and has been by them gratefully commended.

One of the most insidious and mischievous, because plausible, phases of this anti-Polish and anti-Jewish propaganda is that which has been exploited by a Russian Jew named Prilucki, who may well be supposed to be under the same malign influences as his co-religionists Lenine and Trotzky, in his demand for a Jewish *imperium in imperio*. He openly proclaims that "equality of rights of citizenship is not sufficient for the Jewish people of Poland: they must enjoy autonomy." And he outlines in detail the constitution of a Jewish state within Poland, which shall be quite independent of Poland in matters of education, taxation, and what not. Another, a German Jew named Fischlaender, declares that the Jews have a right to appeal to the Peace Conference for the right of self-determination on the same terms as the Czecho-Slovaks, Poles, and other peoples. Quite ignoring the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine,

these agitators would have Jewish states set up all over the world, wherever there happens to be a considerable Jewish population.

The insincere character and mischief-making intent of this German-inspired propaganda is fortunately recognized by the real leaders and overwhelming masses of the Jewish people, as indicated in the *Jewish Chronicle* when it said: "The saddest phenomenon in current Jewish history is the attitude taken by a number of leading and influential German Jews against their co-religionists in Poland." The same journal added, concerning some published utterances of Professor Philippsohn, a well-known German Jewish writer: "If one were to read this article without seeing Philippsohn's name as author, he would take this tirade against Polish Jews to be the work of a violent anti-Semite." It will be well for these things to be widely and thoroughly understood in the United States, and for Americans to know, despite German and Bolshevik marplotry and conspiracies, that there is absolutely no incompatibility nor conflict between independence for Poland, and freedom and equal civil rights for the Jews.

Bolshevism at Annapolis

INSIDIOUS and extensive as is the spread of Bolshevism in the more or less effete countries of Europe, it must come as an occasion of surprise and chagrin to the average American to learn that this pernicious heterodoxy has taken firm root at the United States Naval Academy.

Almost since the birth of the Republic, the Military Academy at West Point and the Naval Academy at Annapolis have been centers of rigid discipline, intense academic application and honorable sportsmanship, setting a praiseworthy example to less well-ordered colleges and universities, patronized by the pampered scions of affluent families and the self-indulgent offspring of doting mothers. At Annapolis, especially, neither wealth, nor pedigree, nor political influence has served to mitigate the rigorous methods of extracting the last race of bumptious conceit from the successful matriculate.

Some years ago all forms of physical hazing were abolished, and there was substituted therefor a system of "rates" whereby the dross was purged from the unmannerly plebe. He was taught that individual merit alone counted at the Naval Academy, that manliness and unselfishness and grit were the cardinal virtues, that stinginess and cowardness and petty meanness were the capital sins of a sailor. By the time he had completed his freshman year he had acquired the fundamental virtue of self-control, sloughed off all self-indulgence, and was received by his fellows in the "youngster class" as a man. He who lacked the character to stand the strain simply "bilged," and returned to civil life, unmourned and unsung. By the end of his second year he had learned to control himself and thus to command others. He could throw the parade rasp into his commands or stand his tour of duty aboard ship, whether as oiler in the engine-room or as stoker in the fireroom, or on the watch. The system of rates, the education inculcated more by his fellows than by his professors, had made a man of him.

But alas, all is now changed. By official order, there are no more plebes at the Naval Academy. By official order, the word has become anathema. Rates are abolished. Strict discipline among the freshmen has become a tradition. Plebes who have not yet won their spurs are metaphorically

clanking them. A fatal blow has been struck, not only at the traditions of the Academy, but at its discipline. No longer do stern words of command ring out from the battalion officers, who are being taught that it is undemocratic to give "orders," and that requests to "Halt" or "About face" must be delivered in dulcet tones.

The explanation? None is forthcoming from those who have issued the regulations abolishing "rates," prohibiting under dire penalties the use of "the word plebeian, or any derivative thereof," and generally creating a system or deportment which would do credit to a young ladies' seminary. Neither do the midshipmen themselves offer any explanation; but, when questioned, some of them glance significantly at Josephus Daniels, Jr., son of the Secretary of the Navy, who recently entered the Academy as a plebe—we beg pardon, as a freshman.

The Claims of Greece

THE President's conference with Mr. Venizelos was an apt reminder of the existence of other problems of peace-making than those which are being much talked about day by day. While secondary from some points of view, they are yet of vital importance, and we cannot afford to ignore or slight them. We think much of the crimes of Germany, of the reparation which she must make, and of the restoration due to those countries which she has directly injured. But we must not forget the similar crimes of her Allies or the claims for indemnity and readjustment which are made by the countries which were in belligerent contact with them.

The name of Greece is not mentioned in the President's Fourteen Points. Yet, apart from general references, there are two very specific allusions to that country, each of which conveys a promise of just consideration of its claims, and, indeed, a practical recognition of the existence and at least the partial validity of them. Thus in the Eleventh Point we are told that the relations of the several Balkan States to one another should be determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and in the Twelfth it is declared that the non-Turkish nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.

Both those prescriptions obviously apply to Greece. That country is one of the Balkan States, and it makes claim to certain extensions of territory in that peninsula, on historic bases of allegiance and nationality. There is also a considerable Greek population under Turkish rule in the Asian portion of the Ottoman empire, which makes claim to "opportunity of autonomous development" or, as elsewhere expressed by the President, the right of self-determination; meaning, beyond doubt, political incorporation with Greece.

It is understood that the European claims comprise the remainder of Epirus, including Himara, Korytsa, and Kastoria, where there may be some clash with Albanian and Serbian claims; parts of Macedonia and Thrace, including such towns as Xanthi and Dedeagatch, the cession of which latter would mean the practical shutting-in of Bulgaria from the Aegean; and Constantinople and the European coast of the Sea of Marmora, a claim which is altogether likely to be resisted by various Powers on various grounds. In Asia the Greek claims embrace the Vilayet of Smyrna. The islands

of the Dodecanese are also claimed, on the ground of almost exclusively Greek population.

Historically, no doubt, all these regions once belonged to Greece. But so did much more that is not now claimed; wherefore we must have regard to other circumstances. It will probably not be seriously disputed that Greek population predominates in the regions named, with the exception of Constantinople, where the Greeks though numerous are a minority. Greeks predominate along the entire Aegean littoral of Macedonia and Thrace, and in the Chersonesus; and also along the Black Sea coast of Thrace and Bulgaria from Constantinople up to Varna, though we do not know that Greece now claims the latter region. They form a majority in the coastal parts of the Vilayet of Smyrna, the city of Smyrna being largely Greek; and they almost monopolize the islands, save for ten or eleven thousand Turks in Rhodes and Cos, and perhaps four thousand Jews in Rhodes.

That these expatriated Greeks earnestly desire reunion with the mother country there can be no doubt. They have a patriotic passion surpassed by that of no other people. It cannot be said that they removed themselves from Greece as colonists, since they are living where their Greek ancestors dwelt, twenty centuries and more ago. Their claim is practically identical with that of Italia Irredenta, and we do not know that it is any more complicated with conflicting claims than that of the latter on the Dalmatian littoral. Where Greek claims conflict with those of Serbia, there will of course be need of the most friendly and considerate counsels; and there will probably be need of mutual forbearance and concessions. But elsewhere, in regions where the conflicting claims are those of Bulgaria and Turkey, a more strenuous course may be pursued. Those two countries have been only a little less criminal and barbarous than their ally and overlord, Germany, and they are worthy of little more consideration. The terms of peace are to be dictated to them, just as to her, and the question of Greek claims against them should be determined not at all by what they say or want but by what the Allied Powers think Greece ought to have. And the immeasurable services of Greece to civilization during thirty centuries and the steadfast heroism of Greece in resisting the attacks of Ottoman barbarism, should incline America and the Allies to take a generous view of her present claims.

PARIS, Dec. 18. (By the Associated Press.)—President Wilson this afternoon gave out the following statement:

"The Paris edition of the *Chicago Tribune* this morning, in a dispatch accredited to its correspondent at Washington, declared that before leaving for France I gave assurance that I approved of a plan formulated by the League to Enforce Peace. This statement is entirely false."—*The Herald*.

Good morning, Mr. Taft!

We do not wish to prejudice his position by calling him a great Englishman, but that is, in fact, how millions of Englishmen regard President Wilson.—*London Chronicle*.

Don't mention it. We used to prejudice his position by calling him a great American.

OUR CHIEF (sic) EAGER TO SHARE BURDENS OF ALLIES.—*Headline on Paris dispatch to the Hearst papers.*

No fear; he will be let.

OUR PEACE MISSION IS WELL HOUSED.—*Headline in the Times.*

We should say so.

Letters From Our Readers

LEST WE FORGET

SIR,—Can you find space in the WAR WEEKLY to print for the benefit of a forgetful public the terms and conditions of the armistice and final peace treaty between France and Germany in 1870-71? It might be educational, and tend to clarity of thought.

The WAR WEEKLY has been a source of inexpressible satisfaction and pleasure to the writer ever since the first number.

N. B. DAY.

New York City.

[The preliminary treaty of peace, corresponding with an armistice, was signed on February 26 and ratified by the French National Assembly by a vote of 546 to 107 on March 1, 1871. It provided for:

1. The surrender of Alsace, excepting Belfort, and about half of Lorraine;
2. The payment by France of one billion dollars "indemnity"; one-fifth of it in 1871 and the remainder by instalments in three years;
3. Evacuation of French territory, beginning with Paris and the western departments, to begin upon ratification of this treaty, and to be completed upon full payment of the "indemnity";
4. The German troops of occupation to be maintained by the French Government and not through local levies;
5. The inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine to choose whether to become German subjects or to remove into France;
6. Prisoners of war to be at once released;
7. Negotiation for a definitive treaty of peace to begin at Brussels at once;
8. Territories occupied by German troops to be administered by French officials under German control.

The definitive treaty, reaffirming the first two clauses of the preliminary treaty, was made at Frankfort on May 10.—EDITOR.]

THE CLAIMS OF GREECE

SIR,—The approach of the forthcoming Peace Conference, at which the fate of Hellenism is to be decided, gives me the opportunity of appealing to you as a Regular Member of the American-Hellenic Society, and of soliciting your invaluable help in our efforts to obtain redress for the injustice under which Greece has labored for so many centuries.

The aims of the Greek people are happily in complete harmony with the principle of "self-determination" enunciated by the President of the United States, who has further shown his interest in the cause of Hellenism in a letter, dated October 2nd, 1918, to Mr. Frank W. Jackson, Chairman of the Relief Committee for the Greeks of Asia Minor. From this letter allow me to quote the following:

I am in hearty sympathy with every just effort being made by the people of the United States to alleviate the terrible sufferings of the Greeks of Asia Minor. None have suffered more or more unjustly than they. They are bound by many ties to the rest of the liberty-loving peoples in the world who are fighting to free all weak and oppressed nationalities from the cruelties and oppressions of strong and autocratic governments.

The Greeks in Asia Minor have by their thrift and enterprise shown themselves to be possessed of qualities most essential to the future economic development of that fertile country.

Their steadfast allegiance to their Christian faith, in the face of every inducement and threat to abandon it, commends them most strongly to all who believe in the principles of religious freedom. And their adherence to the ideals of Constitutional government should make them peculiarly the object of the cordial sympathy of the American people, the foundations of whose political structure are freedom and liberty.

In spite of this great personal interest shown by President Wilson, there is every reason to believe that German and Bulgarian influence will be exerted, tending to the continued crippling and strangulation of Greece.

All we ask for is Justice, and the return to their motherland of those unredeemed Greeks in the following regions:

1. Epirus—including Himara, Korytsa, Kastoria.
2. Macedonia—including the purely Greek towns of Xanthi and Dedegatch.
3. Thrace—including Constantople and the country surrounding the Sea of Marmora.
4. Asia Minor—the Vilayet of Smyrna.
5. The Islands of the Dodecanese, which are inhabited only by Greeks, with the exception of 11,000 Turks in Rhodes and Cos and 4,000 Jews in Rhodes.

It is of great importance, I think, to make quite certain that the members of the American Peace Commission stand ready to use all their influence against German and Bulgarian tendencies and that they should be definitely pledged to the above principles.

I am making this appeal to you at the eleventh hour, hoping that you will see your way to giving us the benefit of your immediate counsel as to how such an understanding can best be brought about.

JOHN N. METAXA.

New York City.

[We discuss the claims of Greece elsewhere in this issue of the WAR WEEKLY.—EDITOR.]

IT SEEMS HOPELESS

SIR,—THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and your incomparable WAR WEEKLY have been a means of grace to me, and I take this means to thank you. You won't find my name long on your subscription list, for the reason that I never have enough cash ahead for a whole year's treat at once. I adopt the installment plan. This morning my soul is full of wrath, and I'm turning to you, the ablest avenger I know of. I'm just a woman. I can't vote, I can talk, and if I could dip my pen into your inkwell I'd write to somebody to ask why in Heaven's name we can't have any mail service between these United States and our Ally France? Why can't we hear from our men who have been giving soul and body for the cause they make holy and God made righteous? I know the mighty deep has been burdened to its utmost by carrying our great Secretary of War and his sweet smile across, fro and to and back again; but since, when the ocean is fairly alive with ships, why, why can't we get the letters written by our men to their anxious wives and friends? And, in all pity, why can't our letters of reassurance go to them when, as in our case, the man has been in one place during the whole thirteen months of his very active medical service abroad?

We read sentimental slush about writing "cheerful letters" and writing "often." What's the use? Is Mr. Burleson so busy grabbing wires that he can't stop to let some intelligent person see to running the mails? Won't you please discuss in the WAR WEEKLY the mail service that isn't? I do believe it would get under the skin of somebody.

MARY HERRICK SMITH.

Elyria, Ohio.

"FEARLESS"

SIR,—The WAR WEEKLY came to my notice for the first time, I am ashamed to say, in the issue for the week ending November 23rd. I have just finished reading it—every word—and am now in that comfortable state of well-being, mental and physical, which heretofore I had imagined only followed a well-chosen, perfectly satisfying dinner with the proper accompaniments.

Even in the light of the recent election I had feared that none of our publicists would ever tell the plain, unvarnished truth about Personal Government, State Socialism, etc., heretofore masquerading under the guise of war necessities, and now apparently to be flaunted as a new discovery in Government by the academic theorist—I don't care for the word "intellectual" in this connection—who is our Chief Executive and apparently no small part of the legislative and judicial branches of the Government as well. Surely "Age cannot wither nor custom stale HIS infinite variety".

Enclosed herewith please find check for \$6.00 in payment for subscriptions to the REVIEW and the WAR WEEKLY for a year, and if there are any other publications in which you take an active interest, please let me know, if not too much trouble, and I will gladly give you my purse, or so much of it as is necessary to secure them.

Seriously, I wish to express to you my sincere appreciation and hearty congratulation upon your fearless endeavors to enlighten the public on the real condition of Government in this country.

B. C. MOISE.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

NERVY

SIR,—The nerviest thing I have seen lately is the appeal of the Irish Nationalists in Ireland to President Wilson, asking him to bring the influence of this nation to bear upon the British Government for a speedy settlement of the Irish question.

I wonder if the leaders of the Irish Nationalist party have an idea that Americans have ignored the attitude of the Irishman in Ireland respecting their duty in the great war? I wonder if they think that Americans do not realize that for every Irish slacker in Ireland an American soldier had to be sent to the trenches? I wonder if they fancy that they had some obligation to jump into the forefront of the fight at the tragic moment that the Americans rushed in at Chateau Thierry?

England has been bled white by the war, sending 70 per cent of her men to the front. Ireland furnished 6 per cent. Not only are there tens of thousands of slackers in Ireland, but there are scores of traitors to the British flag who have constantly put stones in the way of the successful progress of the war.

Upon what consideration of right and conscience can the Irish in Ireland come to America for aid and comfort in their local quarrel with the British Government? Isn't President Wilson warranted in replying (if indeed he should dignify the Irish plea by any answer at all) by saying to the Irish slackers that when people come to America for moral support they must come clean handed?

J. B. H.

Omaha, Neb.

RETURN THAT INDEMNITY!

SIR,—An estimate published in a paper, assuming to state the probable amount that Germany would be obliged to pay as damages for the mischief she has done to France, Belgium and Serbia, etc., by her illegal acts during the present war, foots up to something like eight billions of dollars. And Alsace and Lorraine, provinces of which France was robbed during the war some forty years ago, are to be returned to her. This is all very well, but how about the cash indemnity that France was also obliged to pay Germany at that time? If she is entitled to the return of Alsace and Lorraine, is she not equally entitled to the return of the amount paid, as an indemnity, at the same time? One is as clearly hers by right as the other.

The amount of this indemnity, with interest added for the time that has elapsed since its payment, would amount to a sum equal to, or more than, the eight billions Germany is now to be called upon to pay; and as it is clearly France's right to have it returned to her, it follows that if it is not returned, *France pays the damages following the recent unpleasantness, rather than Germany.*

GEORGE B. SNOW.

Long Beach, Calif.

TRENCHANT

SIR,—I have just re-read with profound interest and hearty approval your trenchant editorial in the WAR WEEKLY of the 2d instant, entitled "God Save the Republic."

Remembering the important part you played in discovering and bringing to his present exalted position "the world's greatest autocrat," and realizing your feelings now, I am reminded strongly of Genesis, VI-6:

"And it repented the Lord that He had made man on the earth; and it grieved Him at His Heart."

The analogy is carried out further by the flood of ballots you assisted so potently in causing to descend on the 5th instant.

Let the good work go on. Amen and amen!

ALBERT E. JOAB.

Tacoma, Wash.

"TE DEUM LAUDAMUS"

SIR,—Last night I attended a Red Cross meeting held in the Opera House at Greenville, Pennsylvania, addressed by Ex-President Taft. He made a splendid argument for the League of Nations to Enforce Peace. Following his address I made a short talk, and wound up by reading the splendid editorial, "Te Deum Laudamus," in your issue of November 16, 1918. I want to congratulate you on this splendid piece of literature; it is a gem. I am going to have it reprinted, framed, and placed in the McKinley Memorial Building at Niles, Ohio.

The WAR WEEKLY is doing fine work. Keep it going!

J. G. BUTLER, JR.

Youngstown, Ohio, U. S. A.

FROM A GEORGIA READER

SIR,—The only periodical published in the United States which I have taken time to read since we entered the war is your WAR WEEKLY. I shall have time to read it as long as you have time to publish it.

STERLING G. MCNEES.

Atlanta, Ga.

A QUERY

SIR,—Please cut me off of your mailing list. Has your editor gone crazy? I have read George Harvey a lot; I am 100% American, and Harvey is not. I would not ask you to return my money under ordinary conditions, but I insist that every cent be returned, as I do not want my name to be attached to a list of rioters and disturbers of peace, such as Harvey wishes to start.

Of course this will be put aside, in the usual way, but watch.
A. H. REBE.

Portland, Ore.

[What have we done now? Is the gentleman's real name "Rube"?—EDITOR.]

WE ARE HARD TO BUY

SIR,—Your WAR WEEKLY is the best and most patriotic publication in the country today, and its wholesome analysis of the patch-work Administration is vital in importance. Sooner or later ALL the peoples will realize that the vagaries of Phillip Dru and the welfare of the Democratic party sum up the whole ambition of the wretched bunch in authority.

But your business methods are atrocious. I know you are not out for making money with the WEEKLY, or even to make it pay, but the public ought to have a chance to buy it, and, as a matter of fact, it is like searching for a needle in a haystack to find a copy for sale anywhere. I borrowed your last number to read.

CHAS. B. HOBBS.

New York City.

THE LAST MINUTE OF THE WAR

SIR,—Here is a bit of beautiful language quoted from a letter I have just received from Lieut. Harold W. Weble at the front, describing the *last minute* of the war:

"Exactly at the hour prescribed, to the minute, war closed his noisy lips and the most beautiful silence reigned. Men said, 'God be praised,' and we all came out of our dugouts and heaved a heavy sigh, and then men began to smile, and cheers went up—and the curtain went down."

C. B. H.

New York.

THE WAR WEEKLY IN HAWAII

SIR,—You owe some kind of an apology to that efficient official whom you dub "Politicalmaster General" Burleson. Down in Honolulu he absolutely discriminates in your favor. Seldom do I get the WAR WEEKLY more than two days later than it should be on hand, while other mail straggles along leisurely. Once in a great while an accident occurs and my other mail reaches me at the same time as the WEEKLY, but it is mighty seldom. So please let up on Mr. Burleson.

R. W. BRECKONS.

Honolulu, Hawaii.

VICTORIES

SIR,—Congratulations, and most sincerely so, upon the great Republican victory in electing sufficient Republicans to control both branches of Congress; and permit me to also congratulate you upon the great personal victory in eliminating President Wilson's personal selection, the pacifist, pro-German Henry Ford of Michigan. Two great victories have been achieved; first, the Republican victory, and second, the victory by which the Allies changed President Wilson's terms so they meant something definite.

RALPH W. SMITH.

Denver, Col.

REWARDS

SIR,—I have read with the greatest of interest every copy of *The North American Review's* WAR WEEKLY, and believe that I have performed a patriotic service by inducing many of my friends to subscribe for the WEEKLY.

I feel that every intelligent, unbiased and patriotic American citizen owes you a deep debt of gratitude for the great work you have done in furthering and speeding up the war work and, incidentally, by spurring up the present Administration.

May the success you have achieved prove its own reward!

O. A. SPENCER.

Seattle, Wash.

NOT ONE CRUMB

SIR,—I wish to enter a protest against sending one particle of food from the United States to the Germans, and I write to ask if I may trouble you to tell me where the protest should be sent. Not one crumb of anything grown on our soil should go to that accursed nation. That they pay for it, makes no difference.

The WAR WEEKLY is a source of real satisfaction.

CLARA HINTON GOULD.

Santa Barbara, Cal.

Letters From Our Readers

"SOCIALISTIC PATERNALISM"

SIR,—As an orthodox Socialist, I respectfully protest against your use of the phrases "socialistic paternalism" and "socialistic chestnuts" in the "Jim Ham Removes the Mask" article of November 30. Such phrases are inaccurate, because paternalism has always been a symptom of an autocracy, and not at all provided for in the orthodox socialist platform. They are unjust, too, because they place us in company which orthodox socialists feel strangely out of place in. From what you, Sir, know about socialism, do you honestly think "the Administration" is in any immediate danger of carrying a red card?

ALFRED S. O'BRIEN.

Bridgeport, Conn.

THE MEANEST THIEF IN THE WORLD

SIR,—A man by the name of _____, a draft dodger, a person who was made an Ensign in the U. S. Naval Service by courtesy or political influence, and was one of the officials of the Naval Prison at Portsmouth, N. H., has confessed to stealing \$250 worth of Liberty Bonds belonging to the prisoners confined in this prison. This and a great many other irregular conditions and transactions take place here daily. This institution is desperately in need of a thorough investigation. All the prisoners at discharge claim that they suffer great financial losses, which no one seems willing or able to explain them. I hope you will see that this matter reaches the hands of some American Senator or Congressman who will help us out in this matter.

2500 AMERICAN SAILORS.

A WELCOME HANDSHAKE

SIR,—I read your WAR WEEKLY every seven days, and bless you for it from the sole of your foot to the crown of your head. My wife and I don't know what we would do without it. It says the things that comfort one's soul, because they are the truthful, courageous things that need to be said and that in so many quarters are hardly even thought. We read, and we chuckle, and we say "God bless him! He is fighting the good fight." Keep it up, oh, my Colonel! You are cheering thousands of us. I'm trying to give you a handshake, of comradeship and of gratitude.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ.

New York City.

THE VOICE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS

SIR,—I am an entirely obscure person. But as the widow's mite was deemed an acceptable offering, I beg you will receive my tribute of congratulation and admiration for all that your fearless WAR WEEKLY has accomplished. It has been the Voice crying in the wilderness.

NEWTON HOOPER.

New York City.

CARRY ON!

SIR,—I want to add my name to your well wishers. The WAR WEEKLY has been and still is a weekly joy. Carry on! And if you want to call it by a new name, why not call it *Truth*?—George Harvey's Truth.

A. MARTIN.

New York City.

A VALUED TRIBUTE

SIR,—The WAR WEEKLY has been an inspiration to all of us for virile American thinking. We have very copiously printed its articles in the belief that the spreading of them is a patriotic service.

FREDERICK F. FORBES,
Managing Editor,

The Philadelphia North American.

Philadelphia.

MR. VILLARD MIGHT OBJECT

SIR,—Why not change the name of the WAR WEEKLY to THE NATION? I have been reminded of THE NATION many times in reading some of the articles in the WAR WEEKLY.

CLARA S. STANCHFIELD.

Islip, Long Island.

APPARENTLY NOT

SIR,—Have the American people no right to say who shall represent them in the greatest meeting of history?

Philadelphia, Pa.

H. J. P.

THE ENTENTE OF FREE NATIONS

BY

DAVID JAYNE HILL

(Former Ambassador to Germany)

Are We to Have a Reptile
Press?

Editorial

AND

The Freedom of the Seas

By Edward S. Corwin

The Significance of Victory

By Roland G. Usher

The Future of American
Aeronautics

By Earle Remington

The Psychology of the Red
Cross Movement

By H. Addington Bruce

Mexico Today *By William Gates*

Shall We Accept the Uni-
verse?

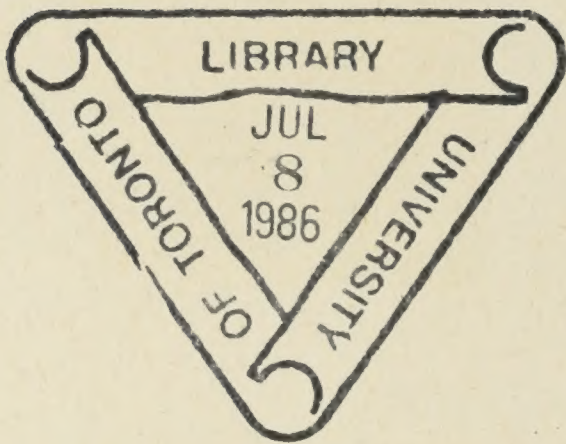
By John Burroughs

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for January

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